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HUTCHINSON

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
M A S S A C H U S E T T S ,
FROM THE
FIRST SETTLEMENT THEREOF
IN 1628,
UNTIL THE YEAR 1750.

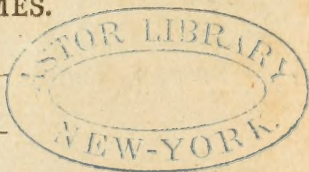
By THOMAS HUTCHINSON, Esq.
Late GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Historia, non ostentationi, sed fidei, veritatique componitur.

Plin. Epist. L. 7. E. 33.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



The Third Edition.

With additional NOTES and CORRECTIONS.

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1795.

K155 J.

[IN this Edition, besides many corrections, some additional Notes are placed in the margin, which are inclosed [thus]. Mr. HUTCHINSON's sentiments respecting allegiance and the political connexion of this country with Great-Britain are distinguished by italic letters.]

P R E F A C E.

THE repeated destruction of ancient records and papers by fire in the town of Boston first inclined me to endeavour the preservation of such materials as remained proper for an History of the Massachusetts Colony. Many such came to me from my ancestors, who for four successive generations had been principal actors in public affairs; among the rest a manuscript history of Mr WILLIAM HUBBARD, which is carried down to the year 1680, but after 1650 contains but few facts.*

The former part of it has been of great use to me. It was so to Dr. MATHER in his history, of which Mr. NEALE's is little more than an abridgment. I made what collection I could of the private papers of others of our first settlers, but in this I have not had the success I desired. The descendants of some of them are possessed of many valuable letters and other manuscripts, but have not leisure or inclination to look into them themselves, and yet will not suffer it to be done by others. I am obliged to no other person more than to my friend and brother the Reverend Mr. MATHER, whose library has been open to me as it had been before to the Reverend Mr. PRINCE, who had taken from thence the greatest and most valuable part of what he had collected.

Several

[* This manuscript is now in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.]

Several gentlemen have given us encouragement to expect from them an History of the Colony. Mr. PRINCE gave us the chronology of two or three years, and there left it. Mr. PRAT, the late chief justice of New York, has often mentioned to me his intention to prepare and publish an History. Death has put it out of his power. Another gentleman of the first character at the bar, whose talents for it will not be called in question, has proposed the same thing. Want of leisure for it has probably prevented.*

I am sensible that whoever appears in print should be able to dispose his matter in such order, and clothe it with such style and language, as shall not only inform, but delight the reader; therefore I would willingly have delivered over every thing I have collected to a person of genius for such a work. But seeing no prospect of its being done by any other, I engaged in it myself, being very loth that what had cost me some pains to bring together should be again scattered and utterly lost.

I am sensible of many defects in this performance, and that it stands in need of all the apologies I am capable of making for it. It cannot be expected that the affairs of a colony should afford much matter interesting or entertaining to the world in general. I write for the sake of my own countrymen, and even to many of them I expect some facts will be thought of too little importance, and

[* The gentleman here meant was OXENBRIDGE THACHER, esquire, who died the next year after this Volume was first published, viz. in 1765.]

and yet I have omitted many such as have been judged proper for the press by former historians. In general we are fond of knowing the *minutiae* which relate to our own ancestors. There are other facts which from the nature of them will afford but a dull and heavy narration. My chief design is to save them from oblivion.

All historians profess a sacred regard to truth. I have found some difficulty in guarding against every degree of prejudice in writing the history of my own country. I hope by shunning one extreme I have not run upon the other.

The Massachusetts Colony may be considered as the parent of all the other Colonies of New England. There was no importation of planters from England to any part of the continent northward of Maryland, except to Massachusetts, for more than fifty years after the Colony began. In the first ten years about twenty thousand souls had arrived in Massachusetts. Since then it is supposed more have gone from hence to England than have come from thence hither. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, at this day probably contain five hundred thousand souls. A surprising increase of subjects of the British crown!

Barbadoes and the leeward islands owed very much of their supplies of lumber, horses and provisions, with which they were furnished at the beginning

beginning of their settlements from this colony in as great plenty as they desired.

The addition of wealth and power to Great Britain in consequence of this first emigration of our ancestors exceeds all expectation. They left their native country with the strongest assurances that they and their posterity should enjoy the privileges of free natural born English subjects. May the wealth and power of Britain still increase in proportion to the increase of her Colonies ; may those privileges never be abused ; may they be preserved inviolate to the latest posterity.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
M A S S A C H U S E T T S.

C H A P. I.

*From the first Settlement of the Colony, until the Year
1660.*

THE discovery of America by Columbus, and of the northern continent by the Cabots, in the fifteenth century, and the several voyages of English and French in the sixteenth, I pass over, and begin with the voyage made by Bartholomew Gosnold, an Englishman, in the year 1602, to that part of North-America since called New-England. It is not certain that any European had been there before. Hakluit mentions the landing of some of Sir H. Gilbert's men upon some part of the continent ; but it is probable that was farther eastward, upon what is now called Nova-Scotia. Gosnold landed first on the eastern coast, which he calls Mavoshen.* After some commerce with the natives, he sailed southward, and landed upon one of the islands called Elizabeth-Islands.† He gave them that name in honour to Queen Elizabeth, who was living when he left England ; and they have retained it ever since. He built a fort, and intended a settlement upon the island, or the continent near it ; but he could
not

* About 43 degrees north.

† A little southward of Cape-Cod. [He gave the name of Martha's Vineyard to one of these islands. See *Beiknap's American Biography*, vol. 1. p. 235.]

not persuade his people to remain there, and they all returned to England before winter.*

In 1603, De Monts obtained a patent from Henry the Fourth of France, for all the country from the 40th to the 46th degree, by the name of Cadie, or Acadie. In 1604, De Monts ranged along the seacoast from St. Lawrence to Cape Cod, and to the south of it. He went far up Kennebeck river, and into divers other rivers, bays and harbours.†

In 1606, King James the First granted all the continent, from 34 to 45 degrees, which he divided into two colonies, viz. the Southern, or Virginia, to certain merchants of London; the Northern, or New-England, to merchants of Plymouth.

In 1607, some of the patentees of the Northern colony began a settlement at Sagadahoc. They laid the plan of a great state.‡ The president died the first winter, which was extreme cold. Sir John Popham, his brother, the great promoter of the design, and Sir John Gilbert, the admiral's brother, died the same year in Europe; and the next year, 1608, the whole number which survived the winter returned to England. Their design of a plantation was at an end. Both English and French continued their voyages to the coast, some for fishing, and some for trade with the natives; and some feeble attempts were made by the French towards plantations, but they were routed by the English in 1613. There was no spirit in the people of either nation for colonizing. Favourable accounts were published of the continent by Capt. Smith and others: But who would remove and settle in so remote and uncultivated a part of the globe, if he could live tolerably at home?|| The country would afford no immediate

* This I suppose is what Josselyn, and no other author, calls the first colony of New-Plymouth; for he says, it was began in 1602, and near Narraganset bay.

† He did not go into the Massachusetts bay, but struck over from some part of the eastern shore to Cape-Ann, and so to Cape-Cod, and sailed further southward. *Champ.*

‡ The following persons were sent over to begin the colony: George Popham, president; Bessie Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlow, master of the ordinance; Roger Davies, serjeant-major; Ellis Best, marshal; ——— Seaman, secretary; James Davies, commander of the fort; Gome Carew, searcher; and about one hundred commonalty.

§ *Quid prodest, præter periculum horridi & ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia*

mediate subsistence, and therefore was not fit for indigent persons. Particular persons or companies would have been discouraged from supporting a colony by the long continued expense and outlet, without any return.* No encouragement could be expected from the public. The advantages of commerce from the colonies were not then foreseen, but have been since learned by experience. Virginia in its infancy was struggling for life; and what its fate would have been, if the fathers of it in England had not seen the rise and growth of other colonies near it, is uncertain.† God in his providence bringeth good out of evil. Bigotry and blind zeal prevailed among christians of every sect or profession. Each denied to the other, what all had a right to enjoy, liberty of conscience. To this we must ascribe, if not the settlement, yet at least the present flourishing state, of North-America. Persecution drove one Mr. Robinson and his church from England to Holland, about the year 1608. They stayed about a year at Amsterdam, and then removed to Leyden. In 1617, they began to think of removing to America. They laid great stress upon their peculiar tenets, but this did not lessen their regard to morality. The manners of the Dutch were too licentious for them. Their children left them; some became soldiers, and others sailors, in the Dutch service. In a few years their posterity would have been Dutch, and their church extinct. They were at a loss whether to remove to Guiana,‡ or to Virginia; but the majority were in favour of the latter. The Dutch laboured to persuade them to go to Hudson's river, and settle under their West-India company; but they had not lost their affection for the English, and chose to be under

Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret informem terris, asperam cœlo, tristem cultu aspectuq; nisi si patria sit. Tac. de mor. Germ.

* Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason spent twenty thousand pounds each, in attempts for settlement; and each of them thought it advisable to give over their designs, and sit down with the loss.

† Whether Britain would have had any colonies in America at this day, if religion had not been the grand inducement, is doubtful. One hundred and twenty years had passed, from the discovery of the northern continent by the Cabots, without any successful attempt. After repeated attempts had failed, it seems less probable that any should undertake in such an affair, than it would have been if no attempt had been made.

‡ Sir Walter Rawleigh had raised the same of Guiana about this time.

under their government and protection. They applied to the Virginia company for a patent of part of the country. To render it probable that their undertaking would not, like all former, be abortive, they gave among others these special reasons: "That they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and enured to the difficulties of a strange land: That they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole: That it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again." The Virginia company were very much pleased with the application, and some of the chief of them addressed the King to grant the petitioners liberty in religion under the great seal; but this was refused. He promised to connive, and not molest them; but this would not do for them at that time. They laid aside the design for that year. In 1619, they renewed their application, and resolved to venture, though they could not have a special grant from the King, of liberty of conscience. They hoped their remote situation would put them out of danger of the ecclesiastical courts. The affairs of the Virginia company were in great confusion, and it was the latter end of the year before the patent was granted. It was taken out under the company's seal to John Wincomb. He lived in the family of the Countess of Lincoln, and not removing with the rest, they never took any benefit from the patent. Mr. Weston, and other merchants of London, engaged, some to adventure their money, and some to go over with them. They therefore made the necessary preparations; and in July, 1620, the principal of them went over to Southampton, where two ships were ready to take them on board. They sailed the beginning of August, but were obliged repeatedly to put back, and to leave one of their ships behind, with part of the company, at last. They intended for Hudson's river, or the coast near to it; but the Dutch had bribed their pilot, and he carried them farther northward, so that they fell in about Cape-Cod; and arrived in that harbour the 11th of

of

of November. The harbour is good, but the country is sandy and barren. This was discouraging, but it was too late in the year to put to sea again. They coasted about in their boat, until they found a place more agreeable to them for a plantation, though not so good a harbour. Here they brought their ship, and determined to take up their abode. They gave it the name of New-Plymouth. Capt. Smith happened to give the name of Plymouth to the same place in 1614. A very circumstantial account of the beginning and progress of this colony, wrote by Mr. Edward Winslow, one of the principal undertakers, is to be found among Purchase's collections.*

The project of settling America revived again; and a new patent was granted, bearing date Nov. 3d, 1620, incorporating the adventurers to the Northern Colony by the name of the Council for the Affairs of New-England; the bounds of the country were expressed between 40 and 48 deg. N. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason were two of the most active members of this council. All the seacoast at one time or other has been granted or pretended to be granted by this council, and some parts several times over, partly from defects in form in preceding grants, and partly from unacquaintedness with the geography of the country. The first grant within the bounds of Massachusetts was obtained by Mr. Weston, who, in the summer of 1622, sent over two ships, with 50 or 60 men, to begin a plantation at Wessagustet, since called Weymouth. They were sickly when they arrived, and received necessaries and refreshment from their neighbours at New-Plymouth. They were a dissolute crew, soon brought themselves to poverty, then robbed the Indians and offered other abuses to them. The Indians made their complaints to the colony of New-Plymouth; but the abuses continuing, the next year they laid a plot for the destruction of all Weston's company.†

The

* In 1629, they obtained a patent from the Council of Plymouth.

† It was this plantation which gave occasion to the author of Hudibras to make merry with New-England in general, for hanging a bed-ridden weaver, instead of a useful cobbler. The Plymouth people, their neighbours, allowed that there was some foundation for the story. Several had been concerned in a theft. The Indians insisted that the ringleader should be put to death. They hanged one who

The plot was discovered to the New-Plymouth people, who sent some of their men and prevented the execution of it, by the surprise of those who were to be the principal actors. Mr. Weston, coming over to visit his plantation, was cast away in Ipswich bay, and stripped by the Indians of every thing but his shirt. Being thus rendered incapable of affording any relief to his colony, it came to an end after one year's continuance.

Capt. Robert Gorges obtained a patent from the council of Plymouth, dated Dec. 13, 1622, 10 miles in breadth, and 30 miles into the land on the northeast side of Massachusetts bay. This was loose and uncertain, and no use ever made of it.* He was son to Sir Ferdinando, and employed by the council in 1623 as lieutenant-general, to restrain interlopers and regulate all affairs. He made some attempts to revive Weston's plantation, but returned home the same year without success. Francis West came the same year as vice-admiral, but made no stay. The earl of Warwick had a patent for Massachusetts-Bay about the same time, but the bounds are not known.

In 1624, Lyford, the minister of New-Plymouth, and one John Oldham, stirred up a faction there, and were banished that colony. They began a settlement at Nantasket. The same year, some persons belonging to Dorchester in England sent over fishermen, and made necessary provision for a fishery at Cape-Ann; and Roger Conant,† who with John Oldham had left Plymouth and removed

was less culpable, and not like to live, in his stead. Others say, they deceived the Indians, and hanged up one who died of sickness or famine, a little while before. *Hubbard.*

* Robert Gorges conveyed his title to Sir William Brereton, who afterwards became an adventurer in the Massachusetts corporation. He acquainted the company that he did not intend to contest with them, but desired a proportionable quantity of land might be assigned for the accommodation of his people and servants. They gave him a very respectful answer, but declined acknowledging his title by any capitulation. They promised him land sufficient for the encouragement of his design, but he must take it as one of the company, &c. *Mass. Records, Feb. 10, 1629.* When the new charter in 1691 was preparing, one Mr. Levett, as heir at law to Sir William, laid a claim to the lands contained in this grant, but it met with no countenance from the committee of council. *M.S.*

† He lived until about 1680, and died at Beverly in the county of Essex. He is always spoken of as a person of worth. The superior condition of the persons who came over with the charter, cast a shade upon him, and he lived in obscurity. There are several of his descendants remaining; some of distinction in the colony of Connecticut. Governor's island in Boston harbour was called Conant's island.

removed with the rest to Nantasket, was appointed their overseer. A grant was made by one of the Gorges, it is not said which, to Oldham and others, of part of Massachusetts-Bay, which occasioned some dispute between them and the Massachusetts grantees.*

In 1625, one Capt. Wollaston, with about 30 persons, began a plantation near Weston's. They gave it the name of Mount Wollaston. It was known by that name some years after; but at length the name was lost in that of Braintree, of which town it is a part.† No mention is made of a patent to Wollaston. One Morton, of Furnival's inn, was of this company. He was not left in command, but contrived to make himself chief, changed the name of Mount Wollaston to Merry Mount, set all the servants free, erected a may-pole, and lived a life of dissipation until all the stock intended for trade was consumed. He was charged with furnishing the Indians with guns and ammunition, and teaching them the use of them. At length he made himself so obnoxious to the planters in all parts, that at their general desire the people of New-Plymouth seized him by an armed force, and confined him until they had an opportunity of sending him to England. In the fall of 1626, Roger Conant, and some if not all of his company, removed from Cape-Ann to a neck of land upon Naumkeag river. I find mention made of planters at Winifimet about the same time, who probably removed there from some of the other plantations. This is all the account we have of any settlements or attempts
for

* At the end of the first book of records of deeds for the county of Suffolk, is the copy of a letter from the company in England to Captain John Endicott, dated Gravesend, 27th April, 1629, in the close of which is thus written:

"I finde Mr. Oldham's graunt from Mr. Gorge, is to him and John Dorrell for all the lands within Mattachusetts bay betwene Charls river and Abousett river, containing in length by a straight line 5 miles up the said Charls river into the maine land, north west from the border of the said bay, including all creeks and poynts by the way; and 3 miles in length from the mouth of the aforesaid river of Abousett up into the maine land, upon a straight line south west, including all creeks and ponds, and all the land in breadth and length betwene the foresaid rivers, with all prerogatives, royal mines excepted. The rent reserved is 12d. on every hundred acres of land that shall be used. William Blackston, clerk, and William Jeffrys, gent. authorised to put John Oldham in possession. Having a sigl. of their graunt this I found, tho' I hold it voyde in law, yet his claime being to this, you may in your discretion prevent him, by causing some to take possession of the chief part thereof."

† The particular hill which caused the name of Mount, is in the farm of Noyton Quincy, Esq.

for settlements in Massachusetts-Bay until the year 1627. Mr. White, the minister of Dorchester, had encouraged Conant and his company to remain in New-England, and promised them men, provisions, &c.

In 1627, March 19, the council of Plymouth sold to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphry, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, who lived about Dorchester in England, their heirs and associates, all that part of New-England three miles to the south of Charles river, and three miles north of Merrinack river, from the Atlantic to the South Sea. All the lesser grants which have been mentioned within those limits (the settlement of the country being entirely neglected by the grantees) were without doubt looked upon to be forfeited or void. The conditions or tenor of none of them appear at this day. It is very likely the three persons first named in this grant had nothing more in view by the purchase than a settlement for trade with the natives, or for fishery, or other advantageous purposes. As soon as a colony for religion was projected, we hear no more of them.* The other three remained. Mr. White managed a treaty between Sir Richard Saltonstall, Matthew Cradock, and John Venn, Esquires, and divers others in and about London, and the original patentees. A purchase was made, and the same summer Mr. Endicot,† one of the original patentees, was sent over to Naumkeag with planters and servants, and all the affairs of the colony committed to his care. The patent from the council of Plymouth

* Some of the principal of the liberal speakers in parliament being committed to the tower, others to other prisons, this took away all hope of reformation of church government from many not affecting episcopal jurisdiction, nor the usual practice of the common prayers of the church; thereof there were several forts, though not agreeing among themselves, yet all of like dislike of those particulars. Some of the discreeter sort, to avoid what they found themselves subject to, made use of their friends to procure from the council for the affairs of New-England to settle a colony within their limits. In a very short time numbers of people of all sorts flocked thither in heaps, that at last it was especially ordered, by the King's command, that none should be suffered to go without licence; so that what I long before prophesied when I could hardly get any for money to reside there was now brought to pass. *Ferd. Gorges Hist. New-England.*

† His instructions were dated London, May 30, 1628, and signed by John Venn, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, John Humphry, Richard Perry, George Hewson, Samuel Alderley, Thomas Stevens, Joseph Caxon, Thomas Webb, Increase Nowell, Hugh Peters, John White, and Abraham Palmer. His first letters from Naumkeag were dated Sept. 13, 1628.

mouth gave a good right to the soil, but no powers of government. A royal charter was necessary. This passed the seals March 4, 1628. Matthew Cradock was appointed the first governor, and Thomas Goffe deputy governor. Two days before, March 2d, some affairs of the colony requiring it, there had been a meeting of the company, at which both governor and deputy are named as such. The day for the annual election of officers by charter being the last Wednesday in Easter term, on the 13th of May, 1628, Mr. Cradock was chosen governor by the company, and Mr. Goffe deputy governor; and Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Venn, John Humphry, Simon Whetcomb, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, George Foxcroft, William Vassall, William Pyncheon, John Pocock, and Christopher Coulson, assistants. William Burgis was chosen secretary in the room of John Washburne. At this court it was determined, that every one of the company who had subscribed fifty pounds should have 200 acres of land assigned, and in proportion for a greater or lesser sum, as the first dividend. The names of all the adventurers, and the sums subscribed, were sent over to Mr. Endicot, who was appointed their governor in the plantation. A second embarkation of planters and servants had been determined, at a meeting April 30, to be made with all speed.* Four ministers were provided. Three of them, Francis Higginson, Samuel Skelton, and Francis Bright, were readily accepted by the company, and had all due encouragement promised them; the fourth, Ralph Smith, was required to give under his hand, that he would not exercise his ministry within the limits of the patent without the express leave of the governor upon the spot.† Five ships

* Mr. Endicot sent three brethren, Ralph, Richard and William Sprague, to explore the country westward. Between Mistick and Charles rivers they find a body of Indians settled, called Aberginians, and one English house thatched, and possessed by Thomas Walford, a smith. The Indian name of the neck was Mishawun, now Charlestown. These first travellers, with the consent of the Indians, took up their abode there. Some of their posterity remain there and in other parts of the colony to this day.

† Mr. Bright, one of these ministers, is said by Hubbard to have been a conformist. He went soon after his arrival to Charlestown, and tarried about a year

ships were provided for this embarkation. Mr. Higginson says in his journal, that he sailed from the Isle of Wight the 11th of May, and arrived at Cape-Ann the 27th of June, and at Naumkeag the 29th. They found at Naumkeag about 100 planters, 8 houses, besides a fair house built for Mr. Endicot. The old and new planters together were about 300, of which 100 removed to Charlestown, where there was a house built; the rest remained at Salem. Mr. Endicot had corresponded with the settlers at Plymouth, who satisfied him that they were right in their judgments of the outward form of worship being much like to that of the reformed churches in France, &c.* On the 20th of July, Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, after fasting and prayer, were first elected by the company for their ministers, the first teacher, the other pastor, each of them, together with three or four grave members, laying their hands on the other with solemn prayer. Nothing is said of any church being then formed; but on the 6th of August, the day appointed for the choice and ordination of elders and deacons, thirty persons entered into a covenant in writing, which is said to be the beginning of the church, and that the ministers were ordained or instituted anew. The repetition of this form they probably thought necessary, because the people were not in a church state before. It is difficult to assign any other reason. Messengers or delegates from the church of Plymouth were expected to join with them; but contrary winds hindered them in their passage, so that they did

in the country. Mr. Smith seems to have been of the separation in England, which occasioned the caution used with him. He was a little while at Nantasket, and went from thence to Plymouth, where he was their minister several years.

* Mr. Hubbard in his M. S. history remarks upon this occasion, "It is certainly known, that the old non-conformists, and good old puritans of Queen Elizabeth's and King James's time, did in many things not symbolize with the separatists, the one endeavouring only a reformation of some corruptions retained or crept into the church (as they thought) either before or after its reformed state; the other, not content therewith, stood as stiffly to maintain a necessity of disannulling their former church state, as that like a vessel once infected with leprosy, it must be broken in pieces to be new cast. It is affirmed that Mr. Hildertham advised Mr. Higginson and other ministers looking this way, to agree upon their form of church government before they came away from England, which counsel, if it had been attended to, might have prevented some inconvenience that hath since fallen out, or at least have saved some of the succeeding ministers from the imputation of departing from their first principles, because they were not publicly declared in the beginning of things." *M. S. Hist.*

did not arrive until the afternoon, but time enough to give the right hand of fellowship. Two of the company, John Brown and Samuel Brown, one a lawyer, the other a merchant, both men of good estates, and of the first patentees and of the council, were dissatisfied. They did not like that the common prayer and service of the church of England should be wholly laid aside; and therefore drew off, with as many as were of their sentiments, from the rest, and set up a separate society. This offended the governor, who caused the two members of his council to be brought before him, and judging that this practice, together with some speeches they had uttered, tended to sedition, he sent them back to England. The heads of the party being removed, the opposition ceased.*

Whilst these things were doing in the colony, the company in England were projecting a much larger embarkation, and the transfer of the corporation itself from Old England to New. Several gentlemen of figure and estate, Isaac Johnson, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, and divers others, who were dissatisfied with the arbitrary proceedings both in church and state, pleased themselves with the prospect of liberty in both, to be enjoyed in America; and proposed to the company at London to remove with their families, but upon this condition only, that the patent and charter should remove with them. This proposal was first communicated July the 28th, 1629. A committee was appointed to consider of it, and to advise with counsel learned in the law, and to make report. The adventurers had been at great expense without any returns made to them, and had no rational prospect of any profit from the plantation in the way they were in. The principal objection seems to have arose from a doubt whether
such

* They applied to the company, upon their arrival in England, for recompence for the damages they had sustained, and the matter was referred to Samuel Vassall, William Vassall, Simon Whetcomb, and William Pyncheon, chosen by the complainants; and John White, John Davenport, Isaac Johnson and John Winthrop, chosen by the company. The letters which the Browns had sent over to their private friends, were stopped by the company in England, and opened and publicly read, to prevent any prejudice to the plantation. *Mass. Rec.* It does not appear by the records how the dispute was finally issued.

"It is a principle, that every religion which is persecuted, becomes itself persecuting; for as soon as by some accidental turn it arises from persecution, it attacks the religion which persecuted it." &c. *Spirit of Laws.*

such a transfer was legal. The report of the committee is not recorded. Mr. White, a counsellor at law, was one of the company, and great stress was laid upon his opinion; and on the 29th of August it was determined, "by the general consent of the company, that the government and patent should be settled in New-England." It is evident from the charter, that the original design of it was to constitute a corporation in England, like to that of the East-India and other great companies, with powers to settle plantations within the limits of the territory, under such forms of government and magistracy as should be fit and necessary. The first step, in sending out Mr. Endicot, appointing him a council, giving him commission, instructions, &c. was agreeable to this construction of the charter.

In consequence of this new resolution, the members of the corporation which remained in England were to retain a share in the trading stock and the profits of it for the term of seven years. The management of it was committed to five persons who were going over, viz. J. Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltstonfall, I. Johnson, T. Dudley, and J. Revell; and to five who were to remain, M. Cradock, N. Wright, T. Eaton, T. Goffe, and J. Young; and at the expiration of the term, the stock, with the profits, were to be divided to each man in proportion to his adventure. All other powers and privileges were to remain with the planters upon the spot. We have no account of any dividend ever made, nor indeed of any trade ever carried on for the company. There was another article, that one half the charge of fortifications and support of the ministers should be paid out of the joint stock, but no notice was taken of it in the colony.

The 20th of October, at a general court of governor, deputy and assistants, and the generality, a new choice was made of governor, &c. consisting of such persons as had determined to go over with the patent. John Winthrop was elected governor, John Humphry deputy governor, Sir Richard Saltstonfall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, John Endicot, Increase Nowell, William Vassall, William Pynchon, Samuel Sharp, Edward Rossiter, Thomas Sharp,

Sharp, John Revell, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe, Samuel Aldersey, John Venn, Nathaniel Wright, Theophilus Eaton, and Thomas Adams, assistants.* They did

* I have endeavoured to obtain as particular account as can be now had, of the character and circumstances of the principal undertakers.

Mr. Winthrop, the governor, was of Groton, in Suffolk, descended from reputable ancestors. One of them, Adam Winthrop, is said to have been an eminent lawyer, and also a great favourer of the gospel, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Mr. Winthrop was a justice of peace at the age of eighteen; and very early in life was exemplary for his polite as well as grave and christian deportment. He had an estate of six or seven hundred pounds a year, which he turned into money, and embarked his all to promote the settlement of New-England. It is a very full evidence of the esteem he was in, that when many gentlemen of character, some of them of noble alliance, were concerned in the same undertaking with him, he, by a general voice, was placed at their head. He was eleven times chosen governor, and spent his whole estate in the public service, the stipend being small, and his hospitality great, and his bayliff unfaithful. His son and grandson were successively governors of Connecticut colony. His great-grandson, John Winthrop, Esq. died in London, about 12 or 14 years ago. He was known there by the name of Governor Winthrop, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and one volume of the Philosophical Transactions is dedicated to him. And his posterity have been ever since respected and honoured, both in Connecticut and in Massachusetts. Mr. Winthrop was about 43 years of age, when he removed.

Mr. Dudley's father, Capt. Roger Dudley, lost his life in the service of his country, leaving no other son. Mr. Dudley early in life engaged in the same service. In 1597, he raised a company of volunteers, received a captaincy from Queen Elizabeth, went over to France, and was at the siege of Amiens under Henry the Fourth. After his return to England, he married a gentlewoman of good family and estate, and settled near Northampton, in the neighbourhood of Mr. Dod, Hildertham, and other celebrated puritan ministers; was a devout attendant upon their ministry, and (although he had been an officer) became a sober non-conformist. Lord Say and Seal recommended him to the Earl of Northampton. The Earl, when he came to his estate, found it encumbered and entangled; but putting his affairs under the care of Mr. Dudley, he, by his prudent management, very happily extricated them. After which, leaving the service of the Earl, he removed to Boston, where he became acquainted with Mr. Cotton. He was soon desired to return to the Earl's family, where he continued until he came to New-England. He was far advanced in life for such an undertaking, being fifty-four years of age. He was chosen into the magistracy every year of his life afterwards, four years governor, and often deputy governor. He married a second time in his old age, and had a new set of children; and it is very remarkable, that he was a captain in 1597; and in 1764 two of his grand-children are living, viz. one elderly lady at New-London, in Connecticut colony, the widow of John Winthrop Esq. great-grandson of the first governor; and another at Newbury in Massachusetts, Mrs. Atkins.

Mr. Humphry was early engaged. He was one of the six original patentees from the council of Plymouth. He was prevented from coming over with the charter. He married the Lady Susan, daughter to the Earl of Lincoln, and brought her with their children to New-England in 1632, and was immediately chosen an assistant. He settled at Saugus, now Lynn, about 12 miles from Boston. Ebenezer Burrill, Esq. late of the council, lived on part of his farm. Upon an invitation from Lord Say, he intended in the year 1640 to have removed to the Bahama islands; but the island of Providence being taken by the Spaniards, he gave over that design. Soon after, having met with great losses by fire, and his estate being much impaired, he sold his plantation at Saugus to lady Moody, and returned to England.

Sir Richard Saltonstall was the first named associate to the six original patentees. Although he remained but a short time in New-England, yet his heart was set

did not all go over. From time to time, until the general embarkation, as any one declined, some other person was chosen in his stead. First, Roger Ludlow was chosen instead of Samuel Sharp.* Whilst they were

set upon promoting the colony. He sent over two of his sons, one of which was chosen into the magistracy, and continued in it, except while he was absent in England, until after the year 1686. Sir Richard was son or grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Lord Mayor of London in 1597. He lived many years after his return to England. I have seen his name among the commissioners for the trial of Lilburn, or some other offender against the state. By a will made in 1658, he gave a legacy to the college in New-England. His great-grandson, Gurdon Saltonstall, was many years governor of Connecticut; and some of his posterity in that colony, and Massachusetts, are in esteem and honour to this day. Sir John Foché, a city knight in King William's reign, married his great-granddaughter.

Mr. Johnson, in a will uncanceled, and which remains on the Massachusetts files, executed April 28, in the 5th of King Charles the First, calls himself of Cliphtham in the county of Rutland, son of Abraham Johnson, Esq. and grandson of Robert Johnson. Doctor Chaderton was his mother's father. He had much the largest estate of any of the undertakers. It lay in Rutland, Northamptonshire, and Lincolnshire. He values his interest at that time in the New-England adventure, at six hundred pounds. He had no children. After providing for his lady, he gave a great number of legacies to his friends, and to pious and charitable uses; his lands he gave to his father and brethren. To Mr. Cotton, from whom, to the praise of God's grace, he acknowledges to have received much help and comfort in his spiritual estate, he gave thirty pounds, and a gown cloth. The advowson and right of patronage of the parish church of Cliphtham, he gave to Mr. Dudley and Mr. Cotton. He limited his funeral charges to 250l. As Providence ordered it, a small part of that sum sufficed. His heart was set on the New-England concern, and he ordered his executors to carry on his share or part in it. He made another will before his death, and appointed John Hampden, Esq. one of his executors with Winthrop and Dudley. Upon his death bed, he is said to have rejoiced that he had lived to see a church of Christ gathered in America, and professed that he thought his life better spent, than in any other way. He was buried, at his own request, in part of the ground upon Trimontain or Boston, which he had chosen for his lot, the square between School street and Queen street. He may be said to have been the idol of the people, for they ordered their bodies, as they died, to be buried round him, and this was the reason of appropriating for a place of burial what is now called the old burying place, adjoining to King's chapel. He married the lady Arabella, another daughter of the Earl of Lincoln.

Mr. Endicot, the next named, was among the most zealous undertakers, and the most rigid in principles, as will appear in the course of the history. This disposition distinguished him more than his other mental accomplishments, or his outward condition in life. I have seen a letter from the secretary of state in King Charles the Second's time, wherein is this expression: "The King would take it well, if the people would leave out Mr. Endicot from the place of governor." Some of his posterity remain at or near Salem.

Mr. Nowell was nephew to Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, or else the Dean was his great uncle. He was a ruling elder, some time, of the church at Charlestown; but that place, and a place in the civil order, were thought, in that day, not well to consist, and therefore he quitted it, choosing the places of assistant and secretary.

Mr. William Vassall, as well as his brother Samuel Vassall, were gentlemen of good circumstances in England, but do not seem to have been fully of the same sentiment in matters of religion with the planters in general; and although William

* Samuel Sharp came over afterwards and lived at Salem, but was never refused to the magistracy. *Mass. Rec.*

were at Southampton (March 18) Sir Bryan Jansen, William Coddington and Simon Bradstreet were chosen in the room of Mr. Wright, Eaton and Goffe, and yet Sir Bryan never

came over with the first company, yet he soon went back to England. He returned a few years after to New-England, and settled at Scituate in Plymouth colony, not because they were reputed more rigid than the Massachusetts people. When Jamaica was taken by Cromwell he laid the foundation of several fine estates there, enjoyed by his posterity to the present time.

Mr. Pyncheon was a gentleman of learning as well as religion. He laid the foundation of Roxbury, but soon removed to Connecticut river, was the father of the town of Springfield, where his family hath flourished ever since.

Edward Roslter was of a good family in the West of England. He died the first year. His son lived afterwards at Combe. His grandson, Edward Roslter, in the year 1682 was deacon of Mr. Joseph Alline's church in Taunton. He says in a letter, dated March 23, 1682, that his grandfather, a pious gentleman of good estate, left England for the sake of religion.

Thomas Sharp and John Revell made but a short stay in New-England.

Mr. Eaton was an East country merchant. His father was a minister in Coventry. He did not come to New-England until 1637; and then settled New-Haven colony, of which he was governor all his life after. His correspondence, both with the governor of Massachusetts and with the Dutch governor of Manhadoes, or New-York, discover a good understanding and a virtuous mind.

Mr. Coddington was of Lincolnshire, zealous to a great degree; was afterwards the father of Rhode-Island colony, where his zeal abated and he promoted a general toleration. He was many years their governor, and would gladly have joined in confederacy with the other colonies, but different sentiments upon religion prevented.

Mr. Bradstreet was of Emanuel college, Cambridge, from whence he removed to the family of the Earl of Lincoln as his steward, and afterwards he lived in the same capacity with the Countess of Warwick. He married one of Mr. Dudley's daughters, and after her death a sister of Sir George Downing. He lived to be the Nestor of New-England, was born the beginning of the century in 1603, and wanted but three or four years of completing it. I suppose Sir Simon Bradstreet and Dudley Bradstreet, of the kingdom of Ireland, are descended from him.

Mr. Venn, commonly called Colonel Venn, was in the design from the beginning, and intended to have removed, but never did. Upon the change of affairs in England he made a figure there, being one of the members for the city in the long parliament, and among the most active in the opposition to the court, and was one of the King's judges.

Mr. Cradock was more forward in advancing out of his substance than any other, being generally the highest in all subscriptions. He was an eminent merchant in London, and continued divers years to carry on a trade in the colony by his servants, but he never came over. His son or grandson, Samuel Cradock, was a dissenting minister at Wickambrook in 1690. George Cradock, Esq. now in public posts in the colony, is descended from him.

I can give no account of the other assistants.

Sir William Brereton was one of the company, and seems to have been preparing to come over, but he found employment also in the long parliament and in the army, and was at the head of the forces which reduced Chester. Several others, as Mr. Blackhouse, Mr. Whichcote, Captain Waller, Mr. Pocock, Mr. Harwood, and other persons of note, were of the company and great promoters of the plantation. Lincolnshire contributed greatly, and more of our principal families derive their origin from thence than from any part of England, unless the city of London be an exception. The Countess of Warwick was a benefactor. In 1634 the general court voted, "that there should be letters of thankfulness signed by the court and sent to the Countess of Warwick, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Wood, and others that have been benefactors to this plantation." The Earl of Warwick her son was a patron of the colony, and was very able as well as willing to do kind offices

never came to New-England. Even after they had embarked, at a court on board the *Arabella*, Mr. Dudley was chosen deputy governor, in the room of Mr. Humphry, who staid behind. It is not matter of wonder that they discovered so great want of resolution. It is strange, that so many persevered. It shews some little fortitude in a man in health and vigour, who goes through the fatigues of a long voyage, and spends but a few months in a wilderness, among savages, and in a climate more severe than he had ever experienced. What must we think then of persons of rank and good circumstances in life, bidding a final adieu to all the conveniences and delights of England, their native country, and exposing themselves, their wives and children, to inevitable hardships and sufferings, in a long voyage across the Atlantic, to land upon a most inhospitable shore, destitute of any kind of building to secure them from the inclemency of the weather, and of most sorts of food, to which they had been always used at their former home? The sickness and mortality which prevailed the first winter, they did not foresee. It is an observation since made, that most parts of America have proved unhealthy (except where the country is cleared) until persons have had a seasoning in it.

Eleven ships, which sailed from different ports in England, arrived in New-England before the end of July. Six more arrived before the end of the year. They brought above 1500 passengers. The *Arabella*, on board which was the governor and several of the assistants, left Yarmouth between the 7th and 10th of April. On the 7th, the governor and divers others on board signed a paper* directed to their brethren of the church of England, to remove suspicions or misconstructions, and to ask their prayers. This paper has occasioned a dispute, whether the first settlers of Massachusetts were of the church of England, or not. However problematical it may be what they were while they

offices to it as long as he lived. Some of the ministers were of families of distinction. Mr. Bulkley from Bedfordshire of an honourable family there. Samuel Whiting, who was minister of Lynn, married a daughter of Oliver St. John. She came with him to New-England. John Shearman, minister of Watertown, married a grand-daughter of Earl Rivers. Her father, Mr. Laume, was a gentleman of 1400*l.* a year. She was alive in 1697, the mother of 20 children.

* Appendix, No I.

they remained in England, they left no room for doubt after they arrived in America. The *Arabella* arrived at Salem the 12th of June.* The common people immediately went ashore, and regaled themselves with strawberries, which are very fine in America, and were then in perfection. This might give them a favourable idea of the produce of the country; but the gentlemen met with enough to fill them with concern. The first news they had, was of a general conspiracy, a few months before, of all the Indians as far as Narraganset, to extirpate the English. Eighty persons out of about three hundred had died in the colony the winter before, and many of those that remained were in a weak, sickly condition. There was not corn enough to have lasted above a fortnight, and all other provisions were very scant. They were obliged to give all the servants † they had sent over their liberty, that they might shift for themselves, although they had cost from sixteen to twenty pounds a head. They had not above three or four months to look out proper places for settlements, and to provide shelter against the severity of the winter. With this prospect of difficulties, great enough for them to encounter, sickness began among them. Being destitute of necessary accommodations, they dropped away one after another. Among others, the lady *Arabella*, who, to use Mr. Hubbard's words, "came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure in the family of a noble Earl, into a wilderness of wants; and, although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was not able to encounter the adversity she was surrounded with; and, in about a month after her arrival, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed." Mr. Johnson, her husband, highly esteemed for his piety and wisdom, overcome with grief, survived her a short time only, and died at Boston, the 30th September, to the great loss of the colony. Mr. Rosfiter, another of the assistants, died soon after. Before December, they had lost two hundred of their number, including a few who died upon their passage. The

* *Maseconomco*, the Sagamore of Cape-Ann, came on board the next morning after the governor's arrival to bid him welcome. *Hub.*

† The whole number sent over was 180. This was a heavy loss.

The governor, and some of the principal persons, left Salem the 17th of June, and travelled through the woods to Charlestown, about twenty miles, to look out for a convenient place for their chief town, which they had determined should be in some part of the bay or harbour between Nantasket and Cambridge. At first they pitched upon the north side of Charles river, or rather northwest, by the major voice; but a number of the principal gentlemen having fixed their cottages, shelters intended for one winter only, upon the opposite side of the river, the governor and most of the assistants removed to them in November. They were however undetermined where to build in the spring. A fortified town, at least palisadoed, was thought necessary to defend them against the natives, and they could not agree upon the most convenient place for that purpose.

They found, when they arrived, a few families scattered about, in several parts of the bay. Samuel Maverick, who will often appear in the course of this history, lived upon Noddle's island, a grant or confirmation of which he afterwards obtained from the court. He had built a small fort, and had four cannon mounted there.* At a point upon Shawmut, since Boston,† lived William Blackstone, who had left England, being dissatisfied there, and not a thorough conformist; but he was more dissatisfied with the non-conformity of the new comers. He told them he came from England because he did not like the Lords Bishops; but he could not join with them, because he did not like the Lords Brethren. He claimed the whole peninsula upon which Boston is built, because he was the first that slept upon it. He had a grant of a very handsome lot there at the west part of the town; but he chose to quit all, and removed to the southward, at or near what is since called Providence,‡ where he lived to old age. There were

[* He was the first person who introduced *Negroes* into the country. His son, Samuel Maverick, was one of the commissioners appointed by Charles II. in 1664 to subjugate the Dutch, and settle controversies in the English colonies. *Jesselyn's voyage*, p. 28. 252. See *Appendix*, No. 15.]

† Said to be called so from respect to Mr. Cotton, minister of Boston in England, whom they expected to follow them.

‡ One Master Blackstone, a minister, went from Boston, having lived there 9 or 10 years, because he would not join with the church. He lives near Master Williams, but is far from his opinion. *Lechford*.

were also several families at Mattapan, since called Dorchester, or rather Dorchester Neck; here * Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Roslitter pitched with two ministers, Mr. Warham and Mr. John Maverick. On the north of Charles river (Charlestown) were the remains of those who had moved the last year from Salem; here Mr. Nowell and some of his friends made their pitch, but considered themselves and Boston at first as but one settlement, and one church, with Mr. Wilson for their minister. When he went to England in the spring, Charlestown became a distinct church and town, and took Mr. James for their minister. Sir Richard Saltonstall chose a place some miles up Charles river, which has taken the name of Watertown. His company took Mr. Phillips for their minister. Mr. Pynchon was at the head of another company, who settled between Dorchester and Boston. Their town took the name of Roxbury. They had Mr. Eliot† for their minister. Medford and Misticke were then distinct places, though not so at present. At Medford,‡ which I take to have been a small village at the lower part of Misticke river, now called a neck of land, where a creek also ran into Charles river, it was intended a settlement should be made for Mr. Cradock and the people he was sending and had sent over. Here by his agents he built several vessels of burden. At these several places, together with Salem, the whole company were settled for the first winter. They had little time enough to provide their huts. As soon as December came, their out door work was over. On the 6th of December, the governor and assistants met, and agreed to fortify the neck between Boston and Roxbury, and orders were given for preparing the materials; but at another meeting on the 21st, they laid that design aside, and agreed on a place || about three miles above Charlestown, and most of them engaged to build houses there the next year. The weather held tolerable until the 24th of December; but the cold then came on with violence. Such a Christmas eve they had never seen

* They arrived at Nantasket the 30th of May, from Plymouth, in England.

† He did not come over until 1631. Mr. Weld was his colleague.

‡ *Med.*

|| First called Newtown, since Cambridge.

seen before. From that time to the 10th of February, their chief care was to keep themselves warm, and as comfortable in other respects as their scant provision would permit. The poorer sort were much exposed, lying in tents and miserable hovels, and many died of the scurvy and other distempers. They were so short of provisions, that many were obliged to live upon clams, mussels, and other shell fish, with ground nuts and acorns instead of bread. One that came to the governor's house, to complain of his sufferings, was prevented, being informed that even there the last batch was in the oven. Some instances are mentioned of great calmness and resignation in this distress. A good man, who had asked his neighbour to a dish of clams, after dinner returned thanks to God, who had given them to suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasure hid in the sands. They had appointed the 22d of February for a fast; but on the 5th, to their great joy, the ship *Lyon*, Capt. Pierce, one of the last year's fleet, returned, laden with provisions, from England, which were distributed according to the necessities of the people. They turned their fast into a thanksgiving.

In the spring of 1631, they pursued their design of a fortified town at Newtown. The governor set up the frame of a house, the deputy governor finished his house, and removed his family. About this time, Chicketawbet, the chief of the Indians near Boston, came to visit the governor, and made high professions of friendship. The apprehensions of danger lessened by degrees; the design of a fortified town went off in the same proportion, until it was wholly laid aside. The governor took down his frame, and carried it to Boston. Mr. Dudley, the deputy, was offended, and persisted, for some time, in his first determination of residing at Newtown, but at length removed to Roxbury.

This scheme of a fortified town was well enough, while they were uncertain what the temper of the natives would be. Their design was to make improvements, and to extend their settlements in the several parts of the country. Unless they were upon such terms with the Indians, that they could do this with safety, the colony could not long
subsist.

subsist. If they were upon such terms, fortified towns were unnecessary.*

The high price of provisions this year in England impoverished the colony. Every bushel of wheat meal cost, including the freight, 14s. sterling; every bushel of peas 10s. and indian corn, imported from Virginia, sold at 10s.† Some were discouraged, and returned to England, viz. Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Sharp, &c. and never came back; but others, in hopes of better times, went over to fetch their families, and returned with them; viz. Mr. Wilton, Coddington,‡ &c. They went in the Lyon, which brought their supply. In the same ship, Sir Christopher Gardner was sent home under confinement. He was a knight of the sepulchre, but concealed his true character, and came over last year, under pretence of separating himself from the world, and living a life of retirement and devotion. He offered to join to several of the churches, but he was suspected to be an immoral man, and not received. He had a comely young woman which travelled with him. He called her his cousin. For some miscarriages in Massachusetts, he fled to the Indians. They carried him to Plymouth, having first used him pretty roughly. From thence he was sent to Boston. He joined afterwards with Gorges, Mason and others in complaints against the colony.

Mr. Wilton left the church on the south side of the river without a minister. At his parting he recommended them to the care of the governor, deputy-governor, and other godly and able christians, to carry on the worship of God, on the Lord's day, by prophesying until his return.

So

* Mr. Dudley says, they laid aside all thought of a fort, because upon any invasion, when they should retire to it, they must necessarily lose their houses. *Letter to Countess of Lincoln.* There was the same objection to a fortified town, if the inhabitants of other towns and villages should retire to it.

† It was the year 1633 before they knew they should be able to raise English grain, if we may credit Johnson. "This year a small glean of rye was brought to the court as the first fruits of English grain, at which this poor people greatly rejoiced to see the land would bear it." *Johnson, 1633.*

‡ The following paragraph in a letter to Mr. Cotton from Mr. Coddington, London June 4, 1632, shews with what zeal he had embarked in this undertaking. "I am I thank God in bodily health, yet not enjoying that freedom of spirit, being withheld from that place which my soul desireth and my heart earnestly worketh after; neither I think shall I see it till towards the next spring, my wife being with child, and all her friends unwilling she should go in that condition."

So much of their attention was necessary, in order to provide for their support, that little business was done by the assistants, or by the general court. The removal of the charter made many new regulations necessary, which were settled by degrees. The first court of assistants was at Charlestown, Aug. 23d, about two months after their arrival. A beadle, a corporation officer, was appointed. It was then ordered that the governor and deputy for the time being, should be justices of the peace; four of the then assistants were also appointed justices. All justices whatsoever were to have the same power for reformation of abuses and punishing offenders, which justices have in England; but no corporeal punishment to be inflicted, except by an assistant. In high offences, the governor and assistants sat as a court, as well as in civil matters. There was a trial by a jury this year for murder, and the person charged was acquitted. The first general court was held the 19th of October, not by a representative, but by every one that was free, of the corporation, in person. None had been admitted freemen since they left England. The governor and assistants had a great influence over the court. It was ordered, that for the future the freemen should choose the assistants, and the assistants from among themselves choose the governor and deputy governor. The court of assistants were to have the power of making laws, and appointing officers. This was a departure from their charter. One hundred and nine freemen were admitted at this court. Maverick, Blackstone, and many more who were not of any of the churches, were of this number. This was all that was transacted, that was any thing material, the first year. The next general court was the court of election for 1631. The scale was now turned, and the freemen resolved to choose both governor, deputy and assistants, notwithstanding the former vote; and made an order, that, for the time to come, none should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were church members.*

This

* None may now be a freeman of that company, unless he be a church member among them. None have voice in elections of governor, deputy and assistants, none are to be magistrates, officers or jurymen, grand or petit, but freemen. The ministers

This was a most extraordinary order or law; and yet it continued in force until the dissolution of the government, it being repealed in appearance only * after the restoration of King Charles the Second. Had they been deprived of their civil privileges in England, by an act of parliament, unless they would join in communion with the churches there, it might very well have been the first in the roll of grievances. But such were the requisites to qualify for church membership here, that the grievance was abundantly greater.

The scarcity of the former year excited the inhabitants to make the greater improvements by tillage, as soon as the spring advanced; and it pleased God to give them such favourable seasons, that they had a very plentiful harvest; and indian corn,† which could not be purchased with money the year before, at the end of this year was made a tender in discharge of all debts, except money or beaver had been specially agreed for. Cattle were extremely dear, a great part of what had been shipped from England being dead, and a milch cow was valued at twenty-five to thirty pounds sterling.

The same governor and deputy governor, and such of the assistants of 1630 as were living, and in the colony, were re-elected for the year 1631.‡ They continued to make the same choice for 1632, with the addition of Mr. John Humphry, who had been deputy governor in England, but was prevented coming the first year, and John Winthrop, jun. the governor's eldest son, who, with his wife, mother, and some others of the family, arrived in October the year before.

ministers give their votes in all elections of magistrates. Now the most of the persons at New-England are not admitted of their church, and therefore are not freemen, and when they come to be tried there, be it for life or limb, name or estate, or whatsoever, they must be tried and judged too by those of the church who are in a sort their adversaries. How equal that hath been or may be, some by experience do know, others may judge. *Lechford.*

* The minister was to certify, that the candidates for freedom were of orthodox principles, and of good lives and conversations.

† This however was mean diet and distasteful to Europeans in general. "The want of English grain, wheat, barley and rye, proved a sore affliction to some stomachs who could not live upon indian bread and water, yet were they compelled to it." *Johnson.*

‡ *Hubbard.* This year, and this only, the assistants chosen, are not named in the colony records.

before. They were frequently alarmed, this year,* by the Indians, which put them into confusion; happy for them, that in this their feeble infant state they were only alarmed. A company of Eastern Indians, called Tarrateens, about an hundred in number, assaulted the wigwams of the Sagamore of Agawam.† They came by water in thirty canoes, slew seven Indians, and wounded two Sagamores, who lived near Boston, and carried away captives one of their wives, with divers other Indians. The governor likewise received advice from the governor of Plymouth, of a broil between some English of that colony and some of the Narraganset Indians, who set upon the English house at Sowam;‡ also of motions made by the Pequods, which caused the Dutch governor of Manhadoes to give notice to the English to be upon their guard. A shallop, belonging to Dorchester, having been missing all the winter, it appeared this summer, that the crew, consisting of five men, had been secretly murdered by the Eastern Indians. However, the Sagamores near Boston made professions of friendship; and on the 5th of August, this year, Myantino-mo, one of the great Sachems of the Narragansets, the most numerous of all the Indians between Boston and Hudson's river, came down to Boston, whether out of fear or love they could not tell, to enter into a league of friendship with the colony. He and his followers were invited to attend the public worship; but three of them withdrew in sermon time, and to satisfy their hunger broke into an English house to get victuals. The Sagamore, who was a very high spirited fellow, could hardly be persuaded to order them any corporeal punishment; but he was so ashamed of his attendants, that he ordered them out of town, and followed them himself soon after.

The French also occasioned some uneasy apprehensions. They had been drove from Acadie by Sir Samuel Argall, in 1613. The people of New-Plymouth had set up a trading house at Penobscot, about the year 1627. Intel-
ligence

* There was an alarm in 1631 at Saugus or Lynn. Lieut. Walker, then upon the watch, was shot through his clothes by two arrows, but by an immediate discharge of a culverin it was supposed the Indians withdrew. *Johnson, &c.*

† Ipswich.

‡ In part of what is now Bristol.

ligence was brought this year to Massachusetts, that in 1630 or 1631 Sir William Alexander had sold the country of Nova-Scotia to the French, and that the fort with all the ammunition and stores were delivered to them; that Cardinal Richlieu had ordered some companies there, and that more were expected the next year, with priests, jesuits, &c. This news alarmed the governor and council, and put them upon consultations for their defence. They determined to finish a fort which was begun at Boston, to build another at Nantasket, and to hasten the settlement of Agawam (Ipswich) it being one of the best places both for pasture and tillage, lest an enemy should take possession and prevent them. Mr. Winthrop, the governor's son, was accordingly sent to begin a plantation there.* It appears that their apprehensions of the French designs to take possession of some part or other of the coast were not ill founded, for they sent a ship this year, 1632, to Penobscot, as a prelude to what was to come after. Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, gives this account of it. "This year the house "at Penobscot is robbed by the French in this manner: "While the master of the house, and part of the company "with him, is come with one vessel to the westward, to "fetch a supply of goods, brought over for us, a small French

* The Tarrateen or Eastern Indians, who had a spite against the Indians of Agawam, and had attacked them and drove them from their settlement, intended mischief against the English also, as appears by the following account preserved among the papers of Mr. Cobbett, the minister of Agawam or Ipswich:

"At the first planting of Ipswich, as a credible man informed me, namely, "Quartermaster Perkins, the Tarrateens or Easterly Indians had a design to have "cut them off at the first, when they had but between 20 and 30 men, old and "young, belonging to the place, and at that instant most of them gone into the "bay about their occasions, not hearing of any intimations thereof. It was thus. "One Robin, a friendly Indian, came to this John Perkins, then a young man, "living then in a little hut upon his father's island on this side of Jeoffry's neck, "and told him, on such a Thursday morning early there would come four In- "dians to draw him to go down the hill to the water side to truck with them, "which if he did, he and all near him would be cut off; for there were 40 birchen "canoes would lie out of sight at the brow of the hill, full of arm'd Indians for "that purpose. Of this he forthwith acquainted Mr. John Winthrop, who then "lived there in a house near the water, who advised him, if such Indians came, "to carry it ruggedly towards them and threaten to shoot them if they would not "be gone, and when their backs were turned to strike up a drum he had with "him, besides his two muskets, and then discharge them, that to 6 or 8 young "men who were in the marshes hard by, a mowing, keeping their guns ready "charged by them, might take the alarm, and the Indians would perceive their "plot was discovered and haste away to sea again, which accordingly was so acted "and took like effect, for he told me, he presently after discerned 40 such canoes "throve off from under the hill and make as fast as they could to sea."

“ French vessel, having a false Scot aboard, goes into the
“ harbour, pretends they are newly come from sea, knows
“ not where they are, that the vessel is very leaky, and de-
“ fires they may haul her athore, and stop her leaks, mak-
“ ing many French compliments and congées: and seeing
“ but three or four simple men, who are servants, and by
“ the Scotchman understanding the master and the rest of
“ the company are gone from home, fall to commending
“ the guns and muskets, which lie on the racks by the wall
“ side, take them down to look on them, asking if they
“ were charged, and when possessed of them, one presents
“ a loaded piece against the servants, another a pistol: they
“ bid them not to stir, but deliver the goods, and made
“ them help in carrying them all aboard, to the value of
“ four or five hundred pounds sterling, prime cost; three
“ hundred weight of beaver, the rest in trading goods, as
“ coats, rugs, blankets, &c. then set the servants at liberty,
“ and go away with this taunting message, Tell your mas-
“ ter, when he returns, that some of the Isle of Rhée gen-
“ tlemen have been here.”

It appears that the Massachusetts people took possession of the country at a very critical time. Richlieu in all probability would have planted his colony nearer the sun, if he could have found any place vacant. De Monts and company had acquired a thorough knowledge of all the coast from Cape-Sables beyond Cape-Cod in 1604; indeed it does not appear that they then went round or to the bottom of Massachusetts-Bay. Had they once gained footing there, they would have prevented the English. The frenchified court of King Charles the First would, at the treaty of Saint Germain's, have given up any claim to Massachusetts-Bay as readily as they did to Acadie; for the French could make out no better title to Penobscot and the other parts of Acadie than they could to Massachusetts. The little plantation at New-Plymouth would have been no greater bar to the French in one place than in the other. The Dutch the next year would have quietly possessed themselves of Connecticut river, unless the French instead of the English had prevented them. Whether the people of either nation would have persever-

ed,

ed, is uncertain. If they had done it, the late contest for the dominion of North-America would have been between France and Holland, and the commerce of England would have borne a very different proportion to that of the rest of Europe from what it does at present.

The new settlers were in perils also from their own countrymen. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, two of the council of Plymouth, who, with a view to the advancement of their fortunes had expended large sums to little purpose in attempts to settle colonies in New-England, beheld Massachusetts with an envious eye. They intended for themselves all that part of the colony which lies to the eastward of Naumkeag. Gardiner and Morton,* to revenge the affronts they had received, joined with

* Morton wrote the following letter to one Jeffries in New-England. "My very good gossip, If I should commend myself to you, you would reply with this proverb, *propria laus sordet in ore*: but to leave impertinent salutes and really proceed, you shall hereby understand, that altho' when I was first sent to England to make complaint against Ananias and the brethren, I effected the business but superficially (through the brevity of time) I have at this time taken deliberation and brought the matter to a better pass, and it is brought about that the King hath taken the matter into his own hands. The Massachusetts patent by an order of council was brought in view, the privileges therein granted well scanned, and at the council board, in presence of Sir R. Saltonstall and the rest, it was declared, for manifold abuses therein discovered, to be void. The King hath re-assumed the whole business into his own hands, and given order for a general governor for the whole territory to be sent over. The commission is passed the privy seal, I saw it, and the same was sent to my Lord Keeper to have it pass the great seal, and I now stay to return with the governor, by whom all complainants shall have relief. So that now Jonas being set ashore may safely cry, repent ye cruel schismatics, repent, there are yet but 40 days. If Jove vouchsafe to thunder, the charter and the kingdom of the separatists will fall atunder.—My lord of Canterbury with my lord privy seal, having caused all Mr. Cradock's letters to be viewed, and his apology for the brethren particularly heard, protested against him and Mr. Humfries that they were a couple of imposturous knaves, so that for all their great friends they departed the council chamber in our view with a pair of cold shoulders. I have staid long, yet have not lost my labour. The brethren have found themselves frustrated and I shall see my desire upon nine enemies.—Of these things I thought good by so convenient a messenger to give you notice lest you should think I died in obscurity, as the brethren vainly intended I should. As for Rate's if he was comforted by their lordships, with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears, which shews what opinion is held amongst them of king Winthrop with all his inventions and his Amsterdam and fantastical ordinances, his preachings, marriages and other abusive ceremonies which exemplify his detestation of the church of England and contempt of his Majesty's authority and wholesome laws. I rest your loving friend,

May 1, 1634.

Thomas Morton."

Morton came to New-England again in 1643, when this letter and a book he had wrote full of invectives were produced against him. He was truly called the accuser of the brethren. The court fined him 100*l*. He was poor and unable to pay it. Nothing but his age saved him from the whipping post. He went to Acamenticus and there died a year or two after.

with them in a complaint to the King in council against the colony. At this time they failed of success, and an order was made in council, 19th January, 1632, "declaring the fair appearances and great hopes which there then were that the country would prove beneficial to the kingdom, as well as profitable to the particular persons concerned; and that the adventurers might be assured, that if things should be carried on as was pretended when the patents were granted and according as by the patent is appointed, his Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing further which might tend to the good government, prosperity and comfort of the people there."*

In the year 1633, the people still continued the administration of government in the same hands. Fresh supplies of inhabitants had been brought from England from time to time in the course of the two former years, but there were many who were willing to see the success of the first adventurers before they embarked themselves. The reports carried over were very encouraging, so that this year there was a very great addition made, ships arriving all summer, in some months twelve or fourteen in a month; an exportation so great, and of such sort of persons, that it produced the following order of the King in council, 21st February, 1633.

"Whereas the board is given to understand of the frequent transportation of great numbers of his Majesty's subjects out of this kingdom to the plantation of New-England, among whom divers persons, known to be ill affected, discontented not only with civil but ecclesiastical government here, are observed to resort thither, whereby such confusion and distraction is already grown there, especially in point of religion, as beside the ruin of the said plantation cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of church and state here: And whereas it was informed in particular, that there are at this present divers ships in the river of Thames ready to set sail thither, freighted with passengers and provisions: It is
"thought

* Hubbard.

“ thought fit and ordered that stay should be forthwith
 “ made of the said ships until further order from this
 “ board. And the several masters and freighters of the
 “ same should attend the board on Wednesday next in the
 “ afternoon, with a list of the passengers and provisions in
 “ each ship. And that Mr. Cradock, a chief adventurer
 “ in that plantation, now present before the board, should
 “ be required to cause the letters patent for the said planta-
 “ tion to be brought to this board.”*

Mr. Hubbard says, that this order was the effect of a new complaint, preferred by Gardiner, Morton and others, of their hardships and sufferings from the severity of the government; and that such of the company as were in England were called before the committee of council, and delivered an answer in writing; and that upon reading thereof it pleased God so to work with the Lords of the council, and afterwards with the King's Majesty, that when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir Thomas Jermaine, one of the council, who had been present at the three days of hearing, and spake much in commendation of the governor, both to the Lords and after to his Majesty, the King said he would have such severely punished as should abuse his governor and the plantation; and the defendants were dismissed with a favourable order for their encouragement; being assured from some of the council that his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon them, for that it was considered it was for the sake of freedom from those things that people went over thither. It is certain a stop was not put to the emigration. There came over amongst many others in this year, 1633, Mr. Haynes, of the civil order; Mr. Cotton,† Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone, three of the most famous men of the religious order. Mr. Cotton is supposed to have been more instrumental in the settlement of their civil as well as ecclesiastical polity, than any other person. The church of Boston, by advice of
 the

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Cotton's removal was hastened by letters missive which were out against him to convent him before the high commission court for non-conformity. His friends advised him to keep close until he had an opportunity of embarking.
Ms. letter Sam. Whiting.

the governor and council, and of the elders in the colony, received him for their teacher, to which office he was ordained the 17th October. Mr. Thomas Leverett, an ancient member of Mr. Cotton's church in England, was at the same time ordained ruling elder. The circumstances and order of proceeding in Mr. Cotton's ordination were intended as a precedent, and the congregational churches in New-England have generally conformed thereto ever since. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, with their friends, settled at Newtown (Cambridge.)*

In the year 1634, they thought proper to give their governor

* In the year 1633, the small pox made terrible havock among the Indians of Massachusetts. Whether or no their food and irregular diet furnishes greater quantities of the morbid matter than in more temperate persons, I leave to physicians. They were destitute of every thing proper for comfort and relief, and died in greater proportion than is known among the English. John, Sagamore of Winifmet, and James of Lynn, with almost all their people, died of the distemper. All writers agree, that, a few years before the English came to New-Plymouth, a mortal contagious distemper swept away great numbers of Indians, so that some tribes were in a manner extinct; the Massachusetts particularly are said by some to have been reduced from thirty thousand to three hundred fighting men. The small pox proving since so fatal to Indians, caused some to suppose that to have been the distemper; but the Indians themselves always gave a very different account, and, by their description, it was a pestilential putrid fever. In one of the voyages collected by Purchase, it is said to have been the plague; and that some of the Indians which recovered shewed the scars of the boil. An instance of mortality among the Indians of Nantucket, in the year 1763, strengthens the probability of their account of the distemper itself, and of the amazing effects of it.

In the beginning of October, there were belonging to the island of Nantucket about 320 Indians of every age and sex, in 90 families. A fever then began among them, and before the end of January between 260 and 270 persons had been seized with it, of which number 6 men and 9 women only recovered, and but 15 families and about 85 souls remained, 15 of which had wintered in the straits of Belleisle and escaped the distemper. A physician of note supposed this mortality to be occasioned by a dearth among the Indians the two preceding years, so that they had but little corn or any other farinaceous food, and this year had been some months without, which caused them to fall upon their pumpkins, squashes, &c. before they were ripe, and this food brought their blood into a putrid and broken state. It is remarkable, that the English inhabitants were free from the distemper, and not one person died of it. The infection was supposed by some to be taken from an Irish brigantine; but Mr. Timothy Folger, a sensible gentleman of the island, from whom I received the foregoing account, assured me there was no room to suppose so, or that it came from abroad.

Our ancestors supposed an immediate interposition of Providence in the great mortality among the Indians, to make room for the settlement of the English. I am not inclined to credulity; but should not we go into the contrary extreme if we were to take no notice of the extinction of this people in all parts of the continent? In some the English have made use of means the most likely to have prevented it, but all to no purpose. Notwithstanding their frequent ruptures with the English, very few, comparatively, have perished by wars. They waste, they moulder away, and, as Charlevoix says of the Indians of Canada, they disappear.

governor some respite, Mr. Dudley being chosen in his stead, and Roger Ludlow deputy governor.

Mr. Haynes, who had lately come over, was chosen to the place of assistant. The governor and assistants kept the powers of government, both legislative and executive, very much in their hands the three first years. The people began to grow uneasy; and the number of freemen being greatly multiplied, an alteration of the constitution seems to have been agreed upon or fallen into by a general consent of the towns; for at a general court for elections, in 1634, twenty-four of the principal inhabitants appeared as the representatives of the body of freemen, and before they proceeded to the election of magistrates, the people asserted their right to a greater share in the government than had hitherto been allowed them; and resolved, "That none but the general court had power to make and establish laws, or to elect and appoint officers, as governor, deputy governor, assistants, treasurer, secretary, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, or any of like moment, or to remove such upon misdemeanor, or to set out the duties and powers of these officers——That none but the general court hath power to raise monies and taxes, and to dispose of lands, viz. to give and confirm proprieties." After these resolutions, they proceeded to the election of magistrates. Then they further determined, "That there shall be four general courts held yearly, to be summoned by the governor for the time being, and not to be dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court——That it shall be lawful for the freemen of each plantation to choose two or three before every general court, to confer of and prepare such business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next court; and that such persons as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen of the several plantations to deal in their behalf in the affairs of the commonwealth, shall have the full power and voices of all the said freemen derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, &c. and to deal in all other affairs of the commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do, the matter of election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his
own

own voice."—And, to show their resentment, they imposed a fine upon the court of assistants for going contrary to an order of the general court.*

The freemen were so increased, that it was impracticable to debate and determine matters in a body ; it was besides unsafe on account of the Indians, and prejudicial to their private affairs, to be so long absent from their families and business ; so that this representative body was a thing of necessity, but no provision had been made for it in their charter.

Thus they settled the legislative body ; which, except an alteration of the number of general courts, which were soon reduced to two only in a year, and other not very material circumstances, continued the same as long as the charter lasted. This I suppose was the second house of representatives in any of the colonies. There was, as has been observed, no express provision for it in the charter ; they supposed the natural rights of Englishmen, reserved to them, implied it. In Virginia, a house of burgesses met first in May 1620. The government in every colony, like that of the colonies of old Rome, may be considered as the *effigies parva* of the mother state.

There was great disturbance in the colony this year, occasioned by Roger Williams, minister of Salem. He had been three or four years at Plymouth, and for some time was well esteemed, but at length advanced divers singular opinions in which he did not meet with a concurrence, whereupon he desired a dismissal to the church of Salem, which was granted him. That church had invited him upon his first coming to New-England, but the governor and council interposed with their advice, and prevented his settlement at that time. He had refused to join in communion with the church at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for holding communion with the church of England whilst they lived there. He was charged with divers exceptionable tenets, as " that it is not lawful for a godly man to have communion in family prayer or in an oath with such as they judge unregenerate, and therefore he refused the oath

* Mass. Records.

oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do—that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray—that the magistrate has nothing to do in matters of the first table.” Another tenet is added, which ought not to have been ranked with the former, viz. “that to punish a man for any matters of his conscience, is persecution.”* The magistrates sent a second time to the church of Salem, to desire them to forbear calling him to office; but they refused to hearken to their advice, and proceeded to ordain him, Mr. Skelton, their former minister, dying a little before. Mr. Williams caused the church of Salem to send their letters of admonition to the church at Boston and to several other churches, accusing the magistrates which were members of them of divers heinous offences, and admitting no church to be pure but the church of Salem; but at length, because the members of that church would not separate not only from all the churches in Old-England, but from all in New-England also, he separated from them; and to make complete work of it he separated from his own wife, and would neither ask a blessing nor give thanks at his meals if his wife was present, because she attended the public worship in the church of Salem.† But what gave just occasion to the civil power to interpose, was his influencing Mr. Endicot, one of the magistrates and a member of his church, to cut the cross out of the King’s colours, as being a relique of antichristian superstition.‡ A writer of the history of those times questions, whether his zeal would have carried him so far as to refuse to receive the King’s coin because of the cross upon it. Endeavours were used to reclaim him, but to no purpose; and at length he was banished the jurisdiction. He removed to the southward to look out for a new settlement among the Indians, and fixed upon a place called by them Moshawick, but by him Providence.||

After

* Hubbard.

† Hubbard.

‡ Many of the militia refused to train with the mangled, defaced colours. This scruple afterwards prevailed, and the cross was left out of the colours, and generally condemned as unlawful.

|| The inhabitants have a veneration for a spring which runs from the hill into the river above the great bridge. The sight of this spring caused him to stop his canoe and land there.

After all that has been said of the actions or tenets of this person while he was in Massachusetts, it ought forever to be remembered, to his honour, that for forty years after, instead of showing any revengeful resentment against the colony from which he had been banished, he seems to have been continually employed in acts of kindness and benevolence, giving them notice from time to time not only of every motion of the Indians, over whom he had very great influence, but also of the unjust designs of the English within the new colony, of which he himself had been the founder and governor, and continued the patron.*

Mr.

* Mr. Calender, in his century sermon at Rhode-Island, questions Mr. Williams's ever professing himself a baptist; but Mr. Hubbard says, he was rebaptized at Providence by one Holman, and that Mr. Williams in return baptized him and ten more, but afterwards renounced this baptism, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apostles, but through the ministers of the church of England, whom he judged to be antichristian. He refused communion with all christians of every profession, and conceived that God would raise up new apostles, and expected to be one himself; but afterwards changed from these principles, and would preach and pray with all that would hear him, without any distinction. In the year 1677 he published a defence of some fundamental doctrines of christianity, against the quakers. In 1643 he went to England, and by the interest of Sir Henry Vane obtained from the Earl of Warwick a charter of incorporation of Providence plantation, in Narraganset bay. He seems to have been well respected in England. He brought a letter to the governor of Massachusetts-Bay, of which the following is a copy.

To the right worshipsful the governor and assistants and the rest of our worthy friends in the plantation of Massachusetts-Bay.

Our much honoured friends,

Taking notice some of us of long time of Mr. Roger Williams, his good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemy and oppressors of God's people the prelates, as also of his great industry and travels, in his printed Indian labours in your parts (the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America) and in which respect it hath pleased both houses of parliament to grant unto him and friends with him a free and absolute charter of civil government for those parts of his abode, and withal sorrowfully resenting, that amongst good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony each of the other (as we observe you do of him, and he abundantly of you) there should be such a distance: We thought it fit, upon divers considerations, to profess our great desires of both your utmost endeavours of nearer closing, and of ready expressing those good affections (which we perceive you bear each to other) in the actual performance of all friendly offices: the rather because of those bad neighbours you are likely to find too near you in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the West of England and from Ireland. That howsoever it may please the Most High to shake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and prosperous plantations may be some refreshings to

Your true and faithful friends,

| | | |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Cor. Holland | Oliver St. John | Northumberland |
| John Blackistow | Gilbert Pickering | P. Wharton |
| Isaac Pennington | Robert Harley | Tho. Barrington |
| Miles Corbett | John Gurdon | William Marmam |

This letter produced a profusion of readiness to all offices of christian love and mutual correspondence; but unless he could be brought to lay down his danger-

Mr. Endicot was sentenced by the court, "for his rashness, uncharitableness, indiscretion, and exceeding the limits of his commission, to be sadly admonished, and also disabled for bearing any office in the commonwealth for the space of a year next ensuing." He protested against the proceeding of the court, and an order passed for his commitment, but upon his submission he was dismissed.

Mr. Winthrop's conduct had been such from his first associating with the company in England until his being dropped this year from his place of governor, that, unless the ostracism of the ancient Greeks had been revived in this new commonwealth, it was reasonable to expect that he should be out of all danger of so much as the least thought to his prejudice; and yet he had a little taste of what, in many other popular governments, their greatest benefactors have taken a large potion. After he was out of the chair, he was questioned, in such a manner as appears to have been disagreeable to him, concerning his receipts and disbursements for the public during his administration. Having discharged himself with great honour, he concludes his declaration and account in these words:*

"In all these things which I offer, I refer myself to the wisdom and justice of the court, with this protestation, that it repenteth me not of my cost or labour bestowed in the service of this commonwealth, but do heartily bless the Lord our God that he hath pleased to honour me so far as to call for any thing he hath bestowed upon me for the service of his church and people here, the prosperity whereof and his gracious acceptance shall be an abundant recompence to me.

"I conclude with this one request (which in justice may not be denied me) that as it stands upon record, that

ous principles of separation, they saw no reason why to concede to him, or any so persuaded, free liberty of ingress and egress, lest the people should be drawn away with such erroneous opinions. He died in 1682, forty-eight years after his banishment.

* He might have torn his books of accounts, as Scipio Africanus did, and given the ungrateful populace this answer: A colony, now in a flourishing estate, has been led out and settled under my direction. My own substance is consumed. Spend no more time in harangues, but give thanks to God.

“ that upon the discharge of my office I was called to account, so this my declaration may be recorded also, lest hereafter, when I shall be forgotten, some blemish may lie upon my posterity, when there shall be nothing to clear it.

JOHN WINTHROP.

“ Sept. 4, 1634.”*

In the year 1635† there was a great addition made to the numbers of inhabitants; among others, Mr. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane, was admitted to the freedom of the colony on the 3d of March; and at the same time Mr. Harlakenden, a gentleman of good family and estate. There were many others; as Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Dummer, of the magistrates; Mr. R. Mather, Mr. Norton, Mr. Shepard, and Mr. Peters, of the ministers, who came over in this and the last year, determined to take up their abode; and many other persons of figure and distinction were expected to come over, some of which are said to have been prevented by express order of the King, as Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Oliver Cromwell, &c. I know this is questioned by some authors; but it appears plainly, by a letter from Lord Say and Seal to Mr. Vane, and a letter ‡ from Mr. Cotton to the same nobleman as I take it, though his name is not mentioned, and an answer § to certain demands made by him, that his Lordship himself, and Lord Brooke and others, were not without thoughts of removing to New-England, and that several other persons of quality were in treaty about their removal also, but undetermined whether to join the Massachusetts or to settle a new colony. By the charter, the number of assistants might be eighteen; but hitherto they had

* Mr. Winthrop about this time received a letter from the Earl of Warwick, congratulating the success of the plantation, and offering his assistance in their proceedings. *Hubbard.*

† Mr. Maverick, the minister of Dorchester, died the 3d of February, 1635, aged about 60. *Hubbard.*

In the spring of 1634 they first turned their thoughts to fortifying the harbour of Boston. Mr. Winthrop the governor and 8 or 10 of the principal men went down to what is now called castle island in a boat, the day being warm and pleasant, the winter as they supposed breaking up; but they were surprised by a northwester, and the cold so great as to freeze all up, so as that for a day and a night they could not get off the island, and were forced to lodge upon the ground and in heaps to prevent freezing. *Johnson.*

‡ Appendix, No. 2 and 3.

had chosen a less number, from 6 to 9 ; which left room, as any gentleman of distinction came over, to admit him to a share in the government, without leaving out any of the former assistants.

It appears by the demands just mentioned, that some of the nobility and principal commoners of that day had what appears at this day to be *very strange apprehensions of the relation they should stand in to Great-Britain, after their removal to America.* Many of the proposals were such as imply, that *they thought themselves at full liberty, without any charter from the crown, to establish such sort of government as they thought proper, and to form a new state as fully to all intents and purposes as if they had been in a state of nature and were making their first entrance into civil society.* The importance of the colonies to the nation was not fully understood and considered. Perhaps the party which then prevailed in England would have been content to have been rid of the heads of what was deemed a faction in the government, and to have had no further connexion with them. Be that as it may, this sentiment in persons of such figure and distinction will in a great measure excuse *the same mistake, which will appear to have been made by our first settlers, in many instances in the course of our history.* The answer made to the demands seems not to have been satisfactory ; for these Lords and gentlemen soon after again turned their thoughts to Connecticut, where they were expected to arrive every year, until after 1640.

Mr. Haynes was chosen governor for this year, and Mr. Bellingham deputy governor ; Mr. Dummer and Mr. Haugh were added to the assistants.* The inhabitants of the plantation, being so much increased, found it difficult to pitch upon convenient places for settlements. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton were deservedly in high esteem ; some of the principal persons were strongly attached to the one of them, and some to the other. The great influence which Mr. Cotton had in the colony inclined Mr. Hooker and his friends to remove to some place more remote from
Boston

* Mr. Ludlow, aiming at the governor's place the year before and being disappointed, had protested against the choice ; which so offended the freemen, that this year they left him out of the magistracy. He removed soon after to Connecticut.

Boston than Newtown. Besides, they alleged as a reason for their removal, that they were straitened for room; and thereupon viewed divers places on the seacoast, but were not satisfied with them. Three or four persons had some time before * travelled westward into the country an hundred miles upon discovery, until they struck a great river, which afterwards they found to be Connecticut or the fresh river, where there were many spots of interval land, and land in other respects to be desired for settlement. The Dutch at Manhadoes had some knowledge of this place, and had given intimations of it to the people of New-Plymouth, with whom they had commerce; but Plymouth government kept their intelligence secret.† A letter from Mr. Winslow of New-Plymouth, Sept. 26, 1633, mentions their having been up the river. They forbid the Dutch making any settlements there, and set up a trading house themselves.‡ The governor of Massachusetts also this year, 1635, sent a bark round the cape to the Dutch governor, to acquaint him that the King had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own subjects, and desired him to forbear building any where thereabouts. This river Mr. Hooker and his friends pitched upon, as the most likely place to accommodate them. The latter end of the last year, 1634, they intended to remove, and applied to the court for leave.¶ Of 21 members of the lower house, 15 were for their removal; but of the magistrates, the governor and two assistants only were for it; the deputy governor (Mr. Winthrop) and the rest of the assistants, against it; but still, as the lower house was so much more numerous than the upper, the major part of the whole court was for it. This division was the occasion of first starting the question about the negative voice. The deputies

* In the year 1633. These were John Oldham before mentioned, Samuel Hall and others. *Hubb.*

† The commissioners of the united colonies, in a declaration against the Dutch in 1653, say, that "Mr. Winslow, one of the commissioners for Plymouth, discovered the fresh river when the Dutch had neither trading house nor any pretence to a foot of land there."

‡ Hubbard.

¶ It was the general sense of the inhabitants, that they were all mutually bound to one another by the oath of a freeman as well as the original compact, so as not to be at liberty to separate without the consent of the whole.

deputies or representatives insisted, that the voice of a major part of the assistants was not necessary : the assistants refused to give up their right, and the business was at a stand. The whole court agreed to keep a day of humiliation and prayer, to seek the divine direction in all the congregations in the colony, and to meet again the next week after. At the opening of the court, Mr. Cotton preached from Hag. ii. 4. "Yet now be strong O Zerubabel saith the Lord, and be strong O Joshua the son of Josedech the high priest, and be strong all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work, for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts." His sermon was as pertinent to the occasion as his text, and prevailed upon the deputies to give up the point at that time.* Here was a crisis when the *patricians*, if I may so style them, were in danger of losing great part of their weight in the government. It may seem a matter of less consequence than it would have been if the office of assistant had by charter been hereditary, or even for life ; but the assistants, aided by the elders, who had great influence with the people, were in a good measure secure of their places. It was by the same aid that they now carried the point against the *plebeians*. There was no occasion for prodigies, or other arts of the priests of old Rome. A judicious discourse from a well chosen text was more rational, and had a more lasting effect.

There were some circumstances very discouraging, particularly the neighbourhood of the Dutch on the one side, and some intelligence received of the designs of the Pequod-† Indians on the other, and of their having killed Capt. Stone and his company as he was going up the river ; but they could not be satisfied until they had accomplished their intentions, and obtained the leave of the court,

They met with a new company which arrived this year, who purchased their estates and settled at Newtown in their

* Hubbard.

† I suppose the chief country of the Pequods to be at or near the mouth of the river at Stonington, towards New-London, which is situated at the mouth of what was properly Pequod river. The chief Sachem was called Tatobam, a very stout fellow. Tatobam hated the English, and was ever moving the other Indians to join with him against them. *Wins. ans. to Gorton.*

their stead, with Mr. Shepard for their minister. They did not take their departure until June the next year; and then about an hundred persons in the first company, some of whom had lived in splendour and delicacy in England, set out on foot to travel an hundred and twenty or thirty miles with their wives and children, near a fortnight's journey, having no pillows but Jacob's, and no canopy but the heavens—a wilderness to go through, without the least cultivation—in most places no path, nor any marks to guide them, depending upon the compass to steer by; many hideous swamps and very high mountains, besides five or six rivers, or different parts of the same winding river (the Chickapi) not every where fordable, which they could not avoid. The greatest part of the lands they were going to were evidently without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; nevertheless, they took a commission from the authority of that colony to govern in Connecticut. There are other instances which shew that they supposed they retained some authority over their inhabitants, even when out of the limits of the colony.*

The Plymouth people, notwithstanding the French piracy in 1632, kept possession of their house at Penobscot, and carried on trade with the Indians; but in 1635, Rossillon, commander of a French fort at La Have upon the Nova-Scotia shore, sent a French man of war to Penobscot, which took possession of the trading house and all the goods. The French gave their bills for the goods, and sent away all the men. The commander wrote to the governor of Plymouth, that he had orders to displace all the English as far as Pemaquid, but to those westward he would

* They were reduced to great extremity the first winter, their provisions being detained at the river's mouth by the severity of the weather, the stream being frozen all the way. Some scattered down towards the mouth of the river; others ventured through the woods back to the bay, one or two of whom perished. A few only remained to look after the cattle, many of which were lost. *Hubbard.*

Several authors, and Douglass among the rest, suppose this settlement to have been began by the more rigid brethren, who separated from the rest. I question whether they had any grounds for their supposition. The peculiar tenets of Mr. Vane and Mrs. Hutchinson did not prevail until 1636. Mr. Hooker opposed them. "A copy of Mr. Vane's expressions at Roxbury I desire to see and receive by the next messenger. I have heard my brother Eliot is come about to this opinion; I have writ to him about it. I would fain come to a bandy where I might be a little rude in the business, for I do as verily believe it to be false as I do believe any article of my faith to be true." *Hooker to Shepard.*

would shew all courtesy. The Plymouth government, who supposed they had good right to the place, were not willing to put up the injury quietly, and hired a large ship of some force, the *Hope* of Ipswich in England, — Girling commander, to displace the French. Girling was to have two hundred pounds if he effected it. A bark with 20 men was sent with him as a tender. But the French, having notice of the design, fortified the place; and Girling, having near spent his ammunition, sent the bark to Massachusetts for aid. Two persons came from Plymouth also to treat about it, and the court agreed to assist their neighbours by a subscription among themselves; but provision was so scarce, that there could not sufficient be had suddenly to fit out an expedition of an hundred men only; so the matter was deferred to a further time, and Girling returned, leaving the French in possession, which they continued until 1654.

The situation the colony was in at this time must have given them a threatening prospect. The French on their borders on one side, the Dutch on the other, the Indians in the midst restrained only by want of union among themselves from breaking up all settlements, they being utterly defenceless.

This year Mr. Winthrop, jun. returned from England, whither he had gone the year before, and brought a commission * from the Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brook and others to be their governor of their plantation at Connecticut. A fort was built at the mouth of the river, known by the name of Saybrook fort. He brought also a number of men, with arms, ammunition and stores, and two thousand pounds in money, to bring forward a settlement. This commission interfered with the intended settlements by Massachusetts; notwithstanding that, as a number of the inhabitants of Watertown had possessed themselves of a fine piece of meadow at Weathersfield, below Hartford, where Mr. Hooker and his company settled, the agents for the Lords, being well disposed to promote the
general

* *How can we account for it that they should imagine they had a right to settle colonies and establish what form of government they pleased? Ten years after it might well enough be supposed, but this was several years before the confusions in England began.*

general good, permitted these settlers quietly to enjoy their possessions. The fortrefs below struck terror into the Indians, and quieted the minds of the English. Plymouth was dissatisfied with being thus supplanted by Massachusetts (the Dorchester men, as I suppose, having pitched upon the spot where Plymouth had built a trading house, and, as they alleged, had purchased the lands of the Indians) and demanded an hundred pounds or part of the land. There was great danger of a warm contention between the two colonies; but at length the Dorchester men made such offers of satisfaction, that Plymouth accepted them. The Dutch also sent home to Holland for instructions, intending to maintain their claim to the river or the place where they had possession; but upon a treaty afterwards with the commissioners of the united colonies, they quitted all claim to all parts of the river, resigning it up to the English.*

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason having been at more expence and taken more pains than any other members of the grand council of Plymouth, and perceiving no prospect of any equivalent return, and fearing from the great clamour in the nation against monopolies that they should ere long be forced to resign up their grand charter, they entered this year upon a new project, viz. to procure a general governor for the whole country of New-England to be forthwith sent over; and because the Massachusetts charter stood in their way, they endeavoured a revocation of it, that so the whole from St. Croix to Maryland might be brought under the same form of government. The settlement of the Dutch at Manhadoes, which lay within those limits, both then and at all other times was considered by the English court as an intrusion, as indeed it was.†

In

* Hubbard.

† In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, from some misunderstanding between the East-India company and him, engaged in the Dutch service. On his return from the streights and bay which bear his name, he made the first discovery of Hudson's river, and went up as far as Aurania (Albany) or near to it. The Dutch a few years after built a small house or fort there, for the sake of trade, pretending no title to the country. It has been observed, that the English, who came to New-Plymouth, intended in 1620 to have settled there. Neglected by the English court, the Dutch began a settlement soon after. It has been sometimes urged that the line of the Massachusetts charter, which extends to the South-Sea, or until it meets the settlements of some other christian prince or state, was to be exprest from a particular regard to this Dutch settlement, and that a line to extend

In June letters were received from Lord Say, advising that petitions had been preferred to the King and to the Lords of the council, by the Duke of Lenox, Marquis of Hamilton, and divers other noblemen, together with Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, but conceived to be the project of Sir. F. Gorges only. That to the Lords was as follows, viz.

“ May it please your Lordships,

“ Whereas it pleased your Lordships to give orders to
 “ Sir Ferdinando Gorges to confer with such as were chief-
 “ ly interested in the plantation of New-England, to re-
 “ solve whether they would resign wholly to his Majesty
 “ the patent of New-England, and to leave to his Majesty
 “ and his council the sole management of the public af-
 “ fairs, with reservation of every man’s right formerly grant-
 “ ed ; or whether they would stand to the said patent, and
 “ prosecute the business among themselves, and have the
 “ said patent renewed, with the reformation or addition of
 “ such things as should be found expedient : we whose
 “ names are here underwritten, being interested in that bu-
 “ siness, do humbly submit to his Majesty’s pleasure to do
 “ therewith as he pleaseth. But withal we humbly desire,
 “ that upon our resignation of our said patent, his Majesty
 “ being to dispose of the whole country severally and im-
 “ mediately from himself, those divisions upon the seacoast
 “ that are hereunder designed may be instantly confirmed
 “ and bestowed by new grants from his Majesty unto us,
 “ to be holden of his Majesty, paying the fifth part, &c.
 “ and with the privilege of the said patent, and such fur-
 “ ther royalties as the Lord of Baltimore hath in his patent
 “ for the country of Maryland ; saving only that we should
 “ submit ourselves to the general governor now presently
 “ to be established by his Majesty for the whole country,
 “ and

extend to the Spanish settlements, was too extravagant to have been intended ; but the Dutch were never allowed by the English to have any title to the country, and at the time of granting the charter, there were only a few stragglers there. Cromwell and the Parliament before him considered them as intruders, and blamed the English colonies that they had not extirpated them. The geography of this part of America was less understood than it is at present. A line to the Spanish settlements was imagined to be much shorter than it really was. Some of Champlain’s people, in the beginning of the last century, who had been but a few days on a march from Quebec, returned with great joy, supposing, the from the top of a high mountain, they had discovered the South Sea.

“and after his decease, or other determination of his office,
 “that then from the Lords of his province there may be an
 “election of three by lot, which said three persons so elect-
 “ed shall be presented to the King, that out of the num-
 “ber one may be chosen by his Majesty to succeed in the
 “place of the general governor, who shall in person or by
 “his sufficient deputy reside in the country during the
 “space of three years only, and so from three years to three
 “years another governor to be chosen successively, and the
 “old governor to be left out of the lot of choice.”

The proposed divisions of the twelve provinces were as follows: the first was from St. Croix to Pemaquid; the second from Pemaquid to Sagadahoc; the third contained the land between the rivers Amarascoggin and Kennebeck; the fourth along the seacoast from Sagadahoc to Piscataqua; the fifth from Piscataqua to Naumkeag; the sixth from Naumkeag round the seacoast by Cape-Cod to Narraganset; the seventh from Narraganset to the half-way bound betwixt that and Connecticut river, and so fifty miles up into the country; the eighth from the half-way bound to Connecticut river, and so fifty miles into the country; the ninth from Connecticut river along the seacoast to Hudson's river, and so up thirty miles; the tenth from the thirty miles end to cross up forty miles eastward; the eleventh from the west side of Hudson's river thirty miles up the country towards the 40th degree, where New-England beginneth; the twelfth from the end of the thirty miles up the said river, northward thirty miles further, and from thence to cross into the land forty miles. And out of every one of these provinces was 5000 acres to be granted to certain persons there named, in lieu of some former grants made to each of them in those divisions which they were now to surrender, and to hold to each man his 5000 acres in fee of the Lord of the province. And the Lord of every one of those twelve provinces was to send the same year ten men with the general governor, well provided.

To all which was added,

“It is humbly desired that your Lordships would be pleased to order these things following:

“1. That the patent for the plantation of Massachusetts-Bay

Bay may be revoked ; and that all those who have any other grants within any of these provinces, whether they have planted or not upon any part of the same, yet they shall enjoy their lands, laying down their jura regalia, if they had any, and paying some reasonable acknowledgment as freeholders to the Lord of the province, of whom they are now to take new grants of their said lands ; and in case any of their lands shall be found having exorbitant bounds to have been unlawfully obtained, they shall be reduced to a lesser proportion, as may be fit for the grantor, who is undertaker under the direction of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. And if the grantee shall be any ways refractory, and refuse to surrender and hold any of the said Lord of the province, that then your Lordships will take order, by such course as law will permit, to make void the same.

“ 2. That every river which parts two provinces shall equally belong half way over to the provinces they lie contiguous unto.

“ 3. That the islands upon the seacoast or within the river of any province, being not here named, shall belong to the province they lye nearest unto.

“ 4. That there is offered to your Lordships consideration the building of a city for the seat of the governor, unto which city forty thousand acres of land may be allotted, besides the divisions above mentioned. And that every one who is to have any of these provinces shall be at the charge of sending over with the governor ten men towards the building the said city, wherein every such adventurer shall not only have his share of the trade and buildings, but also shall have all other fruit of the ten men's labour sent as aforesaid.

“ Moreover there is humbly dedicated to the foundation of a church in the said city, and maintenance of clergymen to serve in the said church, 10,000 acres of land near adjoining to the said city.”

The petition to the King was of this form.

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ It is humbly desired by the Duke of Lenox, &c. ancient patentees and adventurers in the plantation of New-England, that forasmuch as they are now presently to join
“ in

“ in the surrender to your Majesty of the grand patent of
 “ their corporation, that your royal Majesty will be gra-
 “ ciously inclined to give order to your attorney general to
 “ draw several patents of such parcels of land as by their
 “ mutual consent have been allotted to them, and to have
 “ the same patents prepared fit for your royal signature, with
 “ such titles, privileges and immunities as have been here-
 “ tofore granted either to them or to any other by your
 “ Majesty or by your late royal father King James of
 “ blessed memory, with reservations of appeal to the gov-
 “ ernor or lieutenant of the territories in cases reasonable ;
 “ that they, knowing their own interest, may be the better
 “ able to plant and govern them to your Majesty’s honour,
 “ their particular profit, and their people’s civil government
 “ and faithful obedience to the laws of your sacred Ma-
 “ jesty.”*

April 6, 1635.

A copy of some grant or agreement concerning one of the provinces to Capt. Mason was sent over, signed Lenox, Hamilton, Arundel and Surry, Carlisle, Stirling, Edward Gorges, Ferd. Gorges. Attested by Thomas Maydwell, Not. Pub. It has been said that the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Stirling both obtained the like instruments; and it is possible all the others might also. It is not material at this day whether they did or not. It is certain that above an hundred years are past, and no possession taken, or improvements made by them or their assigns in consequence thereof ; and all the territory is either included in other grants, some made before this surrender by the council itself, and some made since by the crown ; or has been purchased of the natives ; which, if done *bonâ fide*, so far as respects the property, has been thought by some to be the best title.†

In the year 1636, Mr. Vane was chosen governor, Mr. Winthrop

* Gorges—Hubbard.

† Mention is made by Hubbard of a storm, Aug. 15, 1635, which, by his description, was more violent than any that has ever happened since. Many houses were blown down, and many more uncovered ; the Indian corn every where beat down to the ground, so as not to rise again : the tide rose twenty feet perpendicular. At Narraganset, the Indians were obliged to betake themselves to the trees ; and yet many of them were drowned, the tide of flood returning before the usual time for it.

Winthrop deputy governor ; and Mr. Harlakenden, who came in the same ship with Mr. Vane, was added to the assistants. The people of the colony very early discovered that they were not without disposition to novelty and change. It was not merely out of policy to encourage others that they took early notice of such as came over from year to year. Besides this motive, they were easily captivated with the appearance only of wisdom and piety, professions of a regard to liberty and of a strong attachment to the public interest. Mr. Haynes, who seemed to stand most in the way of Mr. Winthrop, had left the colony, and was settled at Connecticut ; and Mr. Winthrop would have had a good prospect of recovering his former share of the people's favour, if Mr. Vane's grave, solemn deportment, although he was not then above 24 or 25 years of age, had not engaged almost the whole colony in his favour. There was a great friendship between Mr. Cotton and him, which seems to have continued to the last.* He had great respect shewn him at first. He took more state upon him than any governor had ever done before. When he went either to the court or to church, four serjeants walked before him with their halberds. His administration for several months met with great applause. Towards the end of the year the people grew discontented. He perceived it, and grew weary of the government. Receiving letters from London in December urging his return home, he first communicated them to the council, and then called the general court together to ask their consent to his quitting the administration. He declared to them the necessity of his departure ; and such of the council as had seen the letters affirmed that the reasons were very urgent, but not fit to be imparted to the whole court. The court took time until the morning to consider ; when one of the assistants, lamenting the loss of such a governor in a time of such danger both from French and Indians, the governor burst into tears, and professed, that howsoever the causes propounded for his departure did concern the utter ruin of his outward estate, yet he would rather have haz-
arded

* A small house which he lived in at the side of the hill above Queen-Street, he gave to Mr. Cotton, who made an addition to it after Mr. Vane went away, and lived and died there.

arded all than have gone from them at such a time, if something else had not pressed him more, viz. the inevitable danger of God's judgments which he feared were coming upon them for the differences and dissensions which he saw amongst them, and the scandalous imputation brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all, and therefore he thought it was best for him to give place for a time. The court did not think fit to consent to his going for such reasons. He found he had gone too far, and recalled himself, professing that the reasons which concerned his own estate were sufficient to satisfy him, and therefore desired he might have leave ; the other passage slipped from him out of passion, not judgment. Whereupon the court agreed that it was necessary to give way to his departure, and ordered another meeting of the general court to make choice of a governor and deputy governor ;* and as it was in the midst of winter (15 December) the freemen had liberty to send their votes in writing, if they did not come in person. Some of the church of Boston, loth to part with the governor, met together, and agreed that it was not necessary for the reasons alleged that the governor should depart, and sent some of their number to signify as much to the court. The governor pretended to be overpowered, and expressed himself to be such an obedient son of the church, that notwithstanding the license of the court, yet without the consent of the church he durst not go away. A great part of the people who were informed of this transaction declared their purpose still to continue him ; and it was thought advisable, when the day appointed for election came, to adjourn the court to May, the time of the annual choice.† Mr. Vane has been charged with as dark dissimulation a few years after, in affairs of vastly greater importance, particularly in the manner of giving his testimony in the case the Earl of Strafford.

There came over with Mr. Cotton, or about the same time, Mr. Hutchinson and his family, who had lived at Alford, in the neighbourhood of Boston. Mr. Hutchinson had a good estate, and was of good reputation. His wife,

* In case the deputy should be chose governor, as was expected.

† Mass. records—Hubbard.

wife, as Mr. Cotton says, "was well beloved, and all the faithful embraced her conference, and blessed God for her fruitful discourses.* After she came to New-England, she was treated with respect, and much notice was taken of her by Mr. Cotton, and other principal persons, and particularly by Mr. Vane the governor. Her husband served in the general court several elections as a representative for Boston, until he was excused at the desire of the church.† So much respect seems to have increased her natural vanity. Countenanced and encouraged by Mr. Vane and Mr. Cotton, she advanced doctrines and opinions which involved the colony in disputes and contentions; and, being improved to civil as well as religious purposes, had like to have produced ruin both to church and state. The vigilance of some, of whom Mr. Winthrop was the chief, prevented and turned the ruin from the country, upon herself and many of her family and particular friends. Mr. Wheelwright, a zealous minister, of character for learning and piety, was her brother in law, and firmly attached to her, and finally suffered with her. Besides the meetings for public worship on the Lord's day, the stated lecture every Thursday in Boston, and other occasional lectures in other towns, there were frequent private meetings of the brethren of the churches for religious exercises. Mrs. Hutchinson thought fit to set up a meeting of the sisters also, where she repeated the sermons preached the Lord's day before, adding her remarks and expositions. Her lectures made much noise, and sixty or eighty principal women attended them. At first they were generally approved of. After some time, it appeared she had distinguished the ministers and members of churches through the country, a small part of them under a covenant of grace, the rest under a covenant of works. The whole colony was soon divided into two parties, and however distant one party was from the other in principle, they were still more so in affection. The two capital errors with which she was charged, were these: That the Holy Ghost dwells personally

* Answer to Bailey.

† Mr. William Hutchinson was discharged from assisting at the particular courts, at the request of the church. *Mass. Rec. Dec. 1639.*

ally in a justified person; and, that nothing of sanctification can help to evidence to believers their justification. From these two a great number of others were said to flow, which were enumerated and condemned at a synod held the next year. The ministers of the several parts of the country, alarmed with these things, came to Boston, whilst the general court was sitting, and some time before the governor, Mr. Vane, asked his dismissal. They conferred with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright upon those two points. The last they both disclaimed, so far as to acknowledge that sanctification did help to evidence justification: the other they qualified at least by other words; they held the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost, but not strictly a personal union, or, as they express it, not a communicating of personal proprieties. The governor not only held with Mr. Cotton, but went further, or was more express, and maintained a personal union. Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor, denied both; and Mr. Wilson, the other minister of Boston, and many of the ministers in the country, joined with him. A conference or disputation was determined on, which they agreed should be managed in writing, as most likely to tend to the peace of the church. When they could not find that the scriptures, nor the primitive church for the first three hundred years, ever used the term Person of the Holy Ghost, they generally thought it was best it should be forborn, as being of human invention. Upon the other question, Mr. Cotton, in a sermon, the day the court met, had acknowledged that evident sanctification is a ground of justification; and went on to say, that in cases of spiritual desertion, true desire of sanctification was found to be sanctification as divines usually held; and further, if a man was laid so flat upon the ground, as that he could see no desires, but only as a bruised reed did wait at the foot of Christ, yet here was matter of comfort, for this was found to be true sanctification in the root and principle of it. Mr. Vane and he both denied that any of these, or any degree of sanctification, could be evident without a concurrent sight of justification.* The town and country were dis-

tracted

* Hubbard.

tracted with these subtleties, and every man and woman who had brains enough to form some imperfect conceptions of them, inferred and maintained some other point, such as these : a man is justified before he believes ; faith is no cause of justification ; and if faith be before justification, it is only a passive faith, an empty vessel, &c. and assurance is by immediate revelation only. The fear of God and love of our neighbour seemed to be laid by, and out of the question. All the church of Boston, except four or five, joined with Mr. Cotton. Mr. Wilson, the other minister, and most of the ministers in the country, opposed him.

To increase the flame, Mr. Wheelwright preached a sermon (Jan. 19) in which, besides carrying antinomianism to the height, he made use of some expressions, which were laid hold of by the court as tending to sedition, for which he was sent for and examined, whilst Mr. Vane was in office ; but a full inquiry and determination was suspended, until a more convenient time.

Whilst these contentions were thus increasing within, the Pequods, the most warlike of all the Indians, were plotting destruction from without. After Stone and his company were murdered, they sent messengers to Boston to make peace, pretending that the murder was committed by a few bad fellows, who had fled to the Dutch. Their ambassadors were courteously treated, and the terms of peace were agreed on. In confidence of their fidelity, John Oldham, of whom mention has been made before, went in a small bark to trade with the Indians at Block-Island. They murdered him, but spared two boys, and two Narraganset Indians, who were of his company. The murderers were discovered by the crew of a small vessel, one Gallop master, from Connecticut, which happened to come upon them soon after the fact. Gallop had with him only one man and two boys, and no arms, except two muskets and two pistols. Although the deck was full of Indians, who had guns, swords, &c. yet as they were then not much used to them, they made but little resistance ; and when he boarded the vessel, they jumped into the sea, and many of them were drowned.

drowned. He found Oldham's body not cold, his brains beat out, and his limbs hacked off. Block-Island was under the Narraganset Indians, but they denied their having any concern in the murder. The murderers were sheltered and protected by the Pequods, who at the same time surprised divers English in Connecticut river. These proceedings caused Massachusetts to send fourscore men by water, under Capt. Endicot, who had instructions to offer peace to the Indians, upon their delivering up the murderers; if they refused to do it, then to attack them. A great number of them entered into some sort of parley, by a messenger and interpreter, keeping at a great distance themselves: but as soon as they knew the terms, they fled into the woods. Winter was approaching, and Mr. Endicot thought it advisable to return home, in order to prepare for a more general attack the next summer. There were some severe reflections cast upon him, for not pursuing the enemy at that time. The Pequods in the winter attempted an union with the Narragansets. There had been a fixed, inveterate enmity between the two tribes; but on this occasion the Pequods were willing to smother it, their enmity against the English being the strongest of the two; and although they had never heard the story of Polyphemé and Ulysses, yet they artfully urged that the English were come to dispossess them of their country, and that all the Narragansets could hope for from their friendship was the favour of being the last devoured: whereas, if the Indians would unite, they might easily destroy the English, or force them to leave the country, without being exposed themselves to any hazard. They need not come to open battles: firing their houses, killing their cattle, and lying in wait for them as they went about their ordinary business, would soon deprive them of all means of subsisting. But the Narragansets * preferred the present pleasure of revenge upon their mortal enemies to the future happiness of themselves and their posterity.† They are said to have wavered at first, but at length Myantinomo their chief sachem

* The Narraganset sachem, and Uncas, sachem of the Moheges, sent to the English, and offered their service to join with them against the Pequods. Winslow's ans. to Gorton.

† MS. Journal.

them with twenty attendants went to Boston, where all the magistrates and ministers were called together to receive them, and a guard of twenty musketeers sent to Roxbury to attend them. They proposed to join in war against the Pequods, and that neither English nor Indians should make peace with them, but utterly destroy them. The governor for form sake took time until the next morning to give an answer, and then the following articles were agreed to.

1. A firm and perpetual peace betwixt them and the English.

2. Neither party to make peace with the Pequods without the consent of the other.

3. That the Narragansets should not harbour any Pequods.

4. That they should put to death or deliver up any murderers of the English.

5. That they should return fugitive servants.

6. The English to give them notice when to go out against the Pequods, and the Narragansets to furnish guides.

7. Free trade to be carried on between the parties.

8. None of the Narragansets to come near the English plantation during the war with the Pequods, without some Englishman or Indian known to the English.

Cushamaquin, a sachem of the Massachusetts Indians, also became a party to the treaty.

Indian fidelity is proverbial in New-England, as Punic was in Rome. The Narragansets are said to have kept to the treaty until the Pequods were destroyed, and then they grew insolent and treacherous.

Towards the end of the year, religious heats became more violent, and the civil affairs more sensibly affected by them. The people of Boston in general were in favour of Mr. Vane the governor, the rest of the towns in general for Mr. Winthrop the deputy governor. At a sessions of the court in March, it was moved that the court of elections for 1637 should not be held in Boston, but in Newtown (Cambridge.) Nothing could be more mortifying to the governor; and as he could not hinder the vote by a negative, he refused to put the question. Mr. Winthrop the
deputy

deputy governor, as he lived in Boston, excused himself, and the court required Mr. Endicot, one of the assistants, to do it. It was carried for the removal.

The more immediate occasion of the court's resentment against Boston, was a petition signed by a great number of the principal inhabitants of that town, together with some belonging to other towns, judging and condemning the court for their proceedings against Mr. Wheelwright. At this session, Mr. Vane the governor could not prevent a censure upon one Stephen Greensmith, for saying that all the ministers, except Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wheelwright, and he thought Mr. Hooker, preached a covenant of works. He was required to make an acknowledgment to the satisfaction of the magistrates and ministers, was fined forty pounds, &c.*

At the opening of the court of election for 1637, which was not done until one o'clock (May 17th) a petition was again offered from many of the town of Boston, which the governor, Mr. Vane, would have had read; but Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor, opposed it as being out of order; this being the day by charter for elections, and the inhabitants all convened for that purpose, if other business was allowed to take up the time, the elections would be prevented; after the elections were over, the petition might be read. The governor and those of his party would not proceed, unless the petition was read. The time being far spent, and many persons calling for election,† the deputy governor called to the people to divide, and the greater number should carry it; which was done, and the majority was for proceeding. Still the governor refused until the deputy governor told him they would go on without him. This caused him to submit. Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor, Mr. Dudley deputy governor, Mr. Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, and Mr. Stoughton,
new

* Mass. Records.

† Mr. Wilton, the minister, in his zeal, gat upon the bough of a tree (it was hot weather, and the election like that of parliament men for the counties in England was carried on in the field) and there made a speech, advising the people to look to their charter, and to consider the present work of the day, which was designed for the choosing the governor, deputy governor, and the rest of the assistants for the government of the commonwealth. His speech was well received by the people, who presently called out election, election, which turned the scale.—*MS. Life of J. Wilton.*

new assistants; and Mr. Vane and his friends of the same persuasion, Dummer, Haugh and Coddington, left out of the magistracy. There was great danger of a violent tumult that day. The speeches on both sides were fierce, and they began to lay hands on one another, but the manifest majority on one side was a restraint to the other.* Boston waited the event of this election of magistrates before they would choose their representatives for the other business of the general court, and the next morning they chose Mr. Vane the late governor, Mr. Coddington and Mr. Haugh. This election of Boston was immediately determined by the court to be undue. The reason is not assigned in the record, but it is said † this reason was given, that all the freemen were not notified. A warrant issued for a new choice, and Boston returned the same men again, and then they were not rejected. The serjeants, who used to attend Mr. Vane, laid down their halberds and went home as soon as the new governor was elected, ‡ and they refused to attend him to and from the meetings on the Lord's days as had been usual. They pretended this extraordinary respect was shewn to Mr. Vane as a person of quality. The court would have appointed others, but Mr. Winthrop took two of his own servants to attend him. Mr. Vane professed himself ready to serve the cause of God in the meanest capacity. He was notwithstanding much mortified, and discovered his resentment. Although he had sat at church among the magistrates from his first arrival, yet he and those who had been left out with him placed themselves with the deacons, and when he was invited by the governor to return to his place, he refused it.

An extraordinary act made by the general court this session very much heightened the discontent. Many persons of the favourite opinions in Boston, were expected from England; a penalty therefore was laid on all persons who should entertain in their houses any stranger who came with intent to reside, or should allow the use of any lot or habitation above three weeks, without liberty from one of the
standing

* Hubbard—Mass. Records.

† Hubbard.

‡ The military companies elected their officers, otherwise the court would undoubtedly have appointed other serjeants.

standing council, or two other assistants. The penalty on private persons was forty pounds, and twenty pounds besides for every month they continued in the offence. And any town which gave or sold a lot to such stranger was subject to 100l. penalty; but if any inhabitant of such town should enter his dissent with a magistrate, he was to be excused his part of the fine.* This was a very severe order, and was so disliked by the people of Boston that upon the governor's return from court they all refused to go out to meet him or shew him any respect.† Mr. Winthrop, however firm and resolute in the execution of his office and steady to his principles, yet in private life behaved with much moderation. He was obliging and condescending to all, and by this means in a short time recovered their affections and was in greater esteem than ever. Indeed while Boston thus slighted him, the other towns increased their respect; and in travelling the same summer to Ipswich, he was guarded from town to town with more ceremony than he desired.‡

Mr. Vane, in company with Lord Leigh, son of the Earl of Marlborough, who came to see the country, sailed for England the beginning of August, where he had a much larger field opened. The nation at that time was disposed to receive very favourably men of his genius and cast of mind. The share he had in the revolution there, and his unhappy fate upon the restoration of King Charles the second, are too well known to need any notice here. He came into New-England under peculiar advantages. His father was one of the privy council. He himself had the friendship of the Lord Say and Seal, who was in the highest esteem in the colony. He made great professions of religion, and conformed to the peculiar scruples of that day. I have seen a long letter wrote to him while he was on ship-board by one of the passengers in the same ship, applauding him for honouring God so far as to shorten his hair

* Mass. Records.

† Mr. Cotton was so dissatisfied with this law, that he says he intended to have removed out of the jurisdiction to Quinnypiack, since called New-Haven; but finding the law was not improved to exclude such persons as he feared it would be, he altered his mind. *Ans. to Bailey.*

‡ Hubbard.

hair upon his arrival in England from France, and urging a complete reformation by bringing it to the primitive length and form. It was with much difficulty he could obtain his father's consent to come over, but his inclination was so strong that at length he had leave of absence for three years. It is said that the King being acquainted with Mr. Vane's disposition, commanded the father, who had no great affection for the religion of New-England, to gratify him.* However this may have been, it was believed in New-England to be true, and with the other circumstances mentioned strongly recommended him. Part of his business was the settlement of Connecticut, in conjunction with Mr. Winthrop the governor's son, as agents for Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brooke, &c.† The most valuable places for townships had been taken up before, by people from Massachusetts, as we have already observed; and the agents, not being willing to disturb them, contented themselves at present with the possession of the mouth of the river, and Mr. Vane was stopped by the general desire of the colony in order to his being elected governor. The administration of a young and unexperienced but obstinate and self-sufficient governor, could not but be disliked by the major part of the people, and at the next election they not only would not so much as choose him an assistant, but made an order that no man for the time to come should be qualified for the place of governor until he had been at least one whole year in the country.‡ A letter wrote from New-England shews the sense they had of him after they had made trial. "Mr. Vane coming from England a
 " young gentleman, was presently elected governor, and
 " before

* Hubbard.

† The Earl of Warwick obtained a grant of the seacoast from Narraganset river to the south-west 40 leagues to keep the breadth to the south sea. This he assigned in 1631 to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humphry, and Herbert Pelham, Esq. These with their associates are the noblemen and gentlemen often mentioned in private letters to be expected over every year, and Mr. Fenwick kept possession, and would not suffer settlements until affairs in England had taken such a turn that persons of their character had no occasion for an asylum.

‡ I do not find this order in the records. It is mentioned by Mr. Hubbard, who was then on the spot.

“ before he was half warm in his seat, to shew his spirit,
“ began to broach new tenets drawn from the lees of one
“ Mr. Wheelwright, agitated with such violence as if they
“ had been matters of that consequence, that the peace
“ and welfare of New-England must be sacrificed rather
“ than they should not take place. Divisions are always
“ dangerous, never safe, never more dangerous than in a
“ new settled government. Yet this man, altogether ig-
“ norant of the art of government, thinks it not enough to
“ set the house on fire, but must add oil to the flame, and
“ so far had the bandying of these things proceeded, that
“ it was of God’s great mercy it ended not in our destruc-
“ tion. It is fit that something should be said of the man
“ that put us into this danger. Truly by his aspect you
“ would judge him a good man. Yet I am persuaded he
“ hath kindled those sparks among us which many ages
“ will not be able to extinguish. But the wisdom of the
“ state put a period to his government before he had run
“ out his circuit. They were necessitated to undo the
“ work of their own hands, and leave a blemish upon
“ that rash undertaking for posterity to descant upon, and
“ a caveat to us, that all men are not fit for government,
“ and none so dangerous when he is up as one that makes
“ his affection his rule. But this disgrace took so deep an
“ impression, that partly from a sense of it, and partly
“ from a consciousness how ill he had deserved of us through
“ his heat of indiscretion, he exchanged New-England for
“ Old.” Lord Say and Seal speaking of him after his
arrival in England, in a letter to Mr. Cotton, says, “ For
“ the young man Mr. Vane whom your love followeth,
“ and its well it doth so, for he may be recovered, I have not
“ been wanting to do my endeavour to shew him the dan-
“ ger of his way and what hath been the sad issue thereof
“ in others, from whence I think it cometh, and whither
“ Satan’s aim is to drive it, as might have appeared to you
“ by my letters written to him unto New-England when I
“ first did perceive his delusions, if he had shewn my let-
“ ters to you. I shall be glad to do my best to that end still,
“ but I have not that frequent converse with his family
“ now

" now as heretofore, whereof there are the most in Holland,
 " and the rest will shortly be there also."*

The

* After all that has been said to the disadvantage of Mr. Vane's character, it ought to be remembered, to his honour, that notwithstanding the slights put upon him by the colony, he shewed a truly christian spirit of forgiveness; for when in the year 1644 an attachment was made of the effects of alderman Berkeley of London, in the Massachusetts colony, at the suit of the lady La Tour, and judgment given for 2000l. sterling, and no appeal admitted, a heavy complaint was made against the government, and they were threatened with the loss of their privileges, Sir H. Vane stood their friend, and by his great interest with the parliament appeased their resentment, and laid the storm which was gathering and hung over them. *MS letter.*

The author of the life and death of Sir Henry Vane, printed in 1662, says— " That it was suggested by the bishops to the then King concerning him, that the heir of a considerable family about his Majesty was grown into dislike of the discipline and ceremonies of the church of England, and that his Majesty might do well to take some course about him. On this the then bishop of London took him to task, who seemed to handle him gently in the conference, but concluded harshly enough against him in the close. In fine, seeing himself on all hands in an evil case, he resolved for New-England. In order to this, striking in with some non-conformists which intended that way, his honourable birth, long hair, and other circumstances of his person, rendered his fellow travellers jealous of him as a spy to betray their liberty, rather than any way like to advantage their design. But he that they thought at first sight to have too little of Christ for their company, did soon after appear to have too much for them. For he had not been long in New-England but he ripened into more knowledge and experience of Christ than the churches there could bear the testimony of. Even New-England could not bear all his words, though there was no King's court or King's chapel. Then he returns for Old-England."

The following letter was wrote by a person of quality to a near relation of Sir Henry Vane, about a week after his execution :

" Madam,

" If I do later than others give you an account of the share I have in the loss of your generous kinsman, it is because I would not rudely disturb the motions of so just a sorrow: but I hope that you are assured I have so real a concern in all that relates to you, that it was not necessary by an early haste to send you an information of it. I have, Madam, whilst I own a love to my country, a deep interest in the public loss which so many worthy persons lament. The world is robbed of an unparalleled example of virtue and piety. His great abilities made his enemies persuade themselves that all the revolutions in the last age were wrought by his influence, as if the world was moved only by his engine. In him they lodged all the dying hopes of the party. There was no opportunity that he did not improve for the advantage of his country. And when he was in his last and much deplored state, he strove to make the people in love with that freedom they had so foolishly and lavishly thrown away.—He was great in all his actions, but to me he seemed greatest in his sufferings, when his enemies seemed to fear that he alone should be able to acquaint them with a change of fortune. In his lowest condition, you have seen him the terror of a great prince strengthened by many potent confederates and armies. You have seen him live in high estimation and honour, and certainly he died with it. Men arrive at honours by several ways. The martyrs, though they wanted the glittering crowns the princes of those ages dispensed, have rich ones in every just man's esteem.—Virtue, though unfortunate, shines in spite of all its enemies, nor is it in any power to deface those lasting monuments your friend hath raised of his in every heart that either knew him or held any intelligence with his fame. But Madam I trespass too long upon your patience. This is a subject I am apt to dwell on, because I can never say enough of it. I shall now only desire you to make use of that fortitude and virtue that raised your friend above the power and malice of his enemies, and do not by an immoderate sorrow destroy that which was so dear

The party in New-England lost their head. Mrs. Hutchinson notwithstanding continued her lectures. The court for the present took no notice of her conduct, nor of any erroneous opinions, but waited the determination of the churches in a general council: accordingly, a synod was appointed to be held at Newtown the 30th of August, where were present not only the ministers and messengers of churches, but the magistrates also, who, Mr. Weld says (I suppose he was a member) were not only hearers, but speakers also, as they thought fit. Mr. Cotton, although at the head of the ministers, was too much a party to be proper for a moderator, and Mr. Hooker and Mr. Bulkley were chosen. Three weeks were spent in disputing pro and con, and at length above fourscore points or opinions said to have been maintained by some or other in the country were condemned as erroneous, and the result was signed by all the members but Mr. Cotton. He had expressed his dislike of most of them, but declined condemning them, all maintaining that union to Christ preceded faith in him; but at the same time, declared that the other new opinions were heretical, absurd, and some of them blasphemous, and promised to bear testimony against them.* This general agreement struck a damp upon the opinionists, and gave further life and vigour to the other party. Mr. Hooker at first disapproved of determining the points in controversy by a synod. He writes to Mr. Shepard of Newtown, April 8, 1636 (it should be 37) "For your general synod, I cannot yet see either how reasonable or how salutable it will be for your turn, for the settling and establishing the truth in that honourable way as were to be desired. My ground is this. They will be chief agents in the synod who are chief parties in the cause; and for them only who are prejudiced in the controversy to pass sentence against cause or person, how improper! how unprofitable! My present thoughts run thus: That such conclusions which are most extra,
" most

to him, yourself, but live the lively representation of his virtue, the exercise of which hath made you always the admiration of

Your humble servant, &c.

The 21st June, 1662."

Life of Sir H. Vane.

* Hubbard—Johnson.

“ most erroneous, and cross to the common current, send
“ them over to the godly learned to judge in our own
“ country, and return their apprehensions. I suppose the
“ issue will be more uncontrollable. If any should sug-
“ gest this was the way to make the clamour too great and
“ loud, and to bring a prejudice upon the plantations, I
“ should soon answer, there is nothing done in corners here,
“ but it is openly there related, and in such notorious cas-
“ es which cannot be kept secret, the most plain and na-
“ ked relation ever causeth the truth most to appear,
“ and prevents all groundless and needless jealousies, where-
“ by men are apt to make things more and worse than they
“ are.”

Although two of the elders were the moderators or pro-
locutors of the assembly, yet Mr. Winthrop seems to have
had a controuling power. An anonymous writer of
a manuscript sent from New-England the same year
gives this account of it. “ The synod being met, much
“ time is spent in ventilation, and emptying of private pas-
“ sions; at length divers truths are concluded upon, as the
“ nature of grace and faith, the necessity of repentance
“ and good works, the perfection of the scriptures, and like
“ truths of common allay were assented unto by common
“ suffrage: but when they came to the nature of the cov-
“ enant, the qualifications preceding it, the use of it, the
“ seal of the spirit, the Helenæ for which they strive, there
“ they were as different as ever, resolved in nothing but
“ this, that no one would be resolved by another; but
“ therein was the wisdom and excellent spirit of the gov-
“ ernor seen, silencing passionate and impertinent speech-
“ es, as another Constantine, desiring the divine oracles
“ might be heard, speak and express their own meaning,
“ adjourning the assembly when he saw heat and passion,
“ so that through the blessing of God the assembly is dis-
“ solved, and jarring and dissonant opinions if not reconcil-
“ ed, yet are covered, and they who came together with
“ minds exasperated, by this means depart in peace, and
“ promise by a mutual covenant, that no difference in o-
“ pinion shall alienate their affections any more, but that
“ they will refer doubts to be resolved by the great God,
“ at

“ at that great day, when we shall appear at his tribunal.” The synod being thus over, the minds of the people were prepared for a further proceeding against the opinionists.* The court at their sessions the 2d of November, took notice of the petition presented and called seditious in March preceding. They expelled two of their own members, Aspinwall and Coggeshall, one for signing, and the other for justifying it, and sent a warrant to the town of Boston to return two other deputies in their room. The town agreed to send them back, but Mr. Cotton hearing of it, went to the meeting, and prevented it, and they chose two others, one of which had signed the petition, and was therefore dismissed.† The court then sent for Mr. Wheelwright, and requiring of him an acknowledgment of his offence, he refused it, and justified his conduct; but the court resolved that it tended to disturb the civil peace, disfranchised and banished him, allowing 14 days to settle his affairs, &c.‡

Mrs. Hutchinson was next called to her trial, before the whole court and many of the elders. An ancient manuscript of the trial at large having been preserved, discovers nothing in her conduct but what might naturally be expected from a high degree of enthusiasm.|| Her notions of revelations do not seem to have been altogether discountenanced by Mr. Cotton himself. Her sentence upon record stands thus: “ Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of Mr. William Hutchinson, being convented for traducing the ministers and their ministry in the country, she declared voluntarily her revelations, and that she should be delivered, and the court ruined with their posterity, and thereupon was banished, and in the mean while was committed to Mr. Joseph Weld (of Roxbury) until the court shall dispose of her.” Having received her sentence from the court, she had a further trial to go through in the church. She was first admonished. Mr. Cotton

* This spiritual court did not pronounce particular persons to be heretics, but it determined what was heresy, and made the way plain for the secular power to proceed.

† Hubbard.

‡ Mass. Records.

|| See Appendix to Vol. ii. No. 2.

Cotton says that Mr. Davenport and he imagined they had convinced her of her errors, and she presented what was called a recantation under her hand, but at the same time professed that she never was of any other judgment than what she now held forth. The recantation is not preserved. She had, no doubt, some fine-spun distinctions, too commonly made use of in theological controversies, to serve as a subterfuge if there be occasion,* and perhaps, as many other enthusiasts have done, she considered herself divinely commissioned for some great purpose, to obtain which she might think those windings, subtleties and insinuations lawful which will hardly consist with the rules of morality. No wonder she was immoderately vain when she found magistrates and ministers embracing the novelties advanced by her. The whole church of Bolton, a few members excepted, were her converts. At length she forsook the public assemblies, and set up what she called a purer worship in her own family. It is not improbable she was encouraged herein by Mr. Vane, who some years after fell into the same practice in England. Mr. Hooker, who had been charged by her with want of soundness in the faith, in return expresses himself with some acrimony concerning her. "The expression of providence against this wretched woman hath proceeded from the Lord's miraculous mercy, and his bare arm hath been discovered therein from first to last, that all the churches may hear and fear. I do believe such a heap of hideous errors at once to be vented by such a self-deluding and deluded creature, no history can record; and yet, after recantation of all, to be cast out as unfavoury salt, that she may not continue a pest to the place, that will be forever marvellous in the eyes of all the saints. It will not get out of my mind and heart, but there is a mystery in the closure and upshot of this business; but he that carries the wisdom of the crafty headlong, is able to lay open that also in his season. At the first reading of your relation, I could not but suspect

* Mr. Cotton in a letter to Mr. Stone at Hartford says, "Mrs. Hutchinson, of whom you speak, though she publicly revoked the errors, yet affirming her judgment was never otherwise, though her expressions were contrary, she was excommunicated by the whole church, nem. con. Some other of the members that joined with her were gone away before," &c.

“pect so much ; may be it is but my melancholic suspi-
 “cion, but these three things presented themselves in open
 “view to my mind : 1. That it was never intended she
 “should be excommunicated. 2. That her recantation
 “was still with so much reservation as sinks the mind of
 “such who would have made way for her escape, viz. That
 “our election is first evidenced. 3. That this conceit is
 “a nest egg to breed and bring in many other false imag-
 “inations, if it be stretched to its breadth. Add also
 “hereunto, that there is no odds from herself, but only in
 “some expressions and misprisions that way as she would
 “have men think, and then you have the whole cause
 “where it was conceived in a narrower compass, and un-
 “der a double vizard, that the appearance of it may suit
 “every purpose, as the occasion fits.”

Mr. Hutchinson her husband sold his estate, and removed with his wife and family first to Aquidneck* (Rhode Island) being one of the purchasers of that island from the Indians, where, by the influence of his wife,† the people laid aside Mr. Coddington and three other magistrates, and chose him for their sole ruler ; but he dying about the year 1642, and she being dissatisfied with the people or place, she removed to the Dutch country beyond New-Haven, and the next year she and all of her family which were with her, being 16 persons, were killed by the Indians, except one daughter, whom they carried into captivity.‡

The

* Canonius, chief sachem of Narraganset and Niantick, sold the island to William Coddington and his associates, March 29, 1637. MS.

† Hubbard.

‡ For the falshood of her declaration she was excommunicated. Some writers mention the manner of her death as being a remarkable judgment of God for her heresies. Her partisans charged the guilt of the murder upon the colony. Mr. Weld says she was delivered of as many unformed foetus's at a birth as the maintained errors, and that another actress was delivered of a monster, and that all the women were seized with a violent vomiting and purging—stories as credible as that of the Flanders Countess, who is said to have had as many children at a birth as there are days in the year.

The author of a little tract published in 1676 under the title of *A Glass for the People of New-England*, by S. G. (it seems by the language and the malevolent spirit to be Samuel Gorton) says, “The next piece of wickedness I am to mind you of is your barbarous action committed against Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, whom you first imprisoned, then banished, and so exposed her to that desolate condition that she fell into the hands of the Indians, who murdered her and her family except one child, and after that made a notorious lie on the destroyed woman

The confusion in the colony occasioned by these religious disputes was very great, and it appears from the letters then wrote from England that they made great noise there, but after all it is highly probable that if Mr. Vane had remained in England or had not craftily made use of the party which maintained these peculiar opinions in religion to bring him into civil power and authority and draw the affections of the people from those who were their leaders into the wilderness, these like many other errors might have prevailed a short time without any disturbance to the state, and, as the absurdity of them appeared, silently subsided, and posterity would not have known that such a woman as Mrs. Hutchinson ever existed.* We may suppose that they who from the beginning had gone along with her in her errors were not displeased at a good pretence for getting rid of her without condemning themselves. It is difficult to discover from Mr. Cotton's own account of his principles, published ten years afterwards in his answer to Bailey, wherein he differed from her. Her warm imagination was more wrought

woman, which Samuel Clark, priest of London, taking the lie out of his brother Weld's short story, must needs put into his book called God's judgments against heresy—The woman before mentioned having been by the priests and professors pumped and sifted to get something against her, laying their snares to entrap her, and taking their opportunity when her husband and friends, as it was said, were absent, examined and banished her.—So she goes by water with many others who perceived they must go to pot next, and providentially fell in with Rhode-Island, where they made a cave or caves, and in them lived until the cold winter was past, in which time it was known to the professors where they were, and that they had bought the island of the Indians. And the professors began to stir and endeavour to bring the island within the compass of their patent; so the poor molested woman it is like let in fear, and thought she would go far enough from their reach; so going southward to seek a place to settle upon, where she and her family might live in quietness, fell upon a piece of land that was in controversy between the Dutch and the natives, and the natives being in a heat came upon them and were the executioners of what the New-England priests, magistrates and church members, were the occasion, through their wicked and cruel proceedings in forcing them to flee from their rage and fury.—So, reader, thou mayest see the rage and envy of this professing generation, for they imprisoned and banished this tenderly bred woman in or towards winter, and what with fears and tossings to and fro the woman miscarried, upon which they grounded their abominable untruth. Many witnesses might be produced to prove this, and to disprove their abominable frequently told slander and also printed by priests and New-England professors and their confederates here in England."

* A great number of the principal inhabitants, most of them being disarmed and deprived of their civil privileges, removed. Mr. Coddington and Dummer had been assistants; Mr. Hutchinson, Aspinwall and Coggeshall, representatives; Rainsford, Sanford, Savage, Eliot, Ealton, Bendall, Denison, were all persons of distinction. About 60 were disarmed in Boston besides.

wrought upon by the enthusiastic tenet than his placid temper. He seems to have been in danger when she was upon trial. Mr. Dudley the deputy governor bore hard upon him: Hugh Peters shewed that he was well disposed to bring him upon trial. The other ministers treated him coldly; but Mr. Winthrop, whose influence was now greater than ever, protected him. Not long after, in a sermon at a fast, Dec. 13, 1638, he confessed and bewailed the churches and his own security and credulity, by means whereof so many dangerous errors had spread, and shewed how he came to be deceived; the errors being formed in words, so near the truth which he had preached, and the falsehood of the maintainers of them being such that they usually would deny to him what they had maintained to others.* His conduct in this day of temptation was forgotten, and he soon recovered, and to his death preserved, the esteem and respect of the whole colony.

Mr. Wheelwright went to New-Hampshire and laid the foundation of the town and church of Exeter, and afterwards removed to Hampton, and from thence to Salisbury. He was restored in 1644 upon a slight acknowledgment. He was in England in 1658, and in favour with Cromwell, as appears by a letter to the church at Hampton. He lived to be the oldest minister in the colony, which would have been taken notice of, if his persecutors had not remained in power.†

The court, to prevent tumults, required about sixty of the inhabitants of Boston to deliver up their arms and ammunition of every sort, under penalty of 10l. upon each person neglecting, and laid the like penalty upon every one of them who should afterwards borrow any arms or ammunition. And at the same time made a law to punish any person by fine, imprisonment or banishment, who should defame any court, or any of their sentences.

A great number removed out of the jurisdiction, some of them being banished, some disfranchised; more to
Rhode-

* Hubbard.

† He died in 1680. His son, grandson, and great-grandson, have been of the council for the province.

Rhode-Island than to any other place. In a short time, most of them were permitted to return, and were restored to their former privileges. The most of those errors which were condemned by the synod, it is probable, they never would have owned as their principles, and they appear rather to be deduced by some of the synod as naturally following from the capital opinions, than to have been advanced by the opinionists themselves, or perhaps may have been unguardedly dropped by particular persons in the heat of their disputes, or during an enthusiastic frenzy, and in others may have been the effect of a fond fancy for paradoxical tenets. They were charged indeed with principles which admit and introduce all kinds of immorality, and which make no distinction between virtue and vice. So are fatalists and predestinarians. Many of them were afterwards employed in posts of honour and trust, were exemplary in their lives and conversations, and their letters and private papers shew that they were pious and devout, and with the name of antinomians paid the strictest regard to moral virtue. The opinionists were punished for being deluded enthusiasts. The other side were deluded also by a zeal for the punishment, for the honour of God, of such of his creatures as differed in opinion from themselves. It is evident not only by Mrs. Hutchinson's trial, but by many other public proceedings, that inquisition was made into men's private judgments as well as into their declarations and practice. Toleration was preached against as a sin in rulers which would bring down the judgments of heaven upon the land.*

This unhappy controversy did not take off the attention of the government from their necessary defence against the Pequod Indians, who continued their hostilities. Governor Vane had sent Capt. Underhill the winter before to strengthen

* Mr. Dudley died with a copy of verses in his pocket wrote with his own hand. The following two lines made part of it :

Let men of God in court and churches watch

O'er such as do a toleration hatch.

This was the prevailing doctrine many years, and until their eyes were opened by a fresh persecution coming upon themselves from King James. This made his declaration for a general liberty of conscience welcome, and they thanked the King for allowing to them what they before thought themselves bound in conscience to deny to others.

strengthen the garrison at Saybrook fort, which they laid siege to for several weeks together. The three colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, agreed, with their joint forces, to go into the Indian country, and attempt their entire destruction. Massachusetts sent 160 men, under the command of Capt. Stoughton. The number raised by each town gives us some idea of the proportion which the several settlements bore to one another at this time.* Connecticut men being settled near the Indian country, it was expected they would be early in action; the first of the Massachusetts men that could be raised were therefore ordered to march. This party consisted of 40 men. Capt. Patrick,† who had the command of them, by letters dispatched from Providence acquainted Capt. Mason, the commander of the Connecticut men, that he was hastening to join him. The body of the Indians were in two forts or inclosures, which on all sides they had rendered as defensible as they could by palisades, their skill in fortification carrying them no farther. Sassacus the chief sachem was in one of them, and to that the English intended. Capt. Mason went with about 80 English (20 of which under Capt. Underhill of the Massachusetts he had taken from Saybrook fort) and 100 river‡ Indians by water to the Narragansets' country, where 200 of that tribe joined him. He would gladly have waited for Patrick's company, but was afraid the friendly Indians would attribute the delay to want of courage, and therefore on the 24th of May he began his march for Sassacus's fort. The Narraganset Indians were struck with terror at the name of Sassacus, and endeavoured to dissuade Mason; but finding him determined, many of them left him, and near an hundred of them went back to Providence, where they

* Boston 26, Charlestown 12, Roxbury 10, Dorchester 13, Weymouth 5, Hingham 6, Medford 3, Newbury 8, Ipswich 17, Salem 18, Saugus (Lynn) 16, Watertown 14, Newtown 19, Marblehead 3.

† Patrick had served in Holland in the Prince of Orange's guard, and was sent for to instruct the people of the colony in military discipline. In order to his being made a freeman he was admitted a member of the church at Watertown, but the strict manners of the New-England men did not agree with a Dutch soldier. He soon removed to the Dutch at New-Netherland. He was shot dead by a Dutchman at Stamford in 1643. *Hubbard.*

‡ Connecticut river.

they reported that the Pequods had killed all the English. This report was carried to Boston, and must have caused great concern there.* Soon after, one of Underhill's men fell lame, and the rest of the company, wearied in travelling, being loaded with arms, ammunition and provisions, and Saffacus's fort being eight miles further distant, they resolved to attack the Indians in the other, which was called Mistick fort.† Wequash,‡ originally a Pequod, who was born at Mistick but now lived with the Narragansets, was their guide to the destruction of his own countrymen and nearest relations. They sent him forward to reconnoitre; and he returned with intelligence, that the Pequods had taken great store of bass that day, and were in a high feast, singing, dancing, and blessing their god|| for that the English were gone away. They had seen the vessels pass by their river from Saybrook towards Narraganset, and supposed they were gone off. Some of the English advanced, and heard the Indians at their revels until midnight. The next morning (May 26) about break of day, after a march of three or four miles from the place where they halted the night before, they came within sight of the fort, which was upon a hill. Wequash piloted them to the gate. The sentinel happened just then to be gone into a wigwam to light his pipe. The Indians were all in a deep sleep. One of their dogs barking at the approach of the English caused a discovery. The Indians within the fort began their tremendous yell; and the Indians without, who were in the English rear and afraid to come up, seconded them. No sound that was ever made can be more horrid than the Indian yell. The English immediately fired into the fort, the palisadoes not being so close as to hinder the muzzles of their guns going

* MS letter.

† A manuscript journal says, that Underhill, upon his man's lameness, resolved that he and his company would go to Mistick, reading God's mind by that providence; and that Mason, unwilling to part, conformed: but Hubbard says, they were both of a mind, for the other reasons mentioned. Underhill was one of the forwardest of the Boston enthusiasts.

‡ Wequash became a christian and an apostle among his own people, travelling up and down to make converts, and when he died gave his soul to Christ and his only child to the English, hoping it would know more of Christ than its poor father ever did. *Mr. Shepard's Letter to London.*

|| This may be the conjecture of the journalist.

going between. Not being able easily to enter at the gate, Maion went round to the other side of the fort, where was another opening or entrance barred with branches of forked trees only, at which he entered with those that were with him. His lieutenant and the rest of the English entered at the same time by other parts. The Indians, who had no arms but bows, tomahawks and English hatchets, made stout resistance at first, and wounded many of the English. Maion intended to have spared the wigwams; but finding his men thus distressed, he entered one of them, and with a firebrand he found there set it on fire. While he was doing it, an Indian was drawing his bow, and would undoubtedly have killed him if his serjeant coming in had not cut the bow-string with his hanger. The fire spread to the rest of the wigwams, and the English all retreated without the fort, and surrounded it. The Indians some climbed to the top of the palisadoes to avoid the fire, and so exposed themselves to the English bullets; others forced their way out of the fort; and if any of them brake through the English, the allied Indians were in a ring at some little distance, so that few if any escaped. There were about 60 or 70 wigwams in the fort or inclosure, and, it was imagined, four or five hundred Pequods, men women and children. Three of the English were slain, and many both English and Indians their friends wounded with arrows, and some very badly. The army was in distress, notwithstanding their victory. The morning was cold. They had no sort of refreshment, not so much as water, nor any shelter for their wounded. They had no intelligence of their vessels which had been ordered to come from Narraganset to Pequod river. Many Indians were in the woods, who were not of the party in the fort. In the midst of this perplexity, they espied their vessels at a distance, sailing towards them. They then took up their wounded upon mats fastened to poles, some with the heads of the arrows in their bodies, and marched to the vessels six miles through the woods and swamps, the Indians lying in wait at every convenient place, and with their arrows wounding many more; but many of the Indians were slain in their attempts upon the English. They put

put their wounded into one of the barks, which set sail the same night and reached Saybrook fort. Patrick came in a pinnace from Providence to Narraganset soon after the forces marched, and with the other vessels went forward, taking Myontinomo the sachem of Narraganset with them; but their arrival was prevented by contrary winds until the morning of the action, after it was over. Most of the English and all the Indians marched through what was called Nianticut's country, to Saybrook fort, their vessels also arriving there the next day. The Indians in alliance with the English had taken eighteen captives, ten males and eight females; four of the males were disposed of, one to each of four sachems, the rest put to the sword. Four of the females were left at the fort, the other four carried to Connecticut, where the Indians challenged them as their prize; the English not agreeing to it, they were sacrificed also to end the dispute. The policy as well as the morality of this proceeding may well be questioned. The Indians have ever shewn great barbarity to their English captives—the English in too many instances have retaliated it. This has only enraged them the more. Besides, to destroy women and children for the barbarity of their husbands and parents cannot easily be justified.

Sassacus the sachem, after the taking of Mistick fort and so many of his warriors being slain, broke down his own fort, burned all their wigwams, put his goods into canoes, and men, women and children forsook their country and went away by land to Quinnipiack. The forces under Capt. Stoughton arrived at Saybrook the latter end of June. They pursued the Indians, meeting now and then two or three at a time, whom they killed or took prisoners; at length they were informed of a great body of Indians in a swamp,* which they surrounded. They seem to have been of other tribes as well as Pequods. One of the sachems came out with 99 men, women and children, and delivered themselves up to the English. Wampum he said he had none, nor had he ever killed any English. The garment he had on, which was of black beaver skin, he presented. An Indian was sent in to tell the rest, that
if

* Mr. Hubbard says near Fairfield or Stratford.

if they would come out and deliver up their arms and clear themselves from having murdered any English, they should fare the better. After a short parley they determined, that as they had lived together they would die together. Twelve of the murderers were among them. They were about eighty in all. The English fired upon them, and having surrounded the swamp all night, entered in the morning, but found great part had escaped. Some of the Indians had guns, and fired upon the English. This is the first account we have of their making use of guns. Saffacus fled to the Mohawks, by whom it was reported he was murdered. It is more probable that he and his company incorporated with them. Many of the captives were sent to Bermudas and sold for slaves. The Pequod tribe was wholly extinguished. The Narragansets took charge of some of them, and promised to pay the English for their service; the few that remained never dared own they belonged to that tribe, but mixed with the Narraganset and other tribes. We have been more particular in relating this action, it being the first between the English and Indians, many circumstances not having been published before, and the rest of the Indians being thereby brought to be more afraid of the English, and restrained from open hostilities near forty years together.

This year, 1637, a number of the puritan ministers in England wrote over to the ministers of New-England, informing them of reports that they had embraced new opinions which they disliked formerly and which they in England still judged to be groundless and unwarrantable, viz. "That a stilted form of prayer and set liturgy is unlawful: That the children of godly and approved christians are not to be baptized until their parents be set members of some particular congregations: That the parents themselves, though of approved piety, are not to be received to the Lord's supper until they be admitted set members: That the power of excommunication is in the body of the church, though the minister should be of another mind: That upon a minister's being dismissed, though unjustly, from his particular congregation, he ceaseth to be a minister: That one minister cannot per-

" form

“form a ministerial act in any but his own congregation :
 “That members of one congregation may not communi-
 “cate in another.” They add, “that letters from New-
 “England had influenced many in Old to leave their
 “assemblies because of a stinted liturgy, and to absent
 “themselves from the Lord’s supper because such as ought
 “to be were not debarred from it.” They therefore re-
 requested a seasonable review might be taken of the grounds
 and reasons that had swayed, and sent over, and if they
 were found to have weight they would be ready to give
 the right hand of fellowship; if otherwise, they would
 animadvert upon them so far as they varied from the truth,
 &c. The famous puritan John Dod joined in the re-
 quest.* Mr. Hooker upon the occasion of this letter
 writes thus to Mr. Shepard: “I confess freely to thee my
 “fears that the first and second questions touching a stint-
 “ed form of prayer will prove very hard to make any
 “handsome work upon, and I do sadly suspect a trouble-
 “some answer may be returned to all the arguments.
 “This is to yourself, wherein I crave silence.”

An answer was wrote by Mr. Cotton, and a more full
 answer afterwards printed. In some of the points, I sup-
 pose the two last, the ministers in England were misinformed.
 In some of the others, particularly those which it was
 thought most difficult to answer, in a few years after the
 clergy in England fully concurred with their brethren in
 New-England.

In June 1637 two large ships arrived from England
 with passengers. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins,† two
 London merchants, Mr. Davenport, a minister of great
 character for learning and piety, and many others of good
 note

* MS original letters and papers.

† Mr. Hopkins had been a Turkey merchant in London, of good credit and
 esteem, but of puritan principles, and for the sake of an undisturbed enjoyment
 of the worship of God agreeable to those principles came to New-England. He
 married Mr. Eaton’s daughter in law. When Mr. Eaton removed to New-
 Haven, Mr. Hopkins went to Hartford, the chief town of Connecticut, and was
 chosen their governor several years, at length returned to England and was chosen
 member of parliament, was warden of the fleet, a commissioner of the navy and
 of the admiralty. He had notwithstanding thoughts of returning to New-
 England, having an affection for the country, but death put an end to those
 thoughts. He died at London in March 1657. He left a legacy to Harvard
 College, which was unpaid until 1710, when it was received by virtue of a
 decree in chancery.

note and condition, were of this company. Great pains were taken to persuade them to stay in the jurisdiction. The court offered them any place they would pitch upon. The town of Newbury offered to give up their settlement to them. Quinnipiack and the country between that and the Dutch was represented as a very fruitful place, and well situated for trade and navigation. They flattered themselves, but upon what grounds does not appear, that there they should be out of the reach of a general governor, with which the country was from time to time threatened. These were the reasons publicly given for removing there. Besides, the principal men of the new company would be at the head of the government there; here, it was natural to expect, the oldlanders would be considered as their superiors. They laid the foundation of a flourishing colony, of which Quinnipiack or New Haven was the chief town. They agreed among themselves upon a model of government in church and state, very like to that of Massachusetts, and continued a distinct colony and government until the year 1665,* when Connecticut and New-Haven, having three years before been incorporated by a charter from King Charles the Second, united under one governor.† The people in Massachusetts soon after reflected

* Connecticut charter was brought over by Mr. Winthrop in 1662, but New-Haven refused to submit to it. At a general meeting at New-Haven, 4th Nov. 1662, Mr. Davenport being present insisted, 1. That the colony of New-Haven was not within the patent. 2. That it was not lawful to join, and they unanimously concluded to stand to their own combination. *Geffe's Journal*. But in 1665, upon commissioners coming over to inquire into the state of the colonies, they wisely changed their resolution, and of a colony became a county, and so have remained ever since.

† The heads of the combination or agreement were these, viz. That none shall be admitted to any office in the government, civil or military, or have a voice in any election, except he be a member of one of the churches in New-England :

That all the freemen, without summons, shall yearly meet the last fourth day in May and vote in the election of governor, deputy governor, magistrates and other officers—such as cannot attend in person may vote by proxy or send their votes sealed :

That there be a general court, consisting of governor, deputy governor and magistrates, and two deputies for each plantation where there is a church and freemen orderly admitted, every member of the court to have a voice, and all determinations to be by the major vote of the magistrates and the major vote of the deputies. This court to sit the last fourth day of May in every year of course, and on other occasions to be summoned by the governor, or in his absence by the deputy governor, or in the absence of both by two magistrates. To declare, publish and establish the laws of God, the supreme legislator, and to make and repeal orders for smaller matters not particularly determined in scripture, according

reflected upon the favour of Providence in not gratifying them with the continuance of this company among them.

It

according to the general rules of righteousness. To order all affairs of war and peace, and all matters relative to the defending or fortifying the country. To receive and determine all appeals, civil or criminal, from any inferior courts, in which they are to proceed according to scripture light and laws, and orders agreeing therewith :

That there be a court of magistrates to meet or be held twice every year to determine all weighty causes civil or criminal, above those limited to plantation courts, and to receive and try all appeals from plantation courts. In this court, when the voices are equal, the governor, or in his absence the deputy governor, shall have a casting voice :

That there be a court in each plantation in which there shall be one or more magistrates, the freemen to choose two, three or four deputies to assist the magistrate for the trial of civil causes not exceeding twenty pounds, and criminal the penalty not exceeding stocks, whipping, or five pounds fine.

Their laws and judicial proceedings varied in very few circumstances from the Massachusetts ; one indeed was a material one, that they had no jury neither in civil nor criminal cases. All matters of fact, as well as law, were determined by the court.

Mr. Davenport, the minister who came over with Mr. Eaton, had been a preacher of great note in Colman-street, London, and for his non-compliance in ecclesiastical matters absconded and came over privately. Many of his principal hearers accompanied him, and formed a church at New-Haven. Another company came from Kent, Suffolk, and Surry, in England, among whom was Mr. William Leet, then a young man, after Mr. Eaton's death governor, and after the colonies were united some time governor of Connecticut. These, with Mr. Whitfield their minister, chose a place about 16 miles east of New-Haven, since called Guilford. Another company removed from Hartford, with Mr. Peter Prudden for their minister, and settled a little west from New-Haven, and called the place Milford. Brainford on the east and Stamford near forty miles west of New-Haven were both settled by people who removed from Weathersfield on account of disturbances in the church there. These towns, together with a plantation upon the east end of Long-Island called Southold, are said to have been all that were concerned in the combination which was first forged. The colony chose their leader Mr. Eaton for their first governor, and continued him every year until he died, which was 14 years after the foundation. Their chief view was trade ; and to be better accommodated they built on small house-lots near the sea, and fairer and more commodious houses than those in the other colonies. They built vessels for foreign voyages, and set up trading-houses upon lands which they purchased at Delaware bay for the sake of beaver, but were unsuccessful, and their stocks sunk very fast, and in five or six years they were much exhausted. Unwilling to give over, they exerted themselves, as a last effort, in building a ship for the trade to England, in which they put their whole stock of money, plate, and all the proper goods they could procure, to make a more valuable adventure. In her went passenger, Mr. Grigson, one of the magistrates, in order to solicit a patent, and 8 or 10 more considerable persons, who, to use Mr. Cotton's expression, all went to heaven by water, the ship never being heard of after her sailing. The loss of this ship entirely broke them up as traders, and they turned to husbandry for their support. The manner of their settlement upon small lots was inconvenient for husbandmen, and the soil was not the best, so that they were much discouraged, and several projections were made for their removal in a body. They made further purchases of large tracts of land at Delaware bay, but were obstructed and discouraged by opposition from the Dutch. They had offers from Ireland, after the wars were over, and were in treaty for the purchase of lands there for a small distinct province by themselves ; and when Jamaica was conquered by Cromwell, proposals were made to them to remove there in a body : but as the first generation went off, and the second came on with the attachment natural to the place of their birth and education, they became more

It appeared that the Dutch were designing to take possession of this country, and they opposed the English in the settlement even of New-Haven itself, threatening hostilities against them. Mr. Eaton, being a man of good abilities, was a fit person to resist them; and finally, in the year 1650, the other colonies uniting in the cause with New-Haven, they were by treaty limited to Greenwich, said to be ten or twelve miles on a strait line distant from Hudson's river. Indeed the suffering them to extend thus far was mere favour and indulgence, but there had been a good correspondence always kept up between the English colonies and these intruders. They had mutual trade and commerce, and although the Dutch at that day, whatever they may now do, did not esteem godliness to be the greatest gain, yet their form of worship, their principles as to discipline and ceremonies, were more agreeable to the New-Englanders than those of the high party in England. New-Haven was a barrier to the colony of Connecticut, and caused its increase. To which we may add, that Massachusetts, by the removal of this company, were enabled to provide the better for the immediate accommodation of the great number of passengers which unexpectedly came over the next year.

In 1638, notwithstanding the clamour against the plantation was revived in England, and a design was on foot to revoke or annul the charter, there arrived about twenty ships and three thousand passengers. These ships were the more welcome to the colony because they were afraid, that in consequence of the complaints against them, a stop would be put to any more passengers coming from England. In 1635 a commission had been granted to several of the nobility and great officers of the crown for the regulation of the colonies.* The archbishop of Canterbury (Laud) kept a jealous eye over New-England. One Burdett of Piscataqua was his correspondent. A copy of a letter to the

more reconciled to their situation; and although they have never been remarkable for foreign commerce, the first intention of the settlement, yet their improvements in husbandry have been equal to any of their neighbours. The ancient colony of New-Haven is at this day a principal part of the colony of Connecticut, on many accounts respectable, and to be placed with those of the first rank.

the archbishop wrote by Burdett was found in his study and to this effect, viz. "That he delayed going to England
" that he might fully inform himself of the state of the
" place as to allegiance, for it was not new discipline which
" was aimed at, but sovereignty, and that it was accounted
" perjury and treason in their general court, to speak of
" appeals to the King." By the first ships which came this year, a letter was brought from the archbishop to Burdett, rendering him thanks for the care of his Majesty's service, and assuring him that they would take a time for the redress of the disorders which he informed them of, but by reason of much business which lay upon them, they could not at that time accomplish his desire. This letter to Burdett was by some means or other, not mentioned, shewn to the governor of Massachusetts. A quo warranto had been brought by Sir John Banks attorney general, a year or two before, against the governor, deputy governor and assistants of the corporation of Massachusetts. This was never served upon any persons in New-England. Some which were or had been of the corporation, and who remained in England, appeared and disclaimed the charter, and there was a determination that the liberties and franchises of the corporation should be seized into the King's hands, but it is said judgment was never entered in form against the corporation.* It is agreed that there was an order of the King in council, May 3d, 1637, that the attorney general be required to call for the patent of Massachusetts, and this year (1638) Mr. Winthrop received a letter from Mr. Meautis clerk of the council, accompanied with an order from the Lords of the council of April 4th, 1638, requiring the governor or any other person who should have the letters patent in their power or custody without fail to transmit the same by the return of the ship which carried the order, and in case of contempt their Lordships would move his Majesty to re-assume into his hands the whole plantation. An answer was drawn up
and

* Mr. Hubbard says, judgment was given, &c. but the government themselves, in some of their declarations in King Charles the Second's time, say that the process was never completed. Judgment was entered against so many as appeared, and they which did not appear were outlawed.

and transmittted as appears by the files of the court, * in which after professing their loyalty they say, that they were never called to answer to the quo warranto, if they had been they should have had a good plea against it; that they came over with their families and estates with his Majesty's license and encouragement, had greatly enlarged his dominions, and if their charter should be taken away they should be forced to remove to some other place or return to their native country; that the other plantations would be broke up and the whole country fall into the hands of the French or Dutch, and that all men would be discouraged from such undertakings in confidence of a royal grant; that the common people if cast off by his Majesty might confederate under some new form of government which would be of evil example and might expose the court to his Majesty's displeasure;† and for these reasons they pray their Lordships that they may be suffered to live in this wilderness, that their liberties may not be restrained when others are enlarged, and that men of abilities may not be hindered from coming to them when they are encouraged to go to other plantations. It was never known what reception this answer met with. It is certain that no further demand was made. In a short time the archbishop and several other of the Lords of the council who were present at this order lost their authority and influence. They were as much perplexed when called to account for their own conduct as the colony could have been for theirs, had it been more exceptionable than it was. We may make some conjectures what would have been the consequence of taking away the charter at this time. It is pretty certain the body of the people would have left the country. Two years after, merely from a dissatisfaction with the soil and the climate, many did remove, and many more were a tiptoe and restrained only by the consideration of their engagements to stand by and support one another. But where they would have removed is the question. It would not have been to the French. This would have been going further from the sun. They were too far northward already.

* The records of the session take no notice of it. Appendix, No. 5.

† For being the occasion of it by giving up the charter.

ready. Besides, they might well expect a heavier yoke under the romish hierarchy than what they complained of under the protestant. They would not have removed to any plantation or territory claimed by the King of England. What assurance could they have of security for the enjoyment of privileges in any other part, stronger than they had when they came here? After they had spent their substance, and many that came with them their lives, in possessing and improving a country in confidence that they should enjoy their charter privileges, they and their posterity forever, they would not have trusted to promises if any had been made them a second time. It is most likely they would have gone to the Dutch at Hudson's river. They had always kept up a friendly correspondence with them. In their religious principles and form of worship and church government they were not very distant from one another. The Dutch were not generally very nice upon those points. The only difficulty would have been to have obtained those privileges in matters of government from the Dutch which they had from the English. And I think the Dutch would have been politic enough to have granted them. If they had failed with the Dutch, such was their resolution, that *they would have sought a vacuum domicilium (a favourite expression with them) in some part of the globe where they would according to their apprehensions have been free from the controul of any European power.* In their first migration most of them could say, *omnia mea mecum porto.* All the difference as to the second would have been, that so far as they had lessened their substance so much less room would have been necessary for the transportation of what remained. *Such a scheme would have consisted very well with their notions of civil subjection, as we shall see in many instances. I do not say their notions were just. Allegiance, in an English born subject, is said to be perpetual, and to accompany him wherever he goes.*

The same governor, deputy governor and assistants were chosen for 1638 as had been for 1637. The settlements were extended this year beyond Merrimack river. Salisbury and Hampton had great quantity of salt meadows. They were an inducement to people to sit down there, although the upland was a light sandy soil and not very
inviting.

inviting. Rowley and Sudbury were both settled this year also.

The inhabitants of Lynn being desirous of larger accommodations, many of them removed to Long Island, near the west end, Lord Sterling by his agent there having sold or quit-claimed to them a tract for a plantation; but they were soon disturbed by the Dutch, and some of them were imprisoned under a pretence of an affront offered to the Prince of Orange's arms which they had taken down from a tree where the Dutch had hung them up. Not being able to keep their ground, they removed to the east end and settled a church and town (Southampton) and entered into a civil combination, intending to be independent of any of the colonies. Another distinct government was forming at the mouth of Connecticut river by the agent of Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brooke, who with other persons of distinction were still expected in New-England; and other companies who were intending to remove, intended likewise to form into separate governments. But this humour did not last long. In a few years all the colonies found an union or confederacy necessary for their defence, not only against the Indians, but against the French and Dutch, and there could be no encouragement for small bodies of men to sit down any where independent or unconnected. All that had began any settlements between Massachusetts and the Dutch (the Rhode-Islanders excepted, who were covered, except on the sea, by the other colonies) joined with Connecticut or New-Haven; and all to the eastward, whether in New-Hampshire, Province of Maine, or the country further east, applied to Massachusetts that they might incorporate with them.

The year 1638 was memorable for a very great earthquake throughout New-England. The shake, by the printed accounts of it and from manuscript letters, appears to have been equal to that in 1727, the pewter in many places being thrown off the shelves, and the tops of chimnies in some places shook down, but the noise, though great, not so surprising as that of the last mentioned. The course of it was from West to East. This was a remarkable era; so, long after the earthquake, was as common with the people

ple of New-England for many years, as it seems to have been heretofore with the children of Israel.*

Harvard College takes its date from the year 1638. Two years before, the general court gave four hundred pounds towards a public school at Newtown; but Mr. John Harvard, a worthy minister of Charlestown, dying this year, and having given a great part of his estate, between seven and eight hundred pounds, to the same use, the school took the name of Harvard College by an order of court.†

In 1639, the former governor and deputy governor were continued, and the same assistants, except Mr. Harlakenden, who died in the colony, and I suppose the last year.

Straits and difficulties at the beginning of the colony had produced industry and good husbandry, and then they soon raised provisions enough for their own support, and an overplus for exportation. We hear but little of trade for the first seven years, except a small traffick with the natives, by barter of toys, and the few utensils, tools and clothing they at first thought necessary, in exchange for furs and skins. What the planters brought with them consisted principally of materials for their buildings, necessary tools for their husbandry, stock for their farms, and clothing for themselves and families; and those who had more estate than was sufficient for these purposes, were country gentlemen, and unacquainted with commerce, as

Winthrop,

* Johnson—Hubbard.

† The first master of the college was Nathaniel Eaton, who was a good scholar but had not the other qualities requisite for the instruction and government of youth. He was charged with avarice, in withholding necessary or convenient commons; and with cruelty, in beating his usher with a cudgel whilst two of his servants held him out by the legs and arms. His conduct having been inquired into by the court in 1639, he was thereupon displaced, fined 100 marks, and ordered to pay thirty pounds to Mr. Briscoe whom he had cruelly beat. After the sentence of the court, he was excommunicated from the church at Cambridge. He complained that the church had inquired into his case before and fully understood it and passed no censure upon him, but when they knew the opinion of the court they conformed to that. He went to Virginia. After the restoration he was in England, conformed and had a living, and is said to have revenged himself on all nonconformists, being greatly instrumental in their persecutions. He was educated under Dr. Ames in Holland, and known to Mr. Hooker whilst there, who says he did not approve of his spirit, and feared the issue of his being received here, &c. He was succeeded by Mr. Henry Dunster, well esteemed for his dealing, piety, and spirit of government.

Winthrop, Dudley, Bellingham, Bradstreet, &c. and never employed themselves in it. (Mr. Winthrop built a small bark, called the Blessing, which was employed to import corn from the southern Indians, when the colony was in want, but she was soon cast away). And people in general turned their minds to provide comfortable lodgings, and to bring under improvement so much land as would afford them necessary support, and this was enough to employ them. After a few years, by hard labour, and hard fare, the land produced more than was consumed by the inhabitants; the overplus was sent abroad to the West-Indies, the Wine-Islands, &c. Returns were made in the produce of the respective countries, and in bullion, the most of which, together with the furs procured from the natives, went to England, to pay for the manufactures continually necessary from thence. As hands could be spared from husbandry and labour in providing their houses, they were taken off, and some employed in sawing boards, splitting staves, shingles and hoops, others in the fishery, and as many as were capable of it, in building small vessels for the fishery, and for coasting and foreign trade. Thus gradually and insensibly they seem to have fallen into that trade most natural to the country, and adapted to their peculiar circumstances, without any premeditated scheme, or projection for that purpose. Their primary views in their removal, were the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Merchants and others, for the sake of gain, when they saw a prospect of it, afterwards came over, and incorporated with them, and caused a great increase of commerce, and led the legislators to measures for the further improvement of it. For encouraging the fishery, an act was made this year to free all estates, employed in catching, making or transporting fish, from all duties and public taxes, and all persons were restrained by a penalty from using any cod or bass fish for manuring the ground; and all fishermen during the season for business, and all ship-builders, were by the same act excused from trainings. Sumptuary laws were made for restraining excess in apparel, and other expenses; a spirit of industry and frugality prevailed, and those who lived in the next age, speak of this as the *curea ætas*, in which religion

gion and virtue flourished : but it was not long before many became discontented, and encouraged projects for their removal.

In the year 1640, Mr. Dudley was governor, and Mr. Bellingham deputy governor, Mr. Winthrop, the former governor, one of the assistants, the rest the same as the last year. The importation of settlers now ceased. The motive to transportation to America was over, by the change in the affairs of England. They who then professed to be able to give the best account say, that in 298 ships, which were the whole number from the beginning of the colony, there arrived * 21200 passengers, men, women and children, perhaps about four thousand families.† Since which, more persons have removed out of New-England to other parts of the world, than have come from other parts to it ; and the number of families at this day in the four governments may be supposed to be less, rather than more, than the natural increase of four thousand. This sudden stop had a surprising effect upon the price of cattle. They had lost the greatest part of what was intended for the first supply, in the passage from Europe. As the inhabitants multiplied, the demand for the cattle increased ; and the price of a milch cow had kept from 25 to 30*l.* but fell at once this year to 5 or 6*l.* A farmer, who could spare but one cow in a year out of his stock, used to clothe his family with the price of it, at the expense of the newcomers ; when this failed, they were put to difficulties. Although they judged they had 12000 neat cattle, yet they had but about 3000 sheep in the colony.

The year 1641 afforded not so pleasing a prospect. As soon

* Mr. Neale supposes this to be impossible ; but the number is not great for so many ships. If we allow half of them for transporting goods, and 140 souls to each of the other, it will make the number. Many of the ships were large, in the first fleet especially.

† A modest computation then made of the whole charge of transportation of the persons, their goods, the stock of cattle, provisions, until they could support themselves, necessities for building, artillery, arms and ammunition, amounts to 142,000*l.* sterling. *Johnson.* A dear purchase, if they had paid nothing before to the council of Plymouth, and nothing afterwards to the sachems of the country. Well might they complain, when their titles to their lands were called in question by Sir Edmund Andros ; their labour in clearing and improving them was of more value than the lands after they were improved ; and this other expense might be out of the question.

soon as the country ceased to be necessary as an asylum for oppressed people in England, some of those who had been the greatest benefactors there, not only discouraged any further transportation, but endeavoured to induce such as had gone over to remove. Had the same changes happened in England six or eight years sooner, the continent of North-America would in all probability have been at this day in a far less flourishing estate than it is. Some of the principal men wavered, but others were more resolute, and determined not to forsake their undertaking.*

Lord Say and Seal had turned his thoughts to a more southern settlement in the Bahama Islands. He had engaged Mr Humphrey, one of the assistants of the Massachusetts colony, in the design, with a promise of being the governor of the new settlement. A new plan of government was framed, wholly aristocratical, and the magistracy to be hereditary; but exceptions being taken to this form by the people, it was altered, and brought nearer to that of Massachusetts.† Mr. Winthrop, the usual governor, and
always

* Mr. Richard Saltonstall about this time, and I suppose upon this occasion, made a vow to God, that he would not leave the country whilst the ordinances of God continued there in purity. Some years after, his wife was in a bad state of health, and it was thought she might have relief by physicians in England. He applied to Mr. Cotton, not to absolve him, but to satisfy his doubting conscience. Mr. Cotton convinced him that the marriage vow was the most binding.

Manuscript, J. Cotton.

† It is observable, that all the colonies before the reign of King Charles the Second, Maryland excepted, settled a model of government for themselves. Virginia had been many years distracted under the government of presidents and governors, with councils, in whose nomination or removal the people had no voice, until in the year 1620 a house of burgesses broke out in the colony, the King nor the grand council at home not having given any powers or directions for it. The governor and assistants of Massachusetts at first intended to rule the people, and, as we have observed, obtained their consent for it; but this lasted 2 or 3 years only; and although there is no colour for it in the charter, yet a house of deputies appeared suddenly in 1634, to the surprise of the magistrates, and the disappointment of their schemes for power. Connecticut soon after followed the plan of Massachusetts. New-Haven, although the people had the highest reverence for their leaders, and for near 30 years in judicial proceeding submitted to the magistracy (it must however be remembered that it was annually elected) without a jury, yet in matters of legislation the people from the beginning would have their share by their representatives. New-Hampshire combined together under the same form with Massachusetts. Lord Say tempts the principal men of Massachusetts to make them and their heirs nobles and absolute governors of a new colony, but under this plan they could find no people to follow them. Barbadoes and the leeward islands began in 1625, struggled under governors and councils and contending proprietors for about 20 years: numbers suffered death by the arbitrary sentences of courts martial or other acts of violence, as one side or the other happened to prevail: At length, in 1645, the first assembly was called,

always considered abroad as the head of the colony, had wrote to Lord Say, representing to his Lordship, that it seemed evident that God had chosen New-England to plant his people in; and that it would be displeasing unto him that this work should be hindered, and that such as had been well inclined, if not with their persons, yet with their substance, to encourage it, should desist and discourage it, by insinuating that there was no possibility of subsistence there; and added, that God would never have sent so many of his people thither, if he had not seen the place sufficient to maintain them, or intended to make it so. His Lordship answered, that he could not deny great part of what was written, particularly the evidence of God's owning his people in the country of New-England; but alleged, that it was a place appointed for a present refuge only, and a better place being now found out, they ought all to remove there.*

It is certain that a great part of the colony was under
great

ed, and no reason given but this, viz. that by the grant to the Earl of Carlisle the inhabitants were to enjoy all the liberties, privileges and franchises of English subjects, and therefore, as it is also expressly mentioned in the grant, could not legally be bound or charged by any act, without their own consent. This grant in 1627 was made by Charles the First, a prince not the most tender of the subjects' liberties. After the restoration there is no instance of a colony settled without a representative of the people, nor any attempt to deprive the colonies of this privilege, except in the arbitrary reign of King James the Second. The colonies which are to be settled in the new acquired countries have the fullest assurance by his Majesty's proclamation that the same form of government shall be established there. Perhaps the same establishment in Canada, and the full privileges of British subjects conferred upon the French inhabitants there, might be the means of firmly attaching them to the British interest, and civil liberty tend also to deliver them by degrees from their religious slavery. The inhabitants of Acadie or Nova-Scotia lived above forty years after the reduction of Port Royal under the government of their priests. No form of civil government was established, and they had no more affection for England than for Russia. The military authority served as a watch to prevent confederacies or combinations. The people indeed chose more or less deputies from each canton or division, but their only business seems to have been to receive orders from the governor, and to present petitions to him from the people. Temporal offences, unless enormous, and all civil controversies, were ordinarily adjudged and determined by their spiritual fathers. I asked some of the most sensible of the Acadians, what punishment the priests could inflict to answer the ends of government? They answered me by another question: What can be a greater punishment than the forfeiture of our salvation? In no part of the romish church, the blind persuasion of the power of the priest to save or damn was ever more firmly rivetted; and although these Acadians have for eight years past been scattered through the English colonies, yet I never could hear of one apostate, or so much as a wavering person among them all; and if the Canadians are treated in the same manner, they will probably remain under the same infatuation.

* Hubbard.

great doubts as to their subsistence. All could not be traders. Much labour was necessary to the clearing a new country for pasture or tillage ; after three or four years improvement of a piece of ground, they found they had exhausted the goodness of the soil, and were obliged to go upon new improvements. They never used such manure as would keep it in heart. The common practice of manuring with fish left the land in a worse state than it would have been in if they had used no manure at all, or than any other manure, even lime, would have left it. This caused many of them to have an unfavourable opinion of the country, and to despair of obtaining a livelihood in it, and great numbers had determined to remove. Some were persuaded to alter their resolution, but others persisted. A church had been gathered at Providence, and news came that Mr. Sherwood the pastor with another minister had been sent home prisoners by Carter the deputy governor, and that the magistrates were inclined to persecution. This is not incredible, even in the year 1641, when they could not have expected that these measures would be approved in England, for Virginia persisted in opposition to the parliament many years after. Whilst some in New-England were discouraged by this advice, others were the more confirmed, looking upon it their duty to go over and strengthen their brethren. Mr. Humphrey had met with great losses by fire the year before, and was detained in New-England by his private affairs for this year ; but a company embarked with Capt. William Peirce, who was of the first fleet which came over with the charter, and a very noted commander. Upon their arrival at Providence, they found the island in the possession of the Spaniards. They had shot in under the command of the fort before they discovered their danger, and in coming about Peirce was slain from the fort, but the vessel got clear and returned to New-England ; and the designs of the rest, of course, were at an end. The Lords and others concerned in this attempt to settle the Bahama Islands spent sixty thousand pounds sterling, which was entirely lost by the island's being taken.*

The

* Hubbard.

The difficulties particular persons were under, and the difference of sentiment upon private affairs, had an influence upon the public affairs. The election this year (1641) notwithstanding the great number of voters, was determined in favour of Mr. Bellingham for governor (Mr. Winthrop being his competitor) by a majority of six votes only. Mr. Endicot was chosen deputy governor. It was disputed whether they had the majority; and it was some time, Mr. Hubbard says long, before either of them were admitted to their places. The choice seems not to have been agreeable to the general court, for the first order they made was to repeal a standing law for allowing one hundred pounds annually to the governor.

The court this year, expecting great revolutions were at hand in England, sent over as their agents two of the ministers, Mr. Thomas Weld and Mr. Hugh Peters,* and one of the representatives, Mr. William Hibbins, in order to establish the interest of the colony. Their particular instructions have not been preserved.

This year also the plantation at Springfield upon Connecticut river returned to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In the year 1636, as has been observed, the towns or settlements on Connecticut river began. A more particular account of the settlement of that colony will perhaps be expected. The inhabitants of the towns of Roxbury, Dorchester, Cambridge and Watertown, in Massachusetts, laid the foundation of the colony of Connecticut. Mr. William Pynchon being the principal person among those from Roxbury, who had pitched upon a place higher up the river than the rest, called by the Indians Agawam, he changed the name to Springfield.† His mansion house was at a town of that name in England, near to Chelmsford, in Essex. Those from Dorchester pitched upon a place

* Weld and Peters never returned to New-England. The first, as appears by some of his letters, had a living at Gatesend in the Bishoprick of Durham. He went to Ireland with Lord Forbes, but came back to England, and was ejected in King Charles the Second's reign. The latter, by busying himself too much with politics, came to a tragical end, which he would have been in no danger of if he had returned to his church again. His wife, whom he married in New-England, was supported after his death by a collection of 30 l. a year, until 1671.

MIS. letter.

† At first they called the new settlements by the names of the towns they had left in the bay.

place below, called by the Indians Mattaneaug or Cushmankamaug. Mr. Ludlow was the principal person who removed with them. Mr. Warham, their minister, and the whole church followed the next year. They called their settlement Windsor. The Cambridge people, with Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone their ministers, and Mr. Haynes, who the year before had been governor, at their head, were seated next below, at a place called Suckiang, which they changed into Hartford, the place of Mr. Stone's nativity in England. A few miles below there was another tract of interval land, called by the Indians Pauquiang, which those of Hartford intended to have included in their settlement, but a few of the Watertown people were too quick for them. They gave it the name of Weathersfield. The commission which they took from Massachusetts was of a pretty extraordinary nature. The preamble to it acknowledges that the lands which they intended to take possession of were without the commonwealth and body of Massachusetts; and that certain noble personages in England, by virtue of a patent, challenged the jurisdiction there; but their minds not being known as to a form of government, and there being a necessity that some authority should be established, they therefore appoint Roger Ludlow, Esq. * &c. with full power and authority to hear and determine in a judicial way all matters in difference between party and party; to inflict corporal punishment, imprisonment and fines, and to make and decree orders for the present as shall be necessary for the plantation, relative to trading, planting, building, military discipline and defensive war if need require, and to convene the inhabitants in general court if it shall be thought meet. The commission to continue no longer than one year, and to be recalled if a form of government could be agreed upon between the noble personages, the inhabitants, and the commonwealth of Massachusetts, &c.

There would be no accounting for this stretch of power,

* The others were William Pynchon, Esq. John Steele, William Swaine, Henry Smith, William Phelps, William Westwood, and Andrew Warner.

Mr. Ludlow, in a letter from Hartford, 1st of the 8th month, 1638, to the Massachusetts general court, observes, they had desired that Connecticut would forbear exercising jurisdiction at Agawam.

power, were it not for a principle at that time generally received, and which upon a question was determined some years after by the general court, some of the members dissenting: That the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth was binding, even though the person should no longer reside within the limits.

Notwithstanding this commission, they soon after entered into an agreement or combination, by virtue of which they called themselves a body politic formed and established by mutual consent, and framed such laws and constitutions as they thought necessary. The most material point in which they differed from Massachusetts was, the not making membership of their churches necessary to freedom in the civil government or to the holding any offices therein. Upon the petition of Mr. Pyncheon and others to the court to receive them again, an order passed, asserting the court's right; and a commission was granted to Mr. Pyncheon to hold courts there,* from whose judgments an appeal lay to the court of assistants.†

The

* Mass. Records.

† George Fenwick, Esq. a worthy, pious gentleman, and of a good family and estate, came from England with design to take possession of the lands upon Connecticut river for the Lords Say and Brook, &c. The lands between Connecticut river and the Narraganset country, sixty miles in length and breadth, were assigned by the council of Plymouth in 1635 to the Marquis of Hamilton. The Lords Say, &c. had a patent from the Earl of Warwick, including all that part of New-England in America from Narraganset river forty leagues upon a strait line near the sea shore towards the southwest. west and by south or west, as the coast lies towards Virginia, and all lands within the breadth aforesaid from the western ocean to the south sea, so that the two grants or claims interfered. The Connecticut people purchased the title of the Lords of Mr. Fenwick, December 5, 1644. The thoughts of removing were then at an end, and Fenwick joined with the colony, and was chosen an assistant. The colony went on exercising the powers of government until the restoration, when they applied by Mr. Winthrop their agent to King Charles II. in 1661 for a charter, which was granted in 1662, with as ample privileges as they could desire. Mr. Winthrop had been many years an assistant in Massachusetts. He was sensible of the defects in the charter; and besides, this colony being in America at the time of granting the charter, the powers granted them would naturally be better adapted to their circumstances. Mr. Winthrop, it is said, presented the King with a ring which had been given by Charles the First to his grandfather, and that the King was much pleased with it. When they were finding fault with Massachusetts, they notwithstanding established another government much of the same form and the same sort of people. Rhode-Island about the same time obtained the like charter. Certain powers assumed by Massachusetts not mentioned in their charter, by these new charters are expressly granted to the two colonies. Had these applications been delayed two or three years longer, they would hardly have succeeded. Plymouth, which had as much reason to expect such a favour, never could obtain it. They kept soliciting one time after another, and were amused with general promises of favour, until they were comprehended in a commission

The settlers at Piscataqua about the same time submitted themselves to the Massachusetts government. The submission and agreement upon record is as follows :

“ The 14th of the 4th month, 1641.

“ Whereas some Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and others,
 “ did purchase of Mr. Edward Hilton and some merchants of Bristol two patents, the one called Wecohamet
 “ or Hilton’s point, commonly called or known by the
 “ name of Dover or Northam, the other patent set forth
 “ by the name of the south part of the river Piscataquack,
 “ beginning at the sea side or near thereabouts and coming
 “ round the said land by the river side unto the falls of
 “ Quamscot, as may more fully appear by the said grant :
 “ And whereas also the inhabitants residing at present
 “ within the limits of both the said grants have of late and
 “ formerly complained of the want of some good government amongst them, and desired some help in this particular from the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts-Bay,
 “ whereby they may be ruled and ordered according unto
 “ God both in church and common weal, and for avoiding of such unsufferable disorders whereby God hath
 “ been much dishonoured amongst them, these gentlemen
 “ whose names are here specified, George Willys, gent.
 “ Robert Saltonstall, gent. William Whiting, Edward
 “ Holioke, Thomas Makepeace, partners in the said
 “ patent, do in the behalf of the rest of the patentees dispose of the lands and jurisdiction of the premises as followeth ; being willing to further such a good work,
 “ have hereby, for themselves and in the name of the rest
 “ of

to Sir Edmund Andros, which put an end to their expectations. Mr. (afterwards Colonel) Fenwick, above-mentioned, by his last will, proved in Sussex in England April 27. 1657. gave five hundred pounds to the public use of the country of New-England, if his loving friend Mr. Edward Hopkins should think fit, and to be employed as he should order and direct. Mr. Hopkins died a day or two before Col. Fenwick, and by his will left at least 2000l. to be employed for breeding youth at the grammar school and university in New-England. The question was, whether the 500l. mentioned in Mr. Fenwick’s will, be not recoverable from the executrix of the said will. This was proposed to serjeant Maynard. Ans. The disposition to the charitable use being with condition of Mr. Hopkins’s approvement, and Mr. Hopkins dying before the testator, it is impossible, and the charitable use becomes absolute and ought now to be performed. John Maynard.—I never heard that any part of this legacy was recovered. Mr. Hopkins’s or part of it was decreed by Lord Chancellor Cowper as we have before observed, and the college estate in Hopkinton was purchased therewith.

MS letters,

“ of the patentees, given up and set over all that power or
“ jurisdiction of government of the said people dwelling or
“ abiding within the limits of both the said patents unto
“ the government of the Massachusetts-Bay, by them to be
“ ruled and ordered in all causes criminal and civil as in-
“ habitants dwelling within the limits of Massachusetts
“ government, and to be subject to pay in church and
“ commonwealth as the said inhabitants of Massachusetts-
“ Bay do, and no other : and the freemen of the said two
“ patents to enjoy the like liberties as other freemen do
“ within the said Massachusetts government ; and that
“ there shall be a court of justice kept within one of the
“ two patents, which shall have the same power that the
“ courts at Salem and Ipswich have. Provided always,
“ and it is hereby declared, that one of the said patents,
“ that is to say, that on the south side of the river Piscata-
“ quack, and in the other patent one third part of the
“ land, with all improved land in the said patent, to the
“ Lords and gentlemen and owners shall be and remain,
“ unto them, their heirs and assigns forever, as their prop-
“ er right, as having true interest therein, saving the in-
“ terest of jurisdiction to Massachusetts. And the said
“ patent of Wecohamet shall be divided, as formerly is
“ expressed, by indifferent men, equally chosen on both
“ sides, whereby the plantation may be furthered, and all
“ occasion of difference avoided. And this honoured court
“ of the Massachusetts doth hereby promise to be help-
“ ful to the maintenance of the right of the said patentees
“ in both the patents, all legal courses in any part of their
“ jurisdiction.

“ Subscribed by the aforementioned gentlemen, in the pres-
“ ence of the general court assembled the day afore-
“ written.”*

The river of Newichewannock or Piscataqua is said to have been first discovered by Capt. Smith, or some employed by him, in 1614 or 1615. De Monts ten years before had been at Kennebeck and Saco, and some leagues further westward along shore, but struck over from some part of Wells, by the description he gives of the coast, to Cape-Ann,

* Mass. Records.

Ann, which he calls Cape-Louis, and from thence to Capé-Blanc, which must be Cape-Cod. In the year 1623, several gentlemen, merchants and others, in the west of England, belonging to Bristol, Exeter, Dorchester, Shrewsbury, Plymouth, &c. having obtained patents from the council of Plymouth for several parts of New-England, and being encouraged by the plantation of New-Plymouth, and the reports of fishermen who had made voyages upon the coast, projected and attempted a fishery about Piscataqua, and sent over David Thompson, together with Edward Hilton and William Hilton, who had been fishmongers in London, and some others, with all necessaries for their purpose. The Hiltons set up their stages some distance above the mouth of the river, at a place since called Dover. Some others of the company about the same time seized on a place below, at the mouth of the river called Little Harbour, where they built the first house. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason were of this company; and the place where this house was built, with three or four thousand acres of land for a manor or lordship, by consent of the rest of the undertakers was assigned to Capt. Mason, and the house took the name of Mason-hall.*

These settlements went on very slowly for seven years after; and in 1631, when Edward Colcott † first came over, there were but three houses in all that side of the country adjoining to Piscataqua river. There had been some expense besides about salt works. The affairs of the great council of Plymouth from first to last were carried on in a confused manner. There have been six or seven several grants of the lands between Merrimack and Kennebeck. Whether any of them, besides those to Gorges and Massachusetts, are at this day of any validity, I will not determine. ‡ In 1629, Gorges and Mason are said to have taken a patent together for all the lands between the two rivers, and by mutual agreement and by a distinct patent all the lands from Piscataqua to Merrimack were assigned to

* The chimney and part of the stone wall were standing in the year 1680. *Hubb.*

† He was afterwards chose by some of the planters at Dover their head or governor. *Hubbard.*

‡ Benington's patent upon Saco river was early, and divers persons hold under it.

to Mason * Gorges seems to have laid no great stress upon his title, for in 1639 he obtained a patent under the great seal from King Charles the first. The Lords Say and Brooke, who were very general adventurers, purchased the Bristol men's share, which was two thirds of the first company's interest. Some persons of Shrewsbury held the other third. Capt. Wiggan was made the agent for the Shrewsbury men. In the year 1630 Capt. Neale with three others came over to Piscataqua to superintend the affairs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Mason, and the rest, but principally to discover a new country, to which they gave the name of Laconia, and which in Gorges's history is very pompously described. Champlain many years before this had given his own name to Lake Iroquois; and the English, it may be, were informed by the Indians something of the geography of the country, and of other lakes on the back of New-England, and no doubt the rumour was carried over to England. Neale spent three years in searching out his new country, but could not find it, and so returned. Nothing else memorable is mentioned of Neale, except that he forbade Wiggan settling a point of land betwixt Dover and Exeter. Wiggan went on, and determined to defend his right by the sword. The other threatened as high; and from what might have happened, the disputed land took the name of Bloody Point, which it retains to this day. The Lords Say and Brooke also made Wiggan their agent for the term of seven years, during which time the interest was not greatly advanced, the whole being sold to him at the expiration of the term for six hundred pounds.

Soon after the year 1631, one Mr. Williams came over from England, sent also by Gorges and Mason to take care of their salt works. Mr. Chadburne, † with several other planters and traders, came over with him. These began the settlement of Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth); and after Neale went away, they are supposed either to have entered into an agreement and to have chosen Williams for their governor, who is said to have been a discreet, sensible man,
and

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Chadburne had the direction of the artificers who built what was called the great house at Strawberry Bank. His posterity are settled on the other side the river in the province of Maine.

and a gentleman, or else he was appointed by the company in England. There was a grant of a sum of money for building a parsonage house and a chapel, and for a glebe of 50 acres of land to be annexed, made by the inhabitants of Strawberry Bank to Thomas Walford and Henry Sherburn, church wardens, and their successors, &c. and this was signed by Francis Williams governor, Ambrose Gibbons assistant, and 18 Inhabitants, dated May 25, 1640. Williams soon after removed to Barbados. The first who enterprised the settlement of Piscataqua had some religious as well as civil views; and a puritan minister, Mr. Leveridge, a worthy man, came over with Capt. Wiggan in 1633; but not being supported, he removed to the southward, and was succeeded by Mr. Burdet, who has not left so good a character. Not contented with his sacred function, he invaded the civil government, and thrust out Capt. Wiggan, and assumed the place of governor himself.

In the mean time the Lords and others concerned had prevailed upon several persons of good estates, and who made profession of religion, to transplant themselves and families to Piscataqua, so as to be able to make inhabitants enough for a considerable township; and having no charter, commission or power of government from the crown, they were under necessity of entering into a combination or agreement among themselves, which was in the following form:

“Whereas sundry mischiefs and inconveniences have
 “befallen us, and more and greater may, in regard of want
 “of civil government, his gracious Majesty having settled
 “no order for us to our knowledge; we whose names are
 “under written, being inhabitants upon the river Piscata-
 “qua, have voluntarily agreed to combine ourselves into a
 “body politic, that we may the more comfortably enjoy
 “the benefit of his Majesty’s laws, and do hereby actually
 “engage ourselves to submit to his royal Majesty’s laws,
 “together with all such laws as shall be concluded by a
 “major part of the freemen of our society, in case they be
 “not repugnant to the laws of England, and administered
 “in behalf of his Majesty. And this we have mutually
 “promised and engaged to do, and so to continue, till his
 “excellent

“ excellent Majesty shall give other orders concerning us.
“ In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands,
“ Octob. 22, 1640, in the 16th year of the reign of our
“ sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God King of
“ Great-Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the
“ faith, &c.”

Signed by Thomas Larkham, Richard Waldron,
William Waldron, with thirty-eight more.

About the same time, viz. in 1638, Mr. Wheelwright the minister, who had been banished from Massachusetts, with a number of persons who adhered to him, began a plantation on the south side of the great bay up Piscataqua river, to which they gave the name of Exeter. They thought it necessary likewise to form themselves into a body politic, in order to enable them to carry on the affairs of their plantation. The instrument which they determined upon was of the following form :

“ Whereas it hath pleased the Lord to move the heart
“ of our dread Sovereign Charles, &c. to grant licence
“ and liberty to sundry of his subjects to plant themselves
“ in the western parts of America : We his loyal subjects,
“ members of the church of Exeter, situate and lying upon
“ the river Piscataqua, with other inhabitants there, con-
“ sidering with ourselves the holy will of God and our own
“ necessity, that we should not live without wholesome
“ laws and civil government amongst us, of which we are
“ altogether destitute, do in the name of Christ and in the
“ sight of God combine ourselves together to erect and set
“ up among us such government as shall be to our best
“ discerning agreeable to the will of God, professing our-
“ selves subject to our Sovereign Lord King Charles accord-
“ ing to the liberty of the English colony of the Massachu-
“ setts, and binding ourselves solemnly, by the grace and
“ help of Christ and in his name and fear, to submit our-
“ selves to all such christian laws as are established in the
“ realm of England, to our best knowledge, and to all other
“ such laws which shall upon good grounds be made and
“ enacted among us according to God, that we may live
“ quietly and peaceably together in all godliness and hon-
“ esty. October 4, 1639. John Wheelwright, William
“ Wentworth,

“Wentworth, George Walton,” with 32 more. Captain Underhill, an enthusiast, who obtained his assurance, as he expressed himself before the church of Boston, while he was taking a pipe of the good creature tobacco,* and who was at the same time a very immoral man, and for adultery had been excommunicated, obtained the place of governor at Dover, they having quarrelled with Burdet the minister, who removed to York. There was a strong party against Underhill, which caused great disturbance and confusion. At the same time they were as much divided in their ecclesiastical affairs. They at Dover had one Mr. Knolles for their minister; but Mr. Larkham arriving there from Northam near Barnstable in England, many people were taken with him and determined to dismiss Knolles; but his party stood by him, and he and his company excommunicated Larkham. He in return laid violent hands on Knolles. The magistrates took part, some on one side and some on the other; but Larkham’s party, being weakest, sent to Williams the governor below, for assistance, who came up with a company of armed men, beset Knolles’s house where Underhill the governor then was, called him to account, set a fine upon him and some others who had been concerned in the riot, and obliged them to remove from the plantation. Knolles was a rigid antinomian, his practice was agreeable to his principles. He was charged with being too familiar with some of his female domestics, and found it necessary to depart. Larkham, a zealous churchman, soon followed him, for an offence of the same nature.† Thus we see three distinct colonies and independent governments formed upon Piscataqua river.

During these transactions, the Massachusetts people were inquiring into the bounds of their patent. In 1639 they sent persons to find out the northernmost part of Merrimack river. A line to run east from three miles north of the head of the river will take in the whole of New-Hampshire.

* Hubbard, &c.

† I have taken the principal facts relative to the settlement of Piscataqua from Hubbard’s and other original ancient manuscripts.

Hampshire.* They determined therefore that it came within their jurisdiction; and from that time they allowed plantations to be settled, particularly at Hampton, as readily as in any other part of the colony, and exercised jurisdiction over them; but they left those upon the river to their liberty; and it was their inability to preserve order among themselves which occasioned the application and submission which has already been mentioned. At their session in October the court passed the following order.

“Whereas it appeareth that by the extent of the line according to our patent the river of Piscataquack is within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, and conference being had at several times with the said people and some deputed by the general court for the settling and establishing of order in the administration of justice there; it is now ordered by the general court holden at Boston this 9th day of the 8th month 1641, and with the consent of the inhabitants of the said river, as followeth. Imprimis, That from henceforth the said people inhabiting there, are and shall be accepted and reputed under the government of the Massachusetts, as the rest of the inhabitants within the said jurisdiction are. Also, that they shall have the same order and way of administration of justice, and way of keeping courts, as is established at Ipswich and Salem.† Also, they shall be exempted from all public charges, other than those that shall arise for or from among themselves, or from any action or course that may be taken to procure their own good or benefit. Also, they shall enjoy all such lawful liberties of fishing, planting, and felling timber, as formerly they have enjoyed in the same river. Mr. Simon Broadstreet, Mr. Israel Stoughton, Mr. Samuel Simonds, Mr. William Tyng, Mr. Francis Williams, and Mr. Edward Hilton, or any four of them, whereof Mr. Broadstreet or Mr. Stoughton

* The bounds in the charter being three miles south of Charles river and all and every part thereof, and three miles north of Merrimack and all and every part thereof, and all lands within the limits aforesaid in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude, &c. they supposed they had a right to stretch their line east from the head of Merrimack to the ocean.

† Parts of Massachusetts nearest to Piscataqua.

“ Stoughton to be one, these shall have the same power
 “ that the quarter courts at Salem and Ipswich have.
 “ Also, the inhabitants there, are allowed to send two de-
 “ puties from the whole river to the court at Boston. Also,
 “ Mr. Broadstreet, Mr. Stoughton, and the rest of the
 “ commissioners, shall have power at the court at Piscata-
 “ quack to appoint two or three to join with Mr. Wil-
 “ liams and Mr. Hilton to govern the people as the ma-
 “ gistrates do here, till the next general court, or till the
 “ court take further order. It is further ordered, that
 “ until our commissioners shall arrive at Piscataquack,
 “ those men who already have authority by the late com-
 “ bination to govern the people there, shall continue in the
 “ same authority and power, to be determined at the com-
 “ ing of the said commissioners, and not before.” Al-
 though nothing is said of Strawberry Bank in the submis-
 sion, yet all the settlements seem to have concurred, and
 Williams the governor below was made one of the magis-
 trates.

Massachusetts, by thus extending its wing over the in-
 habitants of New-Hampshire, nourished and cherished them
 for near 40 years ; and to this must be attributed the
 growth and the present flourishing state of that colony.
 The principal inhabitants, when the benefit was recent, in
 1680, made a public and grateful acknowledgment of it.
 Upon this construction of the charter, the whole province
 of Main is taken into Massachusetts, as well as New-
 Hampshire ; but no application being made by the people
 there, nothing was done concerning them. Mr. Wheel-
 wright and others, who had been banished from Massachu-
 setts, soon after removed to the province of Main from
 New-Hampshire.

Mr. Winthrop was elected governor in 1642, and Mr.
 Endicot deputy governor, and Mr. Thomas Flint* added
 to the assistants, together with Mr. Pynchon, who upon
 his removal to Springfield had been left out whilst the
 jurisdiction was doubtful.

The

* Mr. Flint was a gentleman of a fair estate in England, which he laid out in
 forwarding the plantation, arriving in New-England about the year 1635.
 Johnson. A large tract of land which he owned in Concord still retains the name
 of Flint's farm.

The college at Cambridge was this year put upon a more respectable footing than it had been. The governor, deputy governor and magistrates, and the ministers of the six next adjacent towns, with the president, were made a corporation for ordering and managing the affairs of the college; and nine young gentlemen* at a public commencement this year

* Most of them soon after went over to England, and before 1651 (as appears by a letter from Mr. Samuel Mather, who received a degree the next year, and was a celebrated preacher in Dublin) made some figure there. Benjamin Woodbridge, the first-born of Harvard College, was successor to Dr. Twiss at Newberry, and though inclined to presbyterianism, to use Mr. Mather's words, not malignantly affected. George Downing went into the army, and was scoutmaster general of the English army in Scotland. He was afterwards in great favour with Cromwell, who sent him ambassador to the States; and upon the restoration he turned with the times, and was sent or kept by the King in the same employ, had the merit of betraying, securing and sending over several of the regicides (he had been captain under one of them, Col. Okey), was knighted, and in favour at court, and died in 1684. His character runs low with the best historians in England; it was much lower with his countrymen in New-England; and it became a proverbial expression to say of a false man who betrayed his trust, that he was an arrant George Downing. Oliver Cromwell, when he sent him agent or ambassador to the States, in his letter of credence says, "George Downing is a person of eminent quality, and, after a long trial of his fidelity, probity and diligence in several and various negotiations, well approved and valued by us. Him we have thought fitting to send to your Lordships dignified with the character of our agent," &c. (Milton's letters.) In his latter days he is said to have been very friendly to New-England, and when the colony was upon the worst terms with King Charles the Second. An article of news from England in 1671 says, "Sir George Downing is in the tower, it is said because he returned from Holland where he was sent ambassador before his time. As it is reported, he had no small abuse offered him there. They printed the sermons he preached in Oliver's time, and drew three pictures of him. 1. Preaching in a tub, over it was wrote, *This I was*. 2. A treacherous courtier, over it, *This I am*. 3. Hanging on a gibbet, and over it, *This I shall be*." Prints of that sort were not so common in England in that day as they have been the last twenty years.

"Downing was sent to make up the quarrel with the Dutch, but coming home in too great haste and fear, is now in the prison where his master lay that he betrayed." *Mss. letter, Lond. March 4, 1671-2*. By his master no doubt Okey is intended. His son was one of the Tellers in the Exchequer in 1680. Sir George died in 1684. He was brother-in-law to governor Bradstreet, and kept up a correspondence with him.

John Bulkley (son of Peter Bulkley, minister of Concord, who was of a very reputable family, and had been esteemed for his learning and piety in England) was a settled minister at Fordham in Essex, and after his ejection in 1662 practised physic in London.

Henry Saltonstall, who I suppose was a grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, was a doctor of physic, and a fellow of new college, Oxford.

Nathaniel Brewster was a settled minister in Norfolk, and of good report.

Samuel Bellingham received the degree of doctor of physic at Leyden. Two others of the class, William Hubbard and John Wilson, were ministers settled in New-England, and in high esteem there. Several of the succeeding classes went over to England soon after their taking their bachelor's degree: John Allen, whose friends lived in Suffolk; William Ames, who was son of Dr. Ames, settled at Wrentham; Jeremiah Holland, who first settled near London, but soon after removed into Northamptonshire, where he had a living of between two and three

year received the degree of bachelor of arts. The thesis, with a particular account of the whole proceeding, was published in England. I know of but two copies extant, and as my chief design is to preserve from oblivion every transaction which posterity may think of any importance, I shall give it a place in the appendix.*

There was a general design this year among the Indians against the English.† Miantonomo, the sachem of the Narragansets, was supposed to be the author and chief promoter, and to have drawn many other sachems to join with him. The Indians began to make use of fire arms, and had procured a great number, together with powder and shot, from English traders in the eastern parts, as well as from the Dutch. A constant watch was ordered to be kept from sun-set to sun-rising, and a place of retreat to be provided in each plantation for the women and children, and for the security of ammunition. Beacons were erected and ordered to be fired upon an alarm, and all smiths were required to lay aside all other business until all the arms in the colony were put into good order, for which payment was promised by the government. Mr.‡ John Leverett and Mr. Edward || Hutchinson were sent to Miantinomo with articles of complaint, and to require him to come himself or to send two of his chief counsellors to the governor in order to give satisfaction. Connecticut proposed to fall upon the Indians immediately, and offered if Massachusetts would send 120 men to Saybrook, to join a proportionable

three hundred pounds a year; Jacob Ward, who had a fellowship in Maudlin college, Oxford; John Birden and Abraham Walver, who were both preachers in the counties where their friends lived; and Sampson Eyton, who I suppose left Harvard college before he had his degree, was made a fellow in one of the universities in England. Leonard Hoar went to Cambridge and took the degree of doctor in physic. Mr. Mather writes very pressing for others to come over to England, where they might be assured of encouragement and preferment.

* No. 6.

+ Intelligence was given by some of the Indians themselves, and letters were dispatched from New-Haven and Connecticut to give advice. Under pretence of trade in small companies at the English houses, while some secured the arms the others were to perpetrate the massacre, the time appointed for which was immediately after the harvest should be over.

An Indian of Providence attempted a rape upon an English woman, the wife of Nicholas Wood of Dorchester, and was protected by Miantinomo. This if true is a rare instance.

‡ Afterwards governor.

|| Son of the famous Mrs. Hutchinson.

portionable number. But the Massachusetts court doubted whether they had sufficient proofs of the designs of the Indians to justify a war. However, the governor with the magistrates before the court met thought it necessary to disarm the Indians within the colony, which they readily submitted to. Miantinomo came in person to the court, and demanded that his accusers should be brought face to face, and if they failed in their proof that they should suffer the same punishment he would have deserved himself if he had been guilty, viz. death. His behaviour was grave, and he gave his answers with great deliberation and seeming ingenuity. He would never speak but in the presence of two of his counsellors, that they might be witnesses of every thing which passed. Two days were spent in treaty. He denied all he was charged with, and pretended the reports to his disadvantage were raised by Uncas, sachem of the Mohegins, or some of his people. He was willing to renew his former engagements, that if any of the Indians, even the Nianticks, who he said were as his own flesh and blood, should do any wrong to the English so as neither he nor they could satisfy without blood, he would deliver them up and leave them to mercy. The people of Connecticut put little confidence in him, and could hardly be kept from falling upon him, but were at last prevailed upon by Massachusetts to desist for the present.* The minds of men were filled with fear from these rumours of a general conspiracy, and every noise in the night was alarming. A poor man in a swamp at Watertown,† hearing the howling of a kennel of wolves and expecting to be devoured by them, cried out for help, which occasioned a general alarm through all the towns near Boston.‡ The Indians being thus prevented from surprising, the English remained quiet.||

The

* Records of united colonies.

† Sept. 19th, 1642.

‡ Hubbard.

|| One Darbyfield, an Irishman, with some others, travelled this year to the white hills, supposed to be the highest in these parts of America. They reported that they had been to the top, where is a plain of 60 feet square; that on the west side is a very steep precipice, and all the country round about appeared like a level much beneath them. The glittering appearance of the rocks as they came near them caused an expectation of something valuable, but they found nothing. *Hubbard.*

The

The House of Commons this year passed a memorable resolve in favour of the Massachusetts colony, which was transmitted to the governor by the clerk of the house, and ordered by the court to be entered upon the public records, that it might remain to posterity.

“ VENERIS, 10 MARCH, 1642.

“ WHEREAS the plantations in New-England have
 “ by the blessing of the Almighty had good and prosper-
 “ ous success without any public charge to this state,* and
 “ are now likely to prove very happy for the propagation
 “ of the gospel in those parts, and very beneficial and
 “ commodious to this kingdom and nation: The Com-
 “ mons now assembled in Parliament do, for the better
 “ advancement of those plantations and the encouragement
 “ of the planters to proceed in their undertaking, ordain,
 “ that all merchandizing goods that by any person or per-
 “ sons whatsoever, merchant or other, shall be exported
 “ out of this kingdom of England into New-England, to
 “ be spent, used or employed there, or, being of the growth
 “ of that kingdom,† shall be from thence imported hither,
 “ or shall be laden or put on board any ship or vessel for
 “ necessities in passing to and fro, and all and every the
 “ owner or owners thereof, shall be freed and discharged
 “ of and from paying and yielding any custom, subsidy,
 “ taxation, or other duty for the same, either inward or
 “ outward, either in this kingdom or New-England, or in
 “ any port, haven, creek, or other place whatsoever, until
 “ the House of Commons shall take further order therein
 “ to the contrary. And all and singular customers, far-
 “ mers and collectors of customs, subsidies and imposts,
 “ and

The growth of the several parts of the colony at different periods will be thought by some worth observing. In 1642 a tax of 800*l.* was apportioned as follows: Hingham 20*l.* Weymouth 14*l.* Braintree 14*l.* Dorchester 58*l.* 10*s.* Roxbury 50*l.* Boston 120*l.* Dedham 20*l.* Concord 25*l.* Watertown 55*l.* Cambridge 61*l.* 10*s.* Charlestown 60*l.* Salem 75*l.* Lynn 45*l.* Ipswich 82*l.* Newbury 30*l.* Salisbury 12*l.* 10*s.* Hampton 5*l.* Rowley 15*l.* Sudbury 15*l.* Medford 10*l.* Gloucester 6*l.* 10*s.*

* I transcribe this part of the order with pleasure. The merit of our ancestors, many of whom were personally known to the principal members of parliament, was fresh in their remembrance. Length of time has not lessened the merit. Consequences so advantageous to the nation have followed it, that in reason it ought to strike stronger now than it did then.

† Inaccurately for these colonies.

“ and other officers, ministers and subjects whatsoever, are
 “ hereby required and enjoined that they and every of
 “ them, upon the shewing forth unto them this order, or a
 “ true copy thereof, under the hand of the clerk of the
 “ House of Commons, without any other writ or warrant
 “ whatsoever, do make full, whole and entire, and due
 “ allowance and clear discharge unto the said owners of
 “ the said goods and merchandize, their factors, servants
 “ and agents, according to the tenor and true meaning of
 “ this order.

“ H. ELSSING, Cler. Parl. D. Com.”

In the year 1642 letters came to Mr. Cotton of Boston, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New-Haven, signed by several of the nobility, divers members of the House of Commons, and some ministers, to call them or some of them, if all could not come, to assist in the assembly of divines at Westminster.* Such of the magistrates and ministers as were near Boston met together, and most of them were of opinion that it was a call of God,
 but

* I have the original papers which accompanied these letters. The following is an exact copy.

“ The expression of the desires of those honourable and worthy personages of both houses of parliament who call and with the presence of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Davenport to come over with all possible speed, all or any of them, if all cannot. The conditoyon whearein the state of things in this kingdom doth now stand wee suppose you have from the relations of others, wheareby you cannot but understand how greate need there is of the heelp of prayer and improvement of all good meanes from all parts for the seatlinge and composinge the affaires of the church. Wee therefore present unto you our earnest desires of you all. To shewe whearein or howe many wayes you may be useful woulde easely bee done by us and fownd by you weare you present with us. In all likelyhood you will finde opportunity enough to draw forth all that healepefullnes that God shall afford by you. And wee doubt not these advantages will be futch as will fully answer all inconveniencies your seelves, churches or plantations may sustaine in this your voyage and short absence from them. Onely the sooner you come the better.

Warwick

W. Say & Seale Ph. Wharton

Mandeville

Rob. Brooke

Nath. Fiennes

Wm Strickland

Tho: Hoyle

Gilbt. Gerrard

Henry Darley

Cor: Holland

Tho: Barrington

Valentine Walton

Anth. Stapley

Richard Browne

Willm. Cawleys

Humfrey Salway

Henry Martin

John Gurdon

William Hay

Oliver Cromwell

John Blackiston

J. Wattill

A. Hasebrig

Godfrey Rolfeville

Wm. Matham

H. Ruthin

Gilbert Pickering

Alex. Bence

Mart. Lumley

Ro. Cooke

Ol. St. John

Nath. Barnardiston

Sam. Lake

Isaac Pennington

Ar. Goodwin

John Francklyn

Miles Corbett

Wm. S. urstowe

but Mr. Hooker did not like the business, and thought it was not a sufficient call to go a thousand leagues to confer about matters of church government. Mr. Davenport thought otherwise; but his church, having but one minister, would not spare him. Mr. Cotton thought it a clear call, and would have undertaken the voyage, if others would have gone with him. Soon after, other letters were received, which diverted them from any thoughts of proceeding.* Mr. Hooker was about that time preparing for the press a vindication of congregational churches, or rather framing a system or plan of church government, which he designed for the New-England churches, let the determination at Westminster be what it would. Had the churches of New-England appeared there by their representatives, or any of the principal divines appeared as members of the assembly, greater exception might have been taken to their building after a model of their own framing. Several persons who came from England in 1643 made a muster to set up presbyterian government under the authority of the assembly at Westminster; but a New-England assembly, the general court, soon put them to the rout.

The governor and deputy governor for the last year were re-elected in 1643. Samuel Symonds† and William Hibbins‡ were added to the assistants. The colony had so increased, that it was divided this year into four counties or shires, Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk and Norfolk.§

A new sect, springing from the ashes of the antinomians, made great disturbance about this time. Samuel Gorton, a citizen of London, who came to Boston in 1636, was at the

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Symonds was a gentleman of an ancient family and good estate in England. He came from Yeldham in Essex. *Hubbard.*

‡ Mr. Hibbins was a principal merchant in the colony, but soon after met with great losses in his trade. I know of none of their descendants of the same names in New-England.

| § Essex contained | MIDDLESEX. | SUFFOLK. | NORFOLK. |
|-------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Salem | Charlestown | Boston | Salisbury |
| Lynn | Cambridge | Roxbury | Hampton |
| Enon (Wenham) | Watertown | Dorchester | Haverhill |
| Ipswich | Sudbury | Dedham | Exeter |
| Rowley | Concord | Braintree | Dover |
| Newbury | Woburn | Weymouth | Strawberry-Bank |
| Gloucester | Medford | Hingham | (Portsmouth) |
| Chochichawick | Lynn Village | Nantasket (Hull) | |

the head of it. Mr. Cotton says,* his principles were the very dregs of familism. It is certain that he was artful enough to explain them in such manner that his judges in Massachusetts were divided in opinion whether they were heretical or not. He staid not long in Massachusetts, but went to Plymouth; and disturbing the church there, he was whipped, and required to find sureties for his good behaviour, which not being able to do, he removed (Mr. Winslow says was driven†) to Rhode-Island. There he treated the court with contempt, and by order of the governor, Mr. Coddington, was first imprisoned, and afterwards whipped. From Rhode-Island he went to Providence, where Roger Williams, with his usual humanity, although he disliked his principles and behaviour, gave him shelter. Here he found several of his own disposition, fond of novelties in religion, and they first sat down at Patuxet near Providence; but some of the inhabitants there applied to Massachusetts that they and their lands might be received into protection, and complained that Gorton and his company, under pretence of purchase from the Indians, were going about to deprive them of their estates, of which for several years they had been in the lawful possession. The governor and three of the assistants signed what was called a warrant or notification to all the people of Providence, requiring them to submit to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This was dated in October 1642. Gorton sent a very contemptuous answer, and told them they had no authority over the people of Providence. But either for the sake of being more out of the reach of Massachusetts, or from discord among themselves, Gorton and 11 more purchased of Miantinomo, the Narraganset sachem,‡ a tract of land called Showamet, and removed thither. The price they paid was 144 fathom of Wampum.§ Showamet was then claimed by Plymouth government as within their jurisdiction. Two of the chief of the
Indians

* Bloody Tenet washed, &c. p. 5 & 8.

† Answer to Gorton.

‡ Pumham, a petty sachem, who lived upon the lands, joined in the sale, but alledged that he had no consideration for it. *Winslow.*

§ A fathom of wampum was one string of Indian beads six feet or a fathom in length, which was valued at 5*s.* 8*d.* sterling.

Indians who dwelt there and at Patuxet, and who were called sachems, Pomham and Sachonoco, came to Boston with their interpreter to complain of Gorton and his company for taking their lands from them, and offered to subject themselves and their country to Massachusetts, which by an instrument under their hands was accordingly done in the form following.

“ This writing is to testify, that we, Pomham sachem
 “ of Showamet, and Sachonoco sachem of Patuxit, have,
 “ and by these presents do, voluntarily and without any
 “ constraint or persuasion, but of our own free motion,
 “ put ourselves, our subjects, lands and estates, under the
 “ government and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, to be
 “ governed and protected by them according to their just
 “ laws and orders, so far as we shall be made capable of
 “ understanding them : and we do promise, for ourselves
 “ and our subjects and all our posterity, to be true and
 “ faithful to the government, and aiding to the maintenance thereof to our best ability, and from time to time
 “ to give speedy notice of any conspiracy, attempt, or evil
 “ intention, of any which we shall know or hear of against
 “ the same, and do promise to be willing from time to time
 “ to be instructed in the knowledge of the worship of God.
 “ In witness whereof we have herunto put to our hands
 “ the 22d of the 4th month, 1643.

the mark
 of † Sachonoco.

the mark
 of † Pomham.

Miantinomo was likewise sent for to Boston, but did not make out his right to the Indian country to the satisfaction of the court. It does not appear that he relinquished it ; and Gorton says in his defence, that Pomham and Sachonoco were the natural subjects of Miantinomo, and influenced by Massachusetts to withdraw from him. He being the greatest and most powerful sachem in New-England, it is probable that these were dependents upon him or tributaries to him. Be that as it may, Massachusetts sent a message to Gorton and his company, acquainting them that they were still within their jurisdiction by virtue of the submission of Pomham and Sachonoco, and requiring them to appear at the court at Boston to answer

to

to complaints against them for injuries done to the Indians, &c. and promising them safe conduct, &c. This was dated the 12th of the 7th month, 1643. They sent back by the messenger a verbal answer, that they were out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and would acknowledge subjection to none but the state and government of Old-England. Upon the receipt of their answer, viz. on the 19th of the same month, another message was sent to acquaint them that the court had appointed commissioners* to hear and determine the controversy upon the spot, and, if they refused, to bring them to Boston by force. After some small resistance, Gorton and several others were taken and carried to Boston and imprisoned.† Being brought before the court, the charge exhibited against them was in the following words :

“ Upon much examination and serious consideration of
 “ your writings, with your answers about them, we do
 “ charge

* The commissioners were Capt. George Cooke, Lieut. Hump. Atherton and Edward Johnson, who had also military commissions and 40 men to attend them. Cooke was afterwards a colonel in the wars in Ireland. *Johnson.*

† If we may give credit to Gorton's account, Mr. Ward, a minister, came to the prison window and called to him one of the prisoners who had been his neighbour in Essex in England, and desired him, if he had done or said any thing he could with good conscience renounce that he would recant, and probably the court would be merciful; and added, that this would be no disparagement, for the reverend Mr. Cotton ordinarily preacheth that publicly one year that the next year he publicly repents of before the congregation, &c. Mr. Winslow in his answer will not allow this to be true. This Mr. Ward was author of *The Simple Cobyler of Agawam*, and several other witty performances. The ruling passion would frequently shew itself in instances which would have been liable to some exception in those days of great gravity, if his principles had not been orthodox, and his general behaviour serious and guarded. Many of his witty, facetious terms are handed down to posterity. A letter of his, I find among Mr. Cotton's papers, discovers something of his cast of mind.

“ Salutem in Xto nostro.

“ Reverend and dear friend,

“ I was yesterday convented before the bishop, I mean to his court, and am adjourned to the next term. I see such giants turn their backs, that I dare not trust my own weak heart. I expect measure hard enough, and must furnish apace with proportionable armour. I lacke a friend to help buckle it on. I know none but Christ himself in all our coast fitt to help me, and my acquaintance with him is hardly enough to hope for that assistance my weak spirit will want, and the assaults of temptation call for. I pray therefore forget me not, and believe for me also if there be such a piece of neighbourhood among Christians. And so blessing God with my whole heart for my knowledge of you and immerited interest in you, and thanking you entirely for that faithful love I have found from you in many expressions of the best nature, I commit you to the unchangeable love of God our Father in his son Jesus Christ, in whom I hope to rest forever.

Stondon Mercy,

Dec. 15, 1631.

Your's in all truth of heart,
 Nathl. Warde.”

“ charge you to be a blasphemous enemy of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy ordinances, and also of civil authority among the people of God, and particularly in this jurisdiction.”

Their writings were produced in evidence against them ; and they explained them in such a manner, that the governor, Mr. Winthrop, said he could agree with them in their answer, though he could not in their writings ; but Mr. Dudley stood up, much moved, and said he would never consent to it while he lived, that they were one with them in those answers. The governor then asked Gorton, what faith was ? He answered in the words of the apostle, that faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen : the governor told him that was true, but he could say more of faith than that. He desired to be excused ; and Mr. Bradstreet prudently enough excepted to such questions, unless he was free to speak to them, and thereupon they were dismissed and remanded to prison.* Their sentences were cruel. Gorton ordered to be confined to Charlestown, there to be kept at work, and to wear such bolts and irons as might hinder his escape ; and if he broke his confinement, or by speech or writing published or maintained any of the blasphemous, abominable heresies wherewith he had been charged by the general court, or should reproach or reprove the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in these united colonies, or the civil government, &c. that upon conviction thereof upon trial by a jury, he should suffer death.† The rest were confined to different towns, one in a town, and upon the same conditions with Gorton ; their cattle were seized and ordered to be sold, and the charge of fetching them, and the expense attending the trial and imprisonment, to be paid out of the proceeds, and the overplus to be reserved for their future maintenance during their confinement.‡

As

* Gorton.

† Gorton says, they cast a lot for their lives, putting it to the major vote of the court whether they should live or die, and that God in his providence ordered it by a majority of two votes only in favour of their lives.

‡ After being confined one winter, they were banished the jurisdiction, and from the lands purchased of the Indians, upon pain of death. Gorton soon after went to England, and obtained an order from the governor in chief, the lord high admiral and commissioners appointed by the parliament for the English planta-

As all who have published any thing concerning Gorton, except Mr. Calender in his century sermon, set him in an infamous

tions in America, directed to the governor and assistants of Massachusetts, and to all other governors and other inhabitants of New-England, and all others whom it may concern, requiring them to suffer Gorton and the rest quietly to enjoy their lands in Narraganset bay, and to land at any port in New-England in their way thither, &c. This order was sent to the governor by Randall Holden, one of Gorton's adherents, who with others arrived at Boston 13th Sept. 1646. Having desired leave to land, the governor, Mr. Winthrop, answered, that he could not give them leave by his own authority, as it would dispense with an order of the general court; but the council being to meet in two or three days, he would impart the order, and intimated that he should not trouble himself about them in the mean time. The council were not all of a mind, but the majority agreed to suffer them to pass quietly for the present, and that when the court met, further consideration should be had of their possessing the land they claimed. The court thought proper to send Mr. Edward Winslow to England, in order to give satisfaction to the commissioners for plantations. He carried with him a remonstrance and petition against Gorton, and in vindication of the colony asserted their right by charter finally to determine all causes without admitting of appeals to England, and alleged that the lands lay in Plymouth colony, and produced an act of the commissioners of the four colonies, of which Plymouth was one, empowering Massachusetts to proceed as they thought proper. The commissioners for plantations in their answer say, "they intended not to encourage any appeals from their justice, which it might be very inconvenient to admit, nor to restrain the bounds of their jurisdiction to a narrower compass; but they supposed Narraganset bay (the thing in question) was without the bounds of their patent; but as they had received advertisement that the place was within the patent of New-Plymouth, and the ground of their proceedings was a joint authority from the four governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, if these things should be proved it would much alter the state of the question; but at that distance these points could not be settled, and must be left to be determined upon the place if there should be occasion, for there the boundaries would be best known; and if it should appear that the said tract was within any of the New-England patents, they should leave the same and the inhabitants thereof to the jurisdiction of that government under which they fell; nevertheless, inasmuch as the petitioners had transplanted their families thither, and settled at great charge, they commend it to the government within whose jurisdiction they shall appear to be, not only not to remove them from the plantations, but also to encourage them with protection and assistance, and in all fit ways, whilst they should demean themselves peaceably, &c." *Hubbard.*

Gorton came again to Boston in the spring of 1648. The court upon his arrival ordered that he should be apprehended; but, producing a letter from the Earl of Warwick desiring that he might have liberty to return home, the court recalled the order, and gave him a week's liberty to provide for his departure.

After this time the Gortonists considered how to make their peace; and making their application in sober language, they remained unmolested, and quietly enjoyed their possessions at Showamet, to which, in honour to their patron and benefactor, they gave the name of Warwick, which it retains to this day; and the posterity of several of them are persons of reputation and esteem in that colony.

Gorton published an account of his sufferings. Mr. Winslow, the agent for Massachusetts, answered him. In 1665 he preferred his petition to the commissioners sent over by King Charles the Second, for recompence for the wrongs done him by Massachusetts, alleging that besides his other sufferings he and his friends had 80 head of cattle taken and sold. Massachusetts, in their answer, charge him with heretical tenets both in religion and civil government, and with an unjust possession of the Indian lands in the vicinity of the colonies for the sake of disturbing their peace; and add, that the goods which they seized did not amount

infamous light, it will be but just to publish a letter which he wrote to Mr. Morton in 1669, vindicating himself from the charges against him in New-England's Memorial, which was first printed in that year.*

The dangers to which the colonies in New-England were exposed from domestic and foreign enemies first induced them to think of an alliance and confederacy for their mutual defence and safety. Those of Aquidnick, or Rhode-Island, were willing enough to have joined with the rest, but Massachusetts refused to admit commissioners from that colony to treat with the commissioners from the rest, upon the terms of the agreement. The other four settled articles of confederation, May 19, 1643. They have been published at large by Doctor Mather, Mr. Neale, &c. and are in substance as follows :—

The united colonies of New-England, viz. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, enter into a firm and perpetual league, offensive and defensive.

Each colony to retain a distinct and separate jurisdiction, no two colonies to join in one jurisdiction without the consent of the whole, and no other colony to be received into the confederacy, without the like consent.

The charge of all wars, offensive or defensive, to be borne in proportion to the male inhabitants between 16 and 60 years of age in each colony.

Upon notice from three magistrates of any colony, of an invasion, the rest shall immediately send aid, Massachusetts 100, and each of the other 45 men ; and if a greater number be necessary, the commissioners to meet and determine upon it.

Two commissioners from each government, being church members, to meet annually the first Monday in September; the first meeting to be held at Boston, then at Hartford, New-Haven and Plymouth, and so yearly in that order, saving that two meetings successively be held at Boston.

All

amount to the charge of their prosecution ; but they do not sufficiently vindicate their seizing their persons or goods without the limits of their jurisdiction, and conclude with hoping that his Majesty will excuse any circumstantial error in their proceedings, &c.

* Appendix, No. 20.

All matters wherein six shall agree to be binding upon the whole ; and if there be a majority, but under six, the matter in question to be referred to the general court of each colony, and not to be obligatory, unless the whole agree to it.

A president for preserving order, to be chosen by the commissioners each year out of their number.

The commissioners shall have power to establish laws or rules, of a civil nature and of general concern, for the conduct of the inhabitants, viz. relative to their behaviour towards the Indians, to fugitives from one colony to another, and the like.

No colony to engage in war, except upon a sudden exigency, and in that case to be avoided as much as possible, without the consent of the whole.

If a meeting be summoned upon any extraordinary occasion, and the whole number of commissioners do not assemble, any four who shall meet may determine upon a war when the case will not admit of delay, and send for the agreed proportion of men out of each jurisdiction ; but not less than six shall determine the justice of the war, or have power to settle bills of charges or make levies for the same.

If any colony break any article of the agreement, or any ways injure another colony, the matter shall be considered and determined by the commissioners of the other colonies.

These articles were ratified by Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-Haven, May 19, 1643. Plymouth commissioners had not then full powers, but they acceded at the first meeting for business September 7th following.

This confederacy had been in agitation for several years. In 1638 articles were drawn up, which were referred until 1639. Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker from Connecticut tarried several weeks in Massachusetts, soliciting it. They had reason to expect trouble from the Dutch, who kept a trading house at Hartford after that place was under the jurisdiction of Connecticut ; and broils frequently happened there, and the Dutch at Manhadoes were ready to have taken advantage of the least breach or alienation between the colonies ; but by reason of several obstructions. from time to time, nothing could be perfected until 1643, when

when commissioners came from all the several colonies to Boston whilst the general court was sitting, viz. Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hopkins from Hartford, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Grigson from New-Haven, besides Mr. Fenwick the governor of Saybrook fort, Mr. Winslow and Mr. Collier from Plymouth. Massachusetts appointed Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley and Mr. Bradstreet, of the magistrates; Mr. Hawthorne, Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Tyng, of the deputies.*

About this time much division and disturbance in the colony was occasioned by the French of Acadie and Nova-Scotia. It is necessary to look back upon the state of those countries. After Argall dispossessed the French, in 1613, they seem to have been neglected both by English and

* This union subsisted, with some alterations, until the year 1686, when all the charters were in effect vacated by a commission from King James the Second. For many years, commissioners met annually in September, and occasionally at other times. In the latter part of the union the meetings were triennial. A special and principal part of their business, after the first years, was the care of gospelizing the Indians. The society established by the parliament for propagating the gospel in New-England among the Indians, of which we shall hereafter take further notice, made the commissioners their correspondents and agents for dispensing the charitable donations; and after the grant of a new charter by King Charles the Second, the same powers and trust were continued. A particular account of all their proceedings in this capacity is preserved in their records. This confederacy was acknowledged and countenanced by the authority in England, from its beginning until the restoration; and in letters from King Charles the Second, notice is taken of it, without any exception to the establishment.

July 23, 1643, a vessel of about 100 tons belonging to the Earl of Warwick arrived at Boston from Trinidada, in order to transport passengers to people the island, but none could be prevailed upon to remove. One Chaddock, son to the governor of Bermudas, was commander of this ship. He was a loose, profligate man, and had a crew like himself. Five or six of them were blown up by two barrels of powder taking fire in the pinnace where they were, near the castle. Some time after strange sights were seen about the castle and at Governor's Island, in form like a man, casting out flame and sparks of fire; and a voice was heard in several parts of the harbour, crying, boy boy come away come away; of all which divers sober persons were eye and ear witnesses, and these sights and noises were supposed to have a special reference to the place where the pinnace was blown up. One of the men it was said had been acquainted with the black art.

From manuscripts and printed accounts I could collect as many prodigies in one part of the country and another, at different times, as would fill a small volume. Guns fired in the air, great quantities of clay cast up in form of bullets out of the earth, and the like; but I shall take no notice of any other than this, which is related by one of the best historians† with great seriousness, as if he had no doubt of the truth of it. This turn of mind was not peculiar at this time to the people of New-England: it was prevalent in England. If the New-Englanders exceeded, the new scenes they had just entered upon may in some measure account for it. They had an ocean a thousand leagues in extent between them and all the delights of life which they had once enjoyed. On their backs they had a wilderness without limits. As soon as it was dark their ears were filled with the roaring of wolves and other savage beasts; or, which was much worse, the yells of savage men. Where there was any gloom upon the mind, such a scene must tend to increase it.

† Hubbard.

and French until the grant to Sir William Alexander in 1621. That he made attempts and began settlements in Nova-Scotia, has always been allowed; the particular voyages we have no account of. It appears from Champlain,* that many French had joined with the English or Scotch, and adhered to their interest. Among the rest La Tour was at Port Royal in 1630, where out of seventy Scots thirty had died the winter before from their bad accommodations. La Tour, willing to be safe, let the title be in which it would, English or French, procured from the French King a grant of the river St. John, and five leagues above and five below, and ten leagues into the country; this was in 1627.† At the same time he was connected with the Scotch, and first obtained leave to improve lands and build within the territory; and then, about the year 1630, purchased Sir William Alexander's title. La Tour's title is said to have been confirmed to him under the great seal of Scotland,‡ and that he obtained also a grant of a baronetage of Nova-Scotia. Penobscot and all the country westward and southward was at this time in the possession of the English.

In 1632 La Tour obtained from the French King a grant of the river and bay of St. Croix, and islands and lands adjacent, twelve leagues upon the sea and twenty leagues into the land.|| By the treaty of St. Germain's the same year, Acadie was relinquished by the English, and La Tour became dependent upon the French alone. In 1634 he obtained a grant of the Isle of Sables, another of ten leagues upon the sea and ten into the land at La Have, another of Port Royal the same extent, and the like at Menis, with all adjacent islands included in each grant. Razilly had the general command, who appointed Monsieur D'Aulney de Charnify his Lieutenant of that part of Acadie

* p. 283.

† This appears from a list of the several grants made to La Tour, communicated to governor Pownall by Monsieur D'Entremont, a very ancient French inhabitant of Acadie, descended from La Tour, and who was removed to Boston in 1756, and died in a few years after.

‡ Hubbard. It is probable the case was not just as represented. King Charles in 1625 confirmed Alexander's grant, under whom La Tour settled.

|| The French commissaries speak of this grant as made to Razilly.

Acadie west of St. Croix, and La Tour of that east. In consequence of this division D'Aulney came, as has been related, and dispossessed the English at Penobscot in the year 1635. Razilly died soon after, and D'Aulney and La Tour both claimed a general command of Acadie, and made war upon one another. D'Aulney, by the French King's letter to him in 1638, was ordered to confine himself to the coast of the Etechemins, which in all his writings he makes to be a part of Acadie. La Tour's principal fort was at St. John's. As their chief views were the trade with the natives, being so near together, there was a constant clashing of interest. In November 1641 La Tour sent Rochet, a protestant of Rochel, to Boston from St. John's, with proposals for a free trade between the two colonies, and desiring assistance against D'Aulney; but not having sufficient credentials, the governor and council declined any treaty, and he returned. The next year, October 6, there came to Boston a shallop from La Tour, with his Lieutenant and 14 men, with letters full of compliment, desiring aid to remove D'Aulney from Penobscot, and renewing the proposal of a free trade. They returned without any assurance of what was principally desired; but some merchants of Boston sent a pinnace after them, to trade with La Tour at the river St. John. They met with good encouragement, and brought letters to the governor containing a large state of the controversy between D'Aulney and La Tour; but stopping at Pennaquid in their way home, they found D'Aulney upon a visit there, who wrote to the governor, and sent him a printed copy of an arrêt he had obtained from France against La Tour, and threatened that if any vessels came to La Tour he would make prize of them. The next summer (June 12) La Tour himself came to Boston in a ship, with 140 persons aboard, the master and crew being protestants of Rochel. They took a pilot out of a Boston vessel at sea, and coming into the harbour saw a boat with Mr. Gibbon's lady and family, who were going to his farm. One of the Frenchmen who had been entertained at the house knew her; and a boat being manned to invite her aboard, she fled to Governor's-Island and the Frenchmen after her, where they found the governor

governor and his family, who were all greatly surpris'd, as was the whole colony, when they heard the news ; * for had it been an enemy, he might not only have secured the governor's person, but taken possession of the castle opposite to the island, there not being a single man at that time to defend the place. † La Tour acquainted the governor, that this ship, coming from France with supplies for his fort, found it blocked up by D'Aulney his old enemy, and he was now come to Boston to pray aid to remove him. La Tour had cleared up his conduct so as to obtain a permission under the hands of the vice-admiral and grand prior, &c. for this ship to bring supplies to him, and in the permission he was stiled the King's Lt. General in Acadie. He produced also letters from the agent of the company in France, advising him to look to himself and to guard against the designs of D'Aulney. The governor called together such of the magistrates and deputies as were near the town, and laid before them La Tour's request. They could not, consistent with the articles they had just agreed to with the other governments, grant aid without their advice ; but they did not think it necessary to hinder any who were willing to be hired from aiding him, which he took very thankfully ; but some being displeased with these concessions, the governor called a second meeting, where, upon a more full debate, the first opinion was adhered to. ‡ La Tour hired four ships of force, and took 70 or 80 volunteers into his pay, with which assistance he was safely landed at

* The town was so surpris'd, that they were all immediately in arms ; and three thallops filled with armed men were sent to guard the governor home.

† This occasioned new regulations for the better security of the place. The castle was rebuilt in 1644 at the charge of the six neighbouring towns. *Johnson.*

‡ Some of the magistrates, deputies and elders were much grieved at this proceeding. A remonstrance to the governor was drawn up and signed by Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Bradstreet, and Mr Symonds of the magistrates, and Mr. Nath. Ward, Ezekiel Rogers, Nathaniel Rogers and John Norton of the elders, wherein they condemn the proceeding as impolitic and unjust, and set forth, " that they should expose their trade to the ravages of D'Aulney, and perhaps the whole colony to the resentment of the French King, who would not be imposed upon by the distinction of permitting and commanding force to assist La Tour ; that they had no sufficient evidence of the justice of his cause, and *in causa dubia, bellum non est suscipiendum* ; that La Tour was a papist, attended by priests, friars, &c. and that they were in the case of Jehoiaphath who joined with Ahab an idolater, which act was expressly condemned in scripture. *Manuscript letters and original papers.*

at his fort ; and D'Aulney fled to Penobscot, where he ran his vessels ashore ; and although the commander of the ships refused to attack him, yet some of the soldiers joined with La Tour's men in an assault upon some of D'Aulney's men who had intrenched themselves, but were obliged to betake themselves to flight, having three of their number slain. The ships returned in about two months without any loss. The governor excused the proceeding to D'Aulney as not having interested himself in the quarrel between them, but only permitted La Tour in his distress, as the laws of christianity and humanity required, to hire ships and men for his money, without any commission or authority derived from the government of the colony. D'Aulney went to France, and being expected to return the next summer, 1644, with a great force, La Tour came again to Boston, and went from thence to Mr. Endicot, who was then governor and lived at Salem, and who appointed a meeting of magistrates and ministers to consider his request. Most of the magistrates were of opinion that he ought to be relieved as a distressed neighbour, and in point of prudence, to prevent so dangerous an enemy as D'Aulney from strengthening himself in their neighbourhood ; but it was finally agreed, that a letter should be wrote to D'Aulney, to inquire the reason of his having granted commissions to take their people, and to demand satisfaction for the wrong he had done to them and their confederates in taking Penobscot, and in making prize of their men and goods at the Isle of Sables ; at the same time intimating, that although those people who went the last year with La Tour had no commission, yet if D'Aulney could make it appear they had done him any wrong (which they knew nothing of) satisfaction should be made ; and they expected he should call in all his commissions, and required his answer by the bearer. They likewise acquainted him, that their merchants had entered into a trade with La Tour, which they were resolved to support them in. La Tour, being able to obtain nothing further, returned to his fort.

Some of the province of Maine going this summer (1644) from Saco to trade with La Tour, or to get in their debts,
put

put in at Penobscot in their way, and were detained prisoners a few days ; but for the sake of Mr. Shurt of Pemaquid, one of the company, who was well known to D'Aulney, they were released. La Tour afterwards prevailed upon Mr. Wannerton, another of the company, to attempt with about twenty of La Tour's men to take Penobscot, for they heard the fort was weakly manned and in want of victuals. They went first to a farm house of D'Aulney's, about six miles from the fort. They burned the house and killed the cattle ; but Wannerton being killed at the door, the rest of them came to Boston.

In September, letters were received from D'Aulney, informing that his master the King of France, understanding that the aid allowed to La Tour the last year by Massachusetts was procured by means of a commission which he shewed from the vice admiral of France, had given in charge that they should not be molested, but good correspondence should be kept with them and all the English, and that, as soon as he had settled some affairs, he intended to let them know what further commission he had, &c. Soon after, he sent a commissioner, supposed to be a friar, but dressed in a lay habit, with ten men to attend him, with credentials and a commission under the great seal of France, and a copy of some late proceedings against La Tour, who was proscribed as a rebel and traitor, having fled out of France against special order. The governor and magistrates urged much a reconciliation with La Tour, but to no purpose. La Tour pretended to be a Huguenot, or at least to think favourably of that religion ; and this gave him a preference, in the esteem of the colony, to D'Aulney ; but as D'Aulney seemed to be established in his authority, upon proposals being made by him of peace and friendship, the following articles were concluded upon, viz.

“ The agreement between John Endicot, Esq. governor of
“ New-England, and the rest of the magistrates there,
“ and Monsieur Marie, commissioner of Monsieur
“ D'Aulney, knt. governor and lieut. general for his
“ Majesty the King of France in Acadie, a province of
“ New-France, made and ratified at Boston in the Ma-
“ sachusetts aforesaid, October 8, 1644. “ THE

“ THE governor and all the rest of the magistrates do promise to Mr. Marie, that they and all the rest of the English within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts shall observe and keep firm peace with Mons. D’Aulney, &c. and all the French under his command in Acadie. And likewise the said M. Marie doth promise, in the behalf of Mons. D’Aulney, that he and all his people shall also keep firm peace with the governor and magistrates aforesaid, and with all the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts aforesaid; and that it shall be lawful for all men, both the French and English, to trade with each other, so that if any occasion of offence should happen, neither part shall attempt any thing against the other in any hostile manner, until the wrong be first declared and complained of and due satisfaction not given. Provided always, the governor and magistrates aforesaid be not bound to restrain their merchants from trading with their ships with any persons, whether French or others, wheresoever they dwell. Provided also, that the full ratification and conclusion of this agreement be referred to the next meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies of New-England for the continuation or abrogation, and in the mean time to remain firm and inviolable.”

This agreement freed the people from the fears they were under of ravages upon their small vessels and out plantations. La Tour was suffered to hire a vessel to carry a supply of provisions to his fort, which vessel he took under his convoy, and returned home.*

Mr.

* The agreement made with D’Aulney was afterwards ratified by the commissioners of the united colonies, but he proved a very troublesome neighbour notwithstanding. In 1645, he made prize of a vessel belonging to the merchants of Boston going to La Tour with provisions, and sent the men home, after he had stripped them of their clothes and kept them ten days upon an island in a small old boat without either compass to steer by, or gun to defend themselves. The governor and council dispatched away a vessel with letters to expostulate with him upon this action, complaining of it as a breach of the articles, and requiring satisfaction; but he wrote back in very high and lofty language, and threatened them with the effects of his master’s displeasure. They replied to D’Aulney, that they were not afraid of any thing he could do to them, and as for his master they knew he was a mighty prince, but they hoped he was just as well as mighty, and that he would not fall upon them without hearing their cause, and if he should do it, they had a God in whom to trust when all other help failed. With this ship D’Aulney made an attempt the same year upon La Tour’s fort while he was absent, having left only 50 men in it; but his lady bravely defended it, and

D’Aulney

Mr. Endicot was this year (1644) chosen governor, and Mr. Winthrop deputy governor. Mr. Pynchon, who, living

D'Aulney returned disappointed, and charged Massachusetts with breach of covenant in entertaining La Tour and sending home his lady. They excused themselves in a letter by replying, that La Tour had hired three London ships which lay in the harbour. To this letter D'Aulney refused at first to return any answer, and refused to suffer the messenger, Capt. Allen, to come within his fort, but at length wrote in a high strain, demanding satisfaction for his mill which had been burnt, and threatening revenge. When the commissioners met in September, they agreed to send Capt. Bridges to him with the articles of peace ratified by them, and demanding a ratification from him under his own hand. D'Aulney entertained their messenger with courtesy and all the state he could, but refused to sign the articles until the differences between them were composed; and wrote back, that he perceived their drift was to gain time, whereas, if their messengers had been furnished with power to have treated with him and concluded about their differences, he doubted not all might have been composed, for he stood more upon his honour than his interest, and he would sit still until the spring expecting their answer. The general court, upon considering this answer, resolved to send the deputy governor, Mr. Dudley, Major Denison and Capt. Hawthorn, with full powers to treat and determine, and wrote to D'Aulney acquainting him with their resolution, and that they had agreed to the place he desired, viz. Penobscot or Pentagoet, and referred the time to him, provided it should be in the month of September. This was opposed by some as too great a condescension, and they would have had him come to the English settlement at Pemaquid, but his commission of lieutenant-general for the King of France was thought by others to carry so much dignity with it that it would be no dishonour to the colony to go to his own house; but it seems he was too good a husband to put himself to the expense of entertaining the messengers, and wrote in answer that he perceived they were now in earnest and desired peace, as he did also for his part, and that he thought himself highly honoured by their vote to send so many of their principal men to him, but desired he might spare them the labour and he would send two or three of his to Boston in August following (1646) to hear and determine, &c. On the 20th of September, Messrs. Marie, Lewis, and D'Aulney's secretary, arrived at Boston in a small pinnace, and it being Lord's day two officers were sent to receive them at the water side and to conduct them to their lodgings without any noise, and after the public worship was over the governor sent Major Gibbons with other gentlemen and a guard of musketeers to attend them to his house, where they were entertained. The next morning they began upon business, and every day dined in public, and were conducted morning and evening to and from the place of treaty with great ceremony. Great injuries were alleged on both sides, and after several days spent, an amnesty was agreed upon. One Capt. Cromwell had taken in the West-Indies a rich sedan made for the viceroy of Mexico, which he gave to Mr. Winthrop: this was sent as a present to D'Aulney, and well accepted by his commissioners, the treaty renewed, and all matters amicably settled. In the mean time D'Aulney effectually answered his main purpose, for by his high language he kept the colony from assisting La Tour, took his fort from him with ten thousand pounds sterling in furs and other merchandize, ordnance stores, plate, jewels, &c. to the great loss of the Massachusetts merchants, to one only of whom (Major Gibbons) La Tour was indebted 2500l. which was wholly lost. La Tour went to Newfoundland, where he hoped to be aided by Sir David Kirk, but was disappointed, and came from thence to Boston, where he prevailed upon some merchants to send him with four or five hundred pounds sterling in goods to trade with the Indians in the Bay of Fundy. He dismissed the English who were sent in the vessel, and never thought proper to return himself or render any account of his consignments. D'Aulney died before the year 1652, and La Tour married his widow, and repossessed himself in whole or in part of his former estate in Nova-Scotia, and in 1691 a daughter of D'Aulney and a canoness at St. Omers dying, made her brothers and sisters La Tours her general legatees. Under them, and by force of diverse confirmations of former

ing very remote at Springfield, had been left out of the number of assistants, was again restored.* The general court shewed a prudent compliance with the powers prevailing in England, and passed the following order.

“ WHEREAS the civil wars and dissensions in our native country, through the seditious words and carriages of many evil affected persons, cause divisions in many places of government in America, some professing themselves for the King, and others for the parliament, not considering that the parliament themselves profess that they stand for the King and parliament against the malignant papists and delinquents in that kingdom. It is therefore ordered, that what person soever shall by word, writing or action, endeavour to disturb our peace, directly or indirectly, by drawing a party under pretence that he is for the King of England, and such as join with him against the parliament, shall be accounted as an offender of a high nature against this commonwealth, and to be proceeded with either capitally or otherwise according to the quality and degree of his offence. Provided always, that this shall not be extended against any merchant strangers and shipmen that come hither merely for matter of trade or merchandize, albeit they should come from any of those parts that are in the hands of the King, and such as adhere to him against the parliament, carrying themselves here quietly, and free from railing or nourishing any faction, mutiny or sedition, amongst us, as aforesaid.”

We shall find the authority here acquiescing under every change of government in England. When we consider the dependence of a colony upon its mother country, nothing less is ordinarily to be expected.† The

mer grants made by Louis the 14th, between the peace of Ryswick and that of Utrecht, D'Entremont aforesaid claimed a great part of the province of Nova-Scotia and of the country of Acadie. Of part of those in Nova-Scotia he was possessed when all the French inhabitants were removed by order of admiral Boscawen and general Lawrence.

* Feb. 26, 1644, the country's ammunition, for greater security, having been sent to Roxbury to be lodged in the house of the surveyor-general, J. Johnson, the house took fire by accident at noon day and was soon blown up, there being 17 barrels of powder in it, but no other damage was done. Every one was ready to make their observations, one was pretty obvious, viz. that there had not been due care taken to pay for the powder. *Hubbard.*

† Capt. Daniel Gookins, who came to New-England from Virginia, was made free

The Indians this year were at war among themselves. Miantinomo the great sachem of Narraganset, not being able to unite them all against the English, shewed his resentment against Uncas, sachem of the Mohegins, and the two petty sachems, Pomham and Sachonoco, near Providence; but in an action between the Narragansets and Mohegins, Miantinomo was, unfortunately for him, taken prisoner. The court ordered ten men to serve as a garrison in the country of the two petty sachems, and a strong palisadoed house to be built there.

The commissioners of the united colonies interposed between the Narragansets and Mohegins, and by messengers recommended peace to both of them, offering as mediators and umpires to settle and determine their differences. Yoncho sachem of Munhanset on Long Island came to the commissioners at Hartford, and desired that he and his people might be preserved from all injuries, professing himself a friend both to the English and Dutch, having been a tributary to the former ever since the Pequod war; and he and his people were received into protection.* Cuttshammach, sachem of Massachusetts, in the neighbourhood of Boston, having subjected himself formerly to the English, Passaconaway and his sons from Merrimack now came voluntarily and desired that they also might be received upon the same articles. The Indians more and more acquiring the use of fire-arms, the commissioners this year passed an act that no person within any of the united colonies should directly or indirectly sell any kind of arms or ammunition to an Indian, under penalty of twenty for one, nor any smith or other person mend any gun or other weapon for an Indian, under the like penalty.† There was

free the 29th of the 3d month, 1644. He was afterwards an assistant and major-general of the colony, a zealous, active man, but rigid in his principles in church and state beyond most of those who came first from England. I find a person of his name in Purchase among the principal persons in Virginia.

* By an act of the commissioners this year Southampton upon Long-Island was annexed to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and Martha's Vineyard to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

† Some of the people of Rhode-Island applied to the commissioners this year that their colony might be united to some one of the other colonies. The commissioners approved of the proposal, provided the major part of the inhabitants should join in the application, and recommended to Massachusetts or Plymouth in such case to receive them.

was a proposal likewise made among the commissioners for an exclusive trade with the Indians to be carried on by a company to consist of subscribers from the several governments, each government to have a distinct committee to receive subscriptions, take in stock, &c. the whole to be under the regulation of the commissioners. This proposal was recommended to the several general courts, but never agreed to. Massachusetts was more considerable than all the other colonies together, and this alone was enough to have prevented them from approving of such a motion.*

The next year, 1645, a meeting extraordinary of the commissioners was held at Boston, when it was thought necessary to send messengers to the sachems of Narraganset and Mohegin, to require their appearance at Boston, and in the mean time to suspend the wars between the two nations. It seems to have been good policy not to have interposed in this quarrel ; but the English were afraid of the success of the Narragansets, who although they had by an accident lost their sachem yet were much more numerous than the Mohegins, and had divers other stout sachems, Pessicus, Canonicus, and others, to head their armies ; and as the English had generally espoused the cause of the Mohegins, it was feared that as soon as they were subdued, if not in the course of the war, the Narragansets and their allies would fall upon the plantations of the English, against whom they were then in a peculiar manner enraged for the death of Miantinomo their sachem ; for after Uncas had taken him prisoner, being at a loss how to dispose of him, he carried him to Hartford and left him with the English there, who kept him under a guard. Uncas applied to the commissioners for advice. They gave it as their opinion that Miantinomo ought to be put to death for having procured a Pequod to shoot Uncas, and for having been at the head of a conspiracy against the English ; but they ordered Uncas to carry him out of their jurisdiction, and to slay him without that torture and cruelty usually practised by the Indians upon their

* Records of united colonies. [These records are now printed in the second vol. of HAZARD'S Collections.]

their prisoners. This sentence was executed accordingly, some of the English inhabitants accompanying the Indians to see it performed.

At first the Narragansets gave kind words to the messengers from the English governments, but they soon changed their tone, and determined to have no peace without Uncas's head. Mr. Williams from Providence gave notice to the commissioners that the Narragansets would suddenly break out against the English. He himself had always been their favourite, and they had settled a neutrality with the people of his colony. The commissioners drew up a declaration containing the foregoing with other facts, which they apprehended sufficient to justify them in making war against the Narragansets, and determined to raise 300 men * with all convenient speed, and that 40 should be dispatched immediately from Massachusetts, without waiting for the assembling of the general court, which the governor consented to. The two commissioners from Massachusetts † sent to the majors of Suffolk and Middlesex for their assistance in raising the 40 men, and at the same time, lest there should not be a voluntary enlistment, they sent warrants to the constables of the six nearest towns, intimating the necessity, and requiring them to impress the 40 men and a number of horses to be ready in two days, which was done accordingly. An attempt having been made for volunteers without success, the third day the whole number were impressed, and sent away under Humphry Atherton their leader, with some horses, and two of the Massachusetts Indians for their guides, to wait at Mohegin for the Connecticut and New-Haven forces. The general court of Massachusetts met before the forces were out of the jurisdiction. The deputies took no exception to the impress of men upon an emergency although they had no voice in it, but thought it necessary that a commission from the whole court should be sent after the men; but the magistrates refused their consent, and the commissioners opposed the proceeding lest it should weaken their authority if any forces should be afterwards

* Massachusetts 190, Plymouth 40, Connecticut 40, New-Haven 30.

† Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Pelham.

terwards sent out by them. A commission was likewise given to Major Gibbons to be general of the forces of the united colonies for this expedition, and instructions were given him, and vessels were preparing to transport provisions and other necessaries. The news of an army of English preparing to march intimidated the Narragansets, and brought them to submit to peace upon the terms proposed to them. Soon after the death of Miantinomo the Narragansets had sent a present of wampum to Mr. Winthrop, desiring to keep peace with the English, and to revenge their sachem's death upon Uncas and the Mohegins. Mr. Winthrop refused to receive it upon those terms, but the messengers desired they might leave it until they had further advised with their sachems, which was allowed to be done. The commissioners, being informed hereof, thought it proper by messengers of their own to return the wampum. To return a belt received from the Indians is looked upon by them as the highest evidence of a refusal to comply with the proposals made at sending it. The messengers however departed from their instructions; for, finding the Narragansets disposed to submit, and that the sachem and others were coming to Boston, they brought back the wampum, and wrote to the commander of the Connecticut forces and to the commander of the men sent from Massachusetts, acquainting them with the prospect of peace, &c. This action offended the commissioners, who did not intend the proceeding of the forces should be retarded.

Pessacus, with two other chief men of the Narragansets, and Awasequan in behalf of the Nianticks, Janemo the sachem being sick, within a few days after came to Boston with a large number of Indians in their train. The commissioners assured them, that however the treaty should end, they should receive no injury, but should stay and return in safety; and then reminded them of their former treaty, by which they engaged not to enter into war with Uncas or any other Indians without first acquainting the English with the cause thereof, notwithstanding which they had this summer several times invaded Uncas, and had slain, wounded and taken prisoners several of his people.

ple, and done him much damage, and forced the English, according to their engagements, to send forces at different times to defend him; that when they were sent to by Massachusetts and had fair offer made, they abused the messengers, threatened the colonies, and declared, "let who will have begun the war, we will continue it until we have Uncas his head."

The sachems at first charged Uncas with injuries, that he had taken a ransom for Miantinomo's life and then slew him, and they were loth to acknowledge any breach of covenant with the English. They offered to make peace with Uncas for a year or some short time, but this not being satisfactory, they desired to know what was expected from them. Whereupon the commissioners told them, that their breach of covenant was the cause of all the expense which the English had been at in preparing for war, and it was reasonable that they should reimburse it; but the commissioners to shew their moderation demanded only 2000 fathoms of wampum (which was a sum far short of their charges) to be paid at different periods, and that they should restore to Uncas his captives and canoes, and make satisfaction for destroying his corn, &c. keep perpetual peace with the English and all their allies and subjects, and give hostages for the performance of their engagements. These were hard terms, and it was with great reluctance that they finally submitted to them, but they knew that part of the English forces was gone into their country, and they were afraid that even whilst the treaty was depending hostilities would be begun, and finally the 30th of August 1645 they signed to the agreement as the commissioners had prepared it, and left some of their number * hostages as a security for the performance of it.† The small English army which was ready to march was disbanded, and the 4th of September

* Pessacus's child, and a child of his brother, and two other children of persons of note. They attempted to substitute three or four children of the meanest of the people, but were discovered. *Rec. &c.*

† They tried every way to avoid complying with the agreement. Soon after they reported that the Mohawks had sent their advice to them to pay no peag, they would discharge them from the fine. When this would not do, they laid a scheme for carrying off a number of English children in order to redeem their own, but they were afraid to execute it. *Benedict Arnold's letter to Governor Winthrop, May 29, 1646.*

ber which had been appointed for a fast was now ordered to be observed as a day of thanksgiving.*

About this time there was another struggle for power between the assistants or magistrates, and the deputies. The latter could not bear their votes should lose their effect by the non-concurrence of the former who were so much fewer in number; but, by the firmness of Mr. Winthrop, the assistants maintained their right at this time, and (March 25, 1644) the deputies, not being able to prevail, moved that the two houses might sit apart, and from that time votes were sent in a parliamentary way from one house to

* Uncas the sachem of the Mohegins was hated and envied by the Narragansets for his attachment to the English, and the distinguishing favours shewn him in return. In 1638 having entertained some of the Pequods after the war with them, and fearing he had given offence, he came to the governor at Boston, and brought a present, which was at first refused, but afterwards, the governor being satisfied that he had no designs against the English, it was accepted, and he promised to submit to such orders as he should receive from the English concerning the Pequods, and also concerning the Narragansets, and his behaviour towards them, and concluded his speech with these words: "This heart (laying his hand upon his breast) is not mine, but yours. Command me any difficult service and I will do it; I have no men, but they are all yours. I will never believe any Indian against the English any more." He was dismissed with a present, went home joyful, carrying a letter of protection for himself and men through the English plantations, and never was engaged in hostilities against any of the colonies, although he survived Philip's war, and died a very old man after the year 1680.

The Narragansets failed in the payment of the wampum, and in 1646 messengers were sent to them from the commissioners, but Pessacus their chief sachem not attending, in 1647 the message was repeated, and he then pretended sickness, and sent Ninigrate, a sachem of the Nianticks, to act in his behalf, and told the messenger that it was true he had not kept his covenant, but added that he entered into it for fear of the army which he saw, and that he was told that if he did not set his hand to such and such things, the army should go against the Narragansets. When Ninigrate appeared, he asked how the Narragansets became indebted to the English in so large a sum, and being told that it was for the expense the Narragansets had put them to by their breach of covenant, he then pleaded poverty, but the commissioners insisting on the demand, he sent some of his people back to procure what he could, but brought 200 fathom only. They gave him leave to go home, and allowed him further time. The whole was not paid until 1650, when Capt. Atherton with twenty men was sent to demand the arrears, which was then about 300 fathoms. Pessacus put him off some time with dilatory answers, not suffering him to come into his presence. In the mean while his people were gathering together, but the captain carrying his twenty soldiers to the door of the wigwam, entered himself with his pistol in his hand, leaving his men without, and seizing Pessacus by the hair of his head, drew him from the midst of a great number of his attendants, threatening that if one of them offered to stir, he would dispatch him. Pessacus presently paid down what was demanded, and the English returned in safety. Ninigrate after this began to stir up new troubles from the Nianticks, but upon sending Capt. Davis with a troop of horse into the Indian country, he was struck with a panic, and would not be seen by the English until he had assurance of his life, and then he readily complied with their demands, and they and the other Indians continued quiet many years, until by familiar intercourse, and the use of fire arms, they became more emboldened, and engaged in the war in 1675, which issued in their total destruction. *Records of united colonies.*

to the other, and the consent of both was necessary to an act of the court. This continued a short time without any further provision, but finally the magistrates consented, that in appeals from the lower courts and all judicial proceedings, if the two houses differed, the major vote of the whole should determine. The deputies also looked with envy upon the powers exercised by the magistrates in the recess of the general court, and sent up a vote or bill to join some of their number with the magistrates, who should receive a commission from the court, but this was refused as an innovation upon the charter. The house then desired the magistrates would suspend the exercise of their executive power until the next session. They answered that they must act as occasion required according to the trust reposed in them. The speaker told them they would not be obeyed. The court broke up in this temper. But, disturbances happening with the Indians, it was called together again in a short time, and the deputies voted that (*salvo jure*) for the peace and safety of the colony the governor and assistants should take order for the welfare of the people in all sudden cases which may happen within the jurisdiction, until the next session of the court. By agreement, all the ministers were called in at the next session in order to give their opinion upon the point in difference. They determined that the governor, deputy governor and assistants were invested with the magistratical power, (the nature and extent of this power is left in the dark) and that they do not derive it from the people, who were only to design such persons as they thought fit for the exercise of those powers. Several other points were referred to the ministers at the same time, and all agreed to by both houses with some small amendment.*

The controversy between the two houses at this time was occasioned by a difference in sentiment upon the identity of a swine which was claimed by a poor woman as having strayed from her some years before, and her title being disputed by a person of more consequence, divided not the court only, but the whole country. The identity of Martin Guerre was not more controverted in France.

Pity

* Mass. Rec.

Pity and compassion for the poor woman prevailed with the common people against right. At last those magistrates who had been in favour of the other side (for the magistrates were divided too, Dudley on one side and Bellingham the other) persuaded the person who they supposed had a good title, and who had recovered below, to relinquish it, that the public peace might be restored.*

Mr. Dudley had the place of governor for 1645, and Mr. Winthrop deputy governor. Herbert Pelham, Esq.† who arrived not long before, was added to the assistants in the room of Mr. Stoughton, who I suppose died this year.‡ Mr. Pelham being a gentleman distinguished by his family, estate, and the qualities of his mind, was also this first year of his arrival chosen commissioner for the united colonies, Mr. Winthrop being the other.

In 1646 Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor, and Mr. Dudley deputy governor, Mr. Endicot and Mr. Pelham commissioners.§

A great disturbance was caused in the colony this year by a number of persons of figure, but of different sentiments, both as to civil and ecclesiastical government, from the people in general. William Vassal, as we have observed, came over with the first patentees, and was one of the assistants in 1630, but soon after returned to England, and in the year 1635 came back to New-England, and settled at Scituate, in the colony of New-Plymouth. He was a gentleman of a pleasant affable disposition, but always opposite to the government both in Massachusetts and Plymouth. Scituate in Plymouth is contiguous to Hingham in Massachusetts, and Mr. Vassal had much influence in

* MS.

† Mr. Pelham was of the same family with his Grace the Duke of Newcastle. He tarried but a few years in New-England. It appears by letters from England that in 1650 he lived upon his estate in the country there. He was intrusted by the colony in their affairs in England relative to an encouragement for propagating the gospel among the Indians, and was a great promoter of that work.

[‡ He went to England, and was a lieutenant colonel in the parliament's army. His original commission, dated May 3, 1644, is in possession of the Historical Society.]

§ The commissioners hitherto had been chosen by the assembly, but they being general officers, the freemen challenged a right of choosing them, and the rather because some of the deputies had some times been chosen, which was not agreeable to the commissioners of the other governments, nor to the freemen themselves.

in the latter colony as well as the former, and had laid a scheme for petitions of such as were non-freemen to the courts of both colonies, and upon the petitions being refused to apply to the parliament, pretending they were subjected to an arbitrary power, extrajudicial proceedings, &c. The two first of the Massachusetts petitioners were Samuel Maverick and Robert Child. Mr. Maverick being in the colony at the arrival of the charter, was made a freeman before the law confining freedom to such only as were members of churches was in force, but being an episcopalian had never been in any office. Child was a young gentleman just before come from Padua, where he studied physic, and, as was reputed, had taken the degree of doctor. The principal things complained of by the petitioners were,

1st. That the fundamental laws of England were not owned by the colony as the basis of their government according to patent.

2d. The denial of those civil privileges, which the freemen of the jurisdiction enjoyed, to such as were not members of churches and did not take an oath of fidelity devised by the authority here, * although they were freeborn Englishmen, of sober lives and conversation, &c.

3d. That they were debarred from christian privileges, viz. the Lord's supper for themselves, and baptism for their children, unless they were members of some of the particular churches in the country, though otherwise sober, righteous, and godly, and eminent for knowledge, not scandalous in life and conversation, and members of churches in England.

And they prayed that civil liberty and freedom might be forthwith granted to all truly English, and that all members of the church of England or Scotland, not scandalous, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New-England; or, if these civil and religious liberties were refused, that they might be freed from the heavy taxes imposed upon them, and from the impresses made of them or their children or servants into the war; and if they failed

* A motion was made in the court in the year 1645 that all freemen should be required to take the national covenant, in conformity to the practice in England, but it was thought convenient to refer the consideration of this motion. MS. I do not find it to have been reassumed.

failed of redress there, they should be under a necessity of making application to England to the honourable houses of parliament, who they hoped would take their sad condition into consideration, provide able ministers for them, New-England having none such to spare, or else transport them to some other place, their estates being wasted, where they may live like christians, &c. But if their prayer should be granted, they hoped to see the then contemned ordinances of God highly prized, the gospel then dark break forth as the sun, christian charity then frozen wax warm, jealousy of arbitrary government banished, strife and contention abated, and all business in church and state, which for many years had gone backward, successfully thriving, &c.

The court and great part of the country were much offended at this petition. A declaration was drawn up and published by order of court in answer to the petition and in vindication of the government, a proceeding which at this day would not appear for the honour of the supreme authority. A parallel was attempted between the fundamental laws of England and those of the colony, which in some parts of it is liable to exception. The petitioners were required to attend the court. They urged their right of petitioning. They were told they were not accused of petitioning, but of contemptuous and seditious expressions, and were required to find sureties for their good behaviour, &c. A charge was drawn up against them in form, notwithstanding which, it was intimated to them that if they would ingenuously acknowledge their offence they should be forgiven, but they refused and were fined, some in larger, some in lesser sums, two or three of the magistrates dissenting, Mr. Bellingham * in particular desiring his dissent might be entered. The petitioners claimed an appeal to the commissioners for plantations in England, but it was not allowed. Some of them resolved to go home with a complaint. Their papers were seized, and among them was found

* Mr. Winthrop, who was then deputy governor, was active in the prosecution of the petitioners, and the party in favour of them had so much interest as to obtain a vote to require him to answer in public to the complaints against him. Doctor Mather says, he was most irregularly called forth to an ignominious hearing before a vast assembly, to which "with a sagacious humility" he consented, although he shewed how he might have refused it. The result of the hearing was that he was honourably acquitted, &c.

found a petition to the right hon. the Earl of Warwick, &c. commissioners, from about five and twenty non-freemen, for themselves and many thousands more, in which they represent, that from the pulpits * they had been reproached and branded with the names of destroyers of churches and commonwealths, called Hamans, Judases, sons of Korah, &c. and the Lord intreated to confound them, and the people and magistrates stirred up against them by those who were too forward to step out of their callings, so that they had been sent for to the court and some of them committed for refusing to give two hundred pounds bond to stand to the sentence of the court, when all their crime was a petition to the court, and they had been publicly used as malefactors, &c. They then proceed to pray,

1st. For settled churches in New-England according to the reformation of England.

2d. That the laws of England may be established, &c.

3d. That all English freeholders may enjoy such privileges there, as in England and the other plantations.

4th. That a general governor, or some honourable commissioners, may be appointed, &c.

5th. That the oath of allegiance may be taken by all, and other covenants which the parliament shall think most convenient—and add their prayer that their petition for which they had been punished may be considered, and that certain queries may be resolved, as,

Whether the patent of Massachusetts was confirmed by parliament, and whether it was not necessary it should be.

Whether the court may forfeit their charter, &c.

Whether if treason be uttered in the pulpit or in the court and not questioned, the court do not consent, &c.

Whether it be not high treason as well in New-England

as

* This refers to a sermon preached by Mr. Cotton on a fast day, an extract from which is published in the Magnalia, B. III. P. 29. wherein he denounces the judgments of God upon such of his hearers as were then going to England with evil intentions against the country, which judgments the author observes they did not escape. One of the petitioners hath observed on the other side, that Mr. Winslow's horse died in his journey to Boston in order to take passage to London, &c. It may be of service to the world to record signal instances of divine judgments upon heinous offenders against religion and morality. When party spirit or bigotry prevails, common accidents are often construed extraordinary interpositions of Providence.

as in Ireland, to endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of England, to take away the liberties of the English nation, to say Massachusetts is a free state, &c.

Whether the oath of allegiance and the covenant be not binding there.

Whether all English inhabitants having lands are not freemen.

Whether the court hath power to confine in prison, banish, impose censures, impress persons and goods for an offensive war, &c.

Whether the ministers may publicly vilify the English nation, laws, &c. and not be questioned.

Whether the petitioners ought to be hindered from settling in a church way, according to the churches in England, &c.

Mr. Winslow, * who had been chosen agent for the colony to answer to Gorton's complaint, was now instructed to make defence against these petitioners; and by his prudent management and the credit and esteem he was in with many of the members of parliament and principal persons then in power, he prevented any prejudice to the colony from either of these applications.

In 1647 and 1648 the same governor and deputy governor were continued, and the first of these years Robert Bridges † was added to the assistants. The number of males in each of the four colonies being carried in to the commissioners in the year 1647 in order to proportion the sum of 1043*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* expended for the general service, it appeared that the Massachusetts part or proportion of the sum was 670*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Plymouth's, 128*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Connecticut's, 140*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* and New-Haven's, 104*l.* 11*s.* ‡

Mr. Coddington and Mr. Partridge in behalf of the colony of Rhode-Island presented a request to the commissioners at Plymouth in the year 1648 to be received into the confederacy with the other united colonies of New-England.

* Mr. Peters and Mr. Weld were dismissed from the agency and desired to return home, but both of them chose to remain in England.

† All I find of Bridges is "that he was an inhabitant of Lynn, a magistrate of able parts and forward to improve them for the glory of God and the good of his people." *Johnson.*

‡ Rec. Unit. Col.

England. The commissioners returned an answer as follows. "Inasmuch as your present state and condition is full of confusion and danger, having much disturbance among yourselves and no security from the Indians, the commissioners desire therefore in several respects to afford both advice and help; but upon perusal of the ancient patent granted to New-Plymouth, they find Rhode-Island upon which your plantations are settled to fall within their line and bounds, which the honourable committee of parliament do not think fit to straiten or infringe, nor may we. If therefore yourselves and the inhabitants, or the most and most considerable part of them, upon a due consideration of Plymouth patent and right, acknowledge yourselves within that jurisdiction, we shall consider and advise how you may be accepted upon just terms * and with tender respects to your convenience, and shall after afford you the same advice, protection and help which other plantations within the united colonies enjoy, which we hope in sundry respects may tend to your comfort and safety."†

The first instance I find of any person executed for witchcraft was in June 1648. Margaret Jones of Charlestown was indicted for a witch, found guilty, and executed. She was charged with having such a malignant touch, that if she laid her hands upon man, woman or child, in anger, they were seized presently with deafness, vomiting, or other sickness, or some violent pains. The husband of the woman, after she was executed, had taken his passage in a ship which lay in Charles river bound to Barbados well ballasted, but with 80 horses aboard; and being observed to roll on a sudden as if she would have overset, an officer was sent with a warrant

* Plymouth would have been soon swallowed up in Rhode-Island, from the great superiority of the latter. Besides, the principles of the people of the two colonies were so different, that a junction must have rendered both miserable.

† An epidemical sickness passed through the continent in the year 1647. English, French, Dutch and Indians were seized with it. It began with a cold, accompanied with a light fever. Such as bled, or used cooling drinks, generally died; those who used cordials and strengthening things generally recovered. It extended to the West-Indies. In Barbados and St. Christopher's, each, five or six thousand died. It was accompanied there with a great drought, which caused an extreme scarcity of all kinds, and occasioned a demand for New-England produce greater than had ever been known before. Hubbard A general disorder of this kind has at several different periods since prevailed and passed through the continent, and in some instances about the same time it has extended as far as Europe.

warrant to apprehend the man ; and after he was committed to prison, the ship ceased her rolling, which it is said was never renewed afterwards.* Such was the credulity and infatuation of that day. Happy would it have been, if this had been the only instance of it. Shall we wonder at the New-England magistrates, when we find such characters as Lord Chief Justice Hale, &c. soon after chargeable with as great delusion ?

In the beginning of 1649 † (March 26) died Mr. Winthrop, the father of the country, in the 63d year of his age. His death caused a general grief through the colony. He spent his estate and his bodily strength in the public service, although he was remarkable for his temperance, frugality and economy. His virtues were many, his errors few, and yet he could not escape calumny and detraction, which would sometimes make too great an impression upon him. He was of a more catholic spirit than some of his brethren before he left England, but afterwards he grew more contracted, and was disposed to lay too great stress upon indifferent matters. He first proposed leaving off the custom of drinking one to another, and then procured a law to prohibit it. He pursued with great vehemence Mr. Vane's adherents. He might have some political views mixed with this instance of his zeal. Some writers say, that upon his death-bed, when Mr. Dudley pressed him to sign an order of banishment of an heterodox person, he refused, saying, " he had done too much of that work already." Mr. Endicot succeeded him in the place of governor, and Mr. Dudley took the place of deputy governor.

I fancy that about this time the scrupulosity of the good people of the colony was at the height. Soon after Mr. Winthrop's death, Mr. Endicot, the most rigid of any of the magistrates, being governor, he joined with the other assistants in an association against long hair. ‡

In

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Thomas Shepard, minister of Cambridge, died the 25th of August, 1649. He was of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

‡ " Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of Russians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New-England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, as also the commendable custom generally of all the godly of our nation until within this few years :

We

In every age indifferent things have been condemned as sinful, and placed among the greatest immoralities. The text against long hair in Corinthians, as contrary to the custom in the apostle's day, induced our ancestors to think it criminal in all ages and all nations, and to look upon it as one of the barbarisms of the Indians. I have wondered that the text in Leviticus, "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads," was never brought against short hair. The rule in New-England was, that none should wear their hair below their ears. In a clergyman it was said to be the greater offence; they were in an especial manner required to go *patentibus auribus*. A few years before, tobacco was prohibited under a penalty, and the smoke of it in some manuscripts is compared to the smoke of the bottomless pit. Some of the clergy fell into the practice of smoking, and tobacco by an act of government "was set at liberty." In England, perriwigs came into use soon after the restoration. In New-England, they were an eye-sore for thirty years after, and did not generally obtain until about the time of the revolution, and, even then, the example and authority of Dr. Owen, Dr. Bates, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Mede, and other non-conforming ministers in England, besides Spanhemius and other foreign protestant divines, who wore wigs, were necessary to remove all scruples concerning them. Beards were left off early in New-England, and about the same time they were in Old. Leyeret is the first governor who is painted without a beard. He laid it aside in Cromwell's court.

A

We the magistrates who have subscribed this paper (for the shewing of our own innocency in this behalf) do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long hair, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men doe deforme themselves, and offend sober and modest men, and doe corrupt good manners: We doe therefore earnestly entreat all the elders of this jurisdiction (as often as they shall see cause) to manifest their zeal against it in their public administrations, and to take care that the members of their respective churches be not defiled therewith, that so such as shall prove obstinate and will not reforme themselves may have God and man to witness against them. The third month, 10th day, 1649.

Jo. Endicott, governor.
 Tho. Dudley, dep. gov.
 Rich. Bellingham
 Richard Saltonstall
 Increase Nowell
 William Hibbins
 Thomas Flint
 Rob. Bridges
 Simon Bradstreet."

A dispute between the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which began several years before, was this year brought to an end. A duty * had been laid by Connecticut upon all goods which were carried out of the river, for the maintaining Saybrook fort at the mouth of it. The inhabitants of Springfield, being within the Massachusetts province, refused to submit to the payment of this duty. Connecticut in 1646 laid the case before the commissioners of the united colonies, or rather those of Plymouth and New-Haven, the other two being parties, the consideration whereof was referred to the next meeting in 1647; when Massachusetts urged, "that Connecticut had no authority to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of another colony; that the fort was of no use to them; that a demand of this tax had hindered the union for several years; that Massachusetts first took possession of the river, and planted there, and had been at great expense, never expecting this tax; that the Massachusetts people had as good right to lay the same tax for all goods imported from Connecticut, to maintain the fort at Boston." The Connecticut commissioners urged "the practice of many places in Europe; that the fort was a security to the whole river; and that the reason of this case was the same as if Connecticut should be at any expense to make the river more navigable, Springfield surely would not in that case refuse to pay any part of the charge." Massachusetts denied "that the fort was a security against any vessel of force, and admitted that any expense which might make the river more useful to Springfield ought in proportion to be borne by the inhabitants thereof." The commissioners of Plymouth and New-Haven determined that the tax should be paid until the next meeting, but they would then hear any further objections from Massachusetts against it. In 1648, among other things Massachusetts insisted upon Connecticut's producing their patent to shew their authority. Connecticut urged, that the line had never been run by persons in behalf of the two governments to ascertain whether Springfield was within the Massachusetts jurisdiction or not. The commissioners at this meeting recommended the running the line, and ordered

* 2d. per bushel on corn, and 10s. per cwt. on beaver.

ordered that in the mean time the tax should continue. Massachusetts represented, that Mr. Fenwick was to have joined with them in running the line but failed them, and thereupon it was run at their own charge, by which it appeared that Weronoke (Westfield) was within their patent and had been so adjudged by the commissioners; notwithstanding this, they were ready to join with their brethren of Connecticut in another survey, if they would be at the charge as Massachusetts had been before, and would also produce their patent as Massachusetts had produced their patent. Connecticut commissioners denied that Mr. Fenwick had promised to join in running the line, having only in general terms promised to endeavour to clear Springfield from being within the Massachusetts patent; and alleged, that the running the line referred to was a year before this promise; and therefore proposed, that the southerly extent of the Massachusetts patent should be first agreed upon and settled, and then at a mutual charge the line be run by some skilful man chosen by each colony, &c.; that as for their patent, Massachusetts knew the original could not then be obtained, but they were ready to produce an authentic copy, &c.

Upon this, the Massachusetts commissioners, to the dishonour of the colony, produced a law of their general court, imposing a custom or duty upon the other colonies, of the tenor following.

“Whereas the commissioners for the united colonies
 “have thought it but just and equal that Springfield, a
 “member of this jurisdiction, should pay custom or con-
 “tribution to the erecting and maintaining of Saybrook
 “fort, being of no force against an enemy of any strength
 “(before it was burnt*) in the commissioners own judg-
 “ment expressed in their own order, which determination
 “they have also continued by an order at their last meet-
 “ing at Plymouth (though the said fort was then demol-
 “ished by fire and the passage not secured) contrary to a
 “clause provided on Springfield behalf: And forasmuch
 “as this jurisdiction hath expended many thousand pounds
 “in

* In the midst of winter 1647 the fort took fire, no body knew by what means, and all the buildings and goods were destroyed, the damage being a thousand pounds or more. Capt. Mason the commander, with his wife and child, narrowly escaping with their lives. *Hubbard.*

“ in erecting and maintaining several forts, which others as
 “ well as ourselves have received the benefit of, and hath
 “ at present one principal fort or castle of good force against
 “ an enemy, of considerable strength and well garrisoned
 “ and otherwise furnished with sufficient ammunition, be-
 “ sides several other forts and batteries whereby vessels and
 “ goods of all sorts are secured : It is therefore ordered by this
 “ court and the authority thereof, that all goods belonging or
 “ any way appertaining to any inhabitants of the jurisdiction
 “ of Plymouth, Connecticut or New-Haven, that shall be
 “ imported within the castle or exported from any part of
 “ the bay, shall pay such custom as hereafter is expressed,
 “ viz. all skins of beaver, otter, moose, &c. two pence per
 “ skin, and all goods packed in hogshheads or otherwise ten
 “ shillings a ton, corn and meal two pence a bushel, bis-
 “ cuit six pence per hundred, on pain of forfeiture,” &c.*

Had Massachusetts laid a duty on goods from Connecti-
 cut only, they might have had at least a colour, perhaps
 more than a colour, to justify them ; but to extend their
 resentment to the other two colonies for giving judgment
 against them, no excuse can be framed for it. It was a
 mere exertion of power, and a proof of their great superior-
 ity, which enabled them, in effect, to depart from the union
 or combination whenever they found it for their interest,
 and if done by a single magistrate would have been pro-
 nounced tyrannical and oppressive. But in all ages and
 countries, by bodies or communities of men such deeds
 have been done, as most of the individuals, of which such
 communities consisted, acting separately, would have been
 ashamed of.

The union or confederacy had rendered the colonies
 formidable to French and Dutch as well as to the natives,
 and a breach at this time would have given great advantage
 to the enemies of New-England ; the commissioners of
 Plymouth and New-Haven therefore agreed upon a final
 result, of the following tenour, viz. “ That they were in
 “ hopes, according to the advice given at Plymouth, this
 “ controversy might have been happily issued ; but they
 “ find that the Massachusetts line had not been since run,

“ not

* Records of united colonies.

“ nor was the place where it should begin agreed upon ;
 “ that the original patent or an exemplification thereof is
 “ required from Connecticut, although Mr. Hopkins had
 “ offered to swear to the truth of a copy by him presented ;
 “ and that Massachusetts had imposed a burthen some cus-
 “ tom as a return or retaliation, not upon Connecticut
 “ only, the party interested, but upon Plymouth and New-
 “ Haven, whose commissioners, according to an article of
 “ the union and at the request of Massachusetts, had im-
 “ partially considered the matter in controversy, and given
 “ their opinion therein ; therefore the commissioners re-
 “ commend it to the general court of Massachusetts, se-
 “ riously to consider whether such proceedings agree with
 “ the law of love and the tenour and import of the articles
 “ of confederation, but in the mean time desire to be spared
 “ in all further agitations concerning Springfield.”*

The confusions at this time in England were matter of concern and grief to many people in the colonies. There is no doubt that they concurred in sentiment in point of religion with the prevailing party in England, but I find scarce any marks of approbation of the tragical scene, of which this year they received intelligence. Mr. Eaton, the worthy governor of New-Haven, in a letter to Mr. Winthrop in 1648, writes thus : “ I thank you for your love
 “ and pains in that sad but weighty relation you have made
 “ concerning the state of England. The ten considerations
 “ you mention are very observable, and call for our com-
 “ passion and prayers for them that seem not enough sen-
 “ sible of their own danger.” From Virginia, Mr. Harrison, pastor of a congregational church,† writes, “ that by
 “ their later letters they conceive the whole heavens are
 “ overshadowed ; the Scots hang like a black cloud (45000
 “ in number) upon the borders ; the King fled from the
 “ army

* Records of united colonies.—It is probable the fort at Saybrook was soon after slighted and the garrison discontinued, as we meet with no further controversy concerning it. The Massachusetts law was suspended in 1650.

† This was a church founded by ministers sent from Massachusetts. Mr. Harrison came the latter end of 1648 to Boston. He and Mr. Durand the elder were both required to depart the country by Sir William Berkeley the governor of Virginia, who was a persecutor of this small church, consisting of 118 persons only. Harrison went to England, and was made a doctor. The church is supposed to have been dissolved or scattered, as there never was any further account of it. *Hubbard.*

“ army to the Isle of Wight ; the agitators turned levellers, intending to bring in a kind of parity among all conditions, none to have above 300l. none under 10l. per annum,” &c.

A controversy which had long subsisted between the colony of New-Haven and the Dutch at Manhadoes was settled by the commissioners of the united colonies in 1650. The Dutch, who had built a small trading house at Hudson's river soon after the English began the settlement of New-Plymouth, courted a correspondence and friendship with them, and, as a writer of that day observes, “ gave them a mess of pottage for their birthright,” which they had craftily before deprived them of.* They undoubtedly had a design to have possessed themselves of Connecticut river, and to have prevented the English from obtaining any footing there. Those of New-Plymouth had pitched upon a place for a house in 1632, † when it was vacant, and in 1633 erected it, although they were threatened by a party of Dutch whom they then found there. Those from Massachusetts in the years 1635 and 1636 made their principal settlement upon that part of the river where the Dutch had their house, ‡ and for many years made no attempts to remove them, allowing them free liberty of trade with English and Indians. The Dutch also admitted any English to settle among them at Manhadoes. || When Mr Eaton and his company sat down at New-Haven, the Dutch from the rapid increase of the English colonies were alarmed, and charged them with encroachments, although they themselves had no pretence to any certain boundary, and would sometimes challenge the country from Cape Henlopen to Connecticut river, and at other times as far as Cape Cod. The English, regardless of this claim, went on extending their settlements to Milford, Stamford, and other places, until they were within a few miles of Hudson's river. Whether the Dutch had any pretence of title or not, no doubt can be

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Winflow's manuscript letter to governor Winthrop, Sept. 1633.

‡ Hartford.

§ Mr. Willet, Baxter, and divers other families.

be made that they would have extirpated the English if it had been in their power; but they were few in number. Once indeed, being possessed of a ship of some force, they sent her to New-Haven, and seized a Dutch vessel which lay in the harbour, and carried her away, the English having no naval force nor fortifications on land to prevent it. At another time they set up the arms of the States at or near Stamford, and threatened to do the like at New-Haven; and there were altercations for many years, first between Kieft the first Dutch governor, and afterwards Stuyvesant his successor, and Mr. Eaton the governor of New-Haven. The Dutch had always restrained the English, not settled among them, from trading with their Indians upon Hudson's river. In 1648 the commissioners passed an order prohibiting any French or Dutch or other foreigners trading with the Indians within the jurisdiction of the united colonies. This law if carried into execution must have put an end to the Dutch trade at Hartford. In 1650, while the commissioners were sitting at Hartford, the Dutch governor (Stuyvesant) came thither in order to treat, and presented his proposals in writing, dated "New-Netherlands, the 23d of September N. S." being the day they were delivered. He complained of the encroachments at Connecticut river as well as towards Hudson's river, of the reception of fugitives, of the law debarring them from trade with the Indians, and of the English for selling goods too cheap to the Indians, and so spoiling the trade, &c. The commissioners took notice, that his proposals were dated at New-Netherlands, and refused to treat until he altered the name of the place where they were dated. He offered, that if the English would forbear styling the place Hartford, he would forbear styling it New-Netherlands, and date his proposals at Connecticut. They consented that he should date at Connecticut, but would not give up their own right to date at Hartford. After several days spent in messages from one to the other, the matters in difference were submitted to Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Prince, appointed by the commissioners, and to Thomas Willet and George Baxter, appointed by the Dutch governor. Their result was to be binding to both parties.

parties.* The line which was settled ran northerly only 20 miles in length from the sea, and afterwards as the Dutch and New-Haven should agree, so as not to come within 10 miles of Hudson's river. This must be understood so far as New-Haven had jurisdiction.†

The same governor and deputy governor were re-elected for the year 1650.‡ A corporation in England, constituted for propagating the gospel among the Indians, began this year their correspondence with the commissioners of the united colonies, who were employed as agents for the corporation as long as the union of the colonies continued. One professed design of the colony charter was the gospelizing the natives. The long neglect of any attempts this way cannot be excused. The Indians themselves asked how it happened, if christianity was of such importance, that for six-and-twenty years together the English had said nothing to them about it. The answer by the English was, that they repented they had not done it long ago, telling

* Appendix, No. 7.

‡ Accordingly we find that Massachusetts in the year 1659 so understood it, and made a grant of land opposite to fort Aurania (Albany) upon Hudson's river, and a number of the principal merchants in the colony were enterprising a settlement and a trade with the Indians, which probably was laid aside upon the change of affairs in England. The country itself a few years after was recovered from the Dutch and granted to the Duke of York, too powerful a proprietor to contend with about bounds. As this settlement is the only piece of evidence of any certain boundary to the New-Netherlands while in possession of the Dutch, it is difficult to assign any sufficient reason why the colony of Newyork should extend further upon the colonies of Connecticut or Massachusetts than this agreement would carry it. When the Massachusetts charter was granted, the Dutch had no possessions at any distance from Hudson's river. Any grants or patents of vast tracts or manors made by the Dutch without possession or improvement seem to be void both in law and equity, and would have been as good if they had extended 200 miles from the river as when they extended 20. Notwithstanding this settlement, after the English were possessed of New-Netherlands, Connecticut was disturbed in their possessions, and finally obliged to give up their claim to Long-Island, and to submit to a line of about 20 miles distant from Hudson's river, giving an equivalent for their settled towns upon the sound, the jurisdiction as well as property whereof they retained, which Douglass says, but without any authority, did not originally belong to Connecticut. The line between Massachusetts and Newyork still remains controverted.

‡ Mr. Willoughby, a gentleman from England, Capt. Wiggins, who lived in New-Hampshire, and Edward Gibbons, were this year added to the assistants. Wm. Hawthorn, the first speaker upon record. Edward Gibbons was one of Mr. Wollaston's plantation, and a very gay young gentleman when the Massachusetts people first came to Salem, and happened to be there at Mr. Higginson's and Mr. Skelton's ordination and forming the church. He was so much affected with the solemnity of the proceeding, that he desired to be received into their number. They had not sufficient knowledge of him, but encouraged him in his good intentions, and he afterwards joined to the church in Boston. *Mather.*

telling the Indians withal they were not willing to hear, &c. Some of the Indians who were taken as servants into English families attained to some acquaintance with the principles of religion, and seemed to have been affected with what they had been taught concerning their existence after death, and with the fears of the divine displeasure. John, the sagamore of Massachusetts, would sometimes praise the English and their God, "much good men much good God," and when he was struck with death sent for Mr. Wilson and desired him to teach his son to know the God of the English after he was dead. * Mention has also been made of Wequash the Pequod; but the first instance of an Indian who gave any hopes of becoming a real christian was that of Hiacoomes, in the year 1643, at Martha's Vineyard.* Under the instruction of Mr. Mayhew he was induced to forsake the Indian pawaws to attend the English assemblies, and after some years became himself a preacher to his own people. It was in the year 1646 that the general court of Massachusetts passed the first act or order to encourage the carrying the gospel to the Indians, and it was then recommended to the elders to consider how it might best be done. On the 28th of October four persons, who are not named, made the first visit to the Indian wigwams. Wabun the sachem† had notice given him, and many Indians were gathered together. None of the English were sufficiently skilled in the Indian language to make a prayer in it, and the meeting was opened with a prayer in English; but one of the company, in a discourse in the Indian tongue, began with the moral law

* Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were not included in either of the four New-England governments. The Earl of Stirling laid claim to all the islands between Cape-Cod and Hudson's river. James Forett, agent for his lordship, on the 10th of October 1641 grants to Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, and Thomas Mayhew his son, Nantucket and two small islands adjacent, and the 23d day of the same month Martha's Vineyard and Elizabeth islands; and, agreeable to the opinion of that day, of which we have given so many instances, grants the same powers of government which the Massachusetts people enjoyed by their charter. Mr. Mayhew was called the governor of the islands. The Duke of York after his second grant in 1673 included them in his commission to his governors of Newyork. The grants of the soil of these islands could not vacate the right of the Indian sachems and proprietors; and I suppose most of the present inhabitants and proprietors derive their titles from Indian grants posterior to the grant to Lord Stirling, or to that made by his agent to Mr. Mayhew and his son.

† I take it of those who were afterwards called Natick Indians.

law and a brief explication of it, and the wrath and curse of God the just portion of the breakers of this law ; and then informed them of the coming of Christ into the world to recover mankind from sin and the punishment of it, his sufferings and death, resurrection and ascension, and that he would come again at the end of the world to be the judge of all men. They then entered into a free conversation with the Indians, and desired them, upon any point which they did not understand, to ask such questions as they thought proper, which was done accordingly ; and it became the constant practice after a sermon for as many of the Indians as desired it to stand up and propose questions * to the preacher. This meeting gave so much encouragement, that on the 11th of November they paid the Indians another visit at the same place, and found a greater number than were present before. Two other meetings were held the same fall, and a particular account was transmitted to England, and published there, with the title of “ The day-breaking if not the sun-rising of the gospel with the Indians in New-England.” Mr. Winslow, being in England, sought to obtain subscriptions for encouraging the work. Mr. Eliot, a minister in New-England, at the same time applied himself with zeal equal to that of the missionaries of the Romish church ; but instead of adopting a favourite maxim of some of that church, that ignorance is the mother of devotion, he endeavoured to enlighten the understandings of the Indians, to draw them from their savage, barbarous, and wandering way of life, to civility, government and cohabitation ; and it was a noted saying of his, “ that the Indians must be civilized

* In Col. Goffe's journal, one of King Charles's judges, who attended an Indian lecture in 1660, after 13 or 14 years instruction, he takes notice of the following questions :

1st. In your text are these words, Save yourselves from this untoward generation ; in other scriptures it stands, We can do nothing of ourselves : How can this be reconciled ?

2d. You say, the word is the sword of the spirit, by which their hearts were pricked. How shall I take and use the sword of the spirit to prick my heart ?

3d. What was the sin of Judas, or how did he sin in betraying Christ, seeing it was what God had appointed ?

4th. The answer to these converts was, Repent and be baptized, &c. But ye do not suffer us to be baptized, therefore I fear none of the Indians sins are forgiven, and my heart is weary with that fear, for it is said in Matthew, Whose sins ye bind on earth are bound in heaven.

civilized as well as, if not in order to their being, christianized." He obtained from the court the grant of a tract of land, to which he gave the Indian name of Noonanetum (Rejoicing), drew as many families there as he could with design to make a fortified town, instructed them in their husbandry, and excited them to industry and a prudent management of their affairs ; caused some of them to learn such trades as were most necessary for them, so as that they completely built a house for public worship; 50 feet in length and 25 in breadth, which Mr. Wilson in one of his letters says, " appeared like the workmanship of an English housewright." Besides this settlement at Noonanetum, he visited and preached to the Indians at Dorchester mills; Watertown, Concord, and as far as Pantucket falls on Merrimack river ; to the Indians also in the colony of Plymouth, although Massasoiet or Ousamequin and his son discountenanced the bringing the gospel to their tribe. The Narraganset sachem treated with contempt a message he sent to them, but the Nipnets desired some might be sent to teach them to pray to God. Besides Mr. Winslow, Mr. Pelham and others forwarded the collections in England, and July the 27th 1649 the parliament passed an act or ordinance for the advancement of this good work, the following breviate whereof was printed.

" Whereas the commons of England, assembled in parliament, have received certain intelligence from divers
 " godly ministers and others in New-England, that divers
 " of the heathen natives, through the pious care of some
 " godly English, who preach the gospel to them in their
 " own Indian language, not only of barbarous are become
 " civil, but many of them forsake their accustomed charms
 " and forceries and other satanical delusions, do now call
 " upon the name of the Lord, and give great testimony of
 " the power of God drawing them from death and darkness
 " to the life and light of the glorious gospel of Jesus
 " Christ, which appeareth by their lamenting with tears
 " their mispent lives, teaching their children what they are
 " instructed themselves, being careful to place them in
 " godly families and English schools, betaking themselves
 " to

" to one wife, putting away the rest, and by their con-
 " stant prayers to almighty God morning and evening in
 " their families, expressed in all appearance with much
 " devotion and zeal of heart. All which considered, we
 " cannot but in behalf of the nation we represent rejoice
 " and give glory to God for the beginning of so glorious a
 " propagation of the gospel amongst those poor heathen,
 " which cannot be prosecuted with that expedition as is
 " desired, unless fit instruments be encouraged and main-
 " tained to pursue it, schools and clothing be provided,
 " and many other necessaries. Be it therefore enacted by
 " this present parliament, that for the furthering so good
 " a work there shall be a corporation in England consisting
 " of sixteen, viz. a president,* treasurer, and fourteen as-
 " sistants; and that William Steel, Esq. *Herbert Pelham*,
 " Esq. James Sherley, Abraham Babington, Robert
 " Houghton, *Richard Hutchinson*, George Dun, *Robert*
 " *Tomson*, William Mullins, John Hodgson, Edward
 " Parks, Edward Clud, *Richard Lloyd*,† Thomas Aires,
 " John Stone, and *Edward Winslow*, citizens of London,
 " be the first sixteen persons; out of whom, the said six-
 " teen persons, or the greater number of them, shall choose
 " one of the said sixteen to be president, another to be
 " treasurer. They, or any nine of them, to appoint a com-
 " mon seal. And be it enacted, that a general collection
 " be made for the purposes aforesaid through all England
 " and Wales; and that the ministers read this act, and
 " exhort the people to a cheerful contribution to so pious
 " a work. Hen. Scobell, cleric. parlia."

Letters at the same time were published from the two
 universities of Oxford and Cambridge, calling upon the
 ministers of England and Wales to stir up their congrega-
 tions to a liberal contribution for the promotion of so glo-
 rious an undertaking.

The purport of the first letter to the commissioners from
 the corporation was to acquaint them with Mr. Winslow's
 determination

* William Steel, Esq. was the first president, and continued until the restora-
 tion.

† I suppose this should be Richard Floyd, who was chosen treasurer then or soon
 after. Those in italicks had been in New-England. James Sherley was a great
 friend to Plymouth colony.

determination to return to New-England, which would be greatly prejudicial to the work, and to intimate to them that he ought to be no sufferer by his continuance in England. The commissioners of Massachusetts proposed to make Mr. Winslow the agent for the united colonies; but as he had gone over in the service of Massachusetts only, the rest of the colonies declined the proposal, and all that could be obtained was a letter from the commissioners to the corporation approving of Mr. Winslow's stay in England, and desiring that one hundred pounds sterling might be paid him out of the collections, * with a promise that if it was not approved of as a proper charge, it should be replaced by the colonies.†

Proposals

* I cannot find that either of the colonies have ever advanced any considerable sums for this service.

† Great opposition was made to the collection in England, and the conversion of the Indians was represented as a mere pretence to draw money from men of pious minds. It went on so slowly, that an attempt was made to raise a sum out of the army. Hugh Peters was one of the collectors; but the corporation wrote to the commissioners, that he not only refused to pay a penny himself, but discouraged others, because, as they supposed, he had no hand in laying the plan. However, such favourable accounts were from time to time published of the success of the mission, that when King Charles came in, the corporation was possessed of six or seven hundred pounds per annum, which was in danger of being all lost, being derived from the establishment of the parliament; but by the interest of some good men, of whom the celebrated Robert Boyle was one, a new charter was obtained, by which the estate was secured. Mr. Boyle was chosen and continued many years the governor, and the commissioners of the united colonies were the correspondents in New-England until the charter was vacated. After that, commissioners were specially appointed by the corporation, consisting of the principal gentlemen of the civil order and of the clergy in New-England, and vacancies by death or otherwise have from time to time been filled up until the present time. Perhaps no fund of this nature has ever been more faithfully applied to the purposes for which it was raised. If we compare the requisites to determine any one to be a convert in Mr. Eliot's esteem, with those of the popish missionaries, it is not strange that their number hath exceeded his. Before the converts in New-England were admitted to the ordinances, they were examined by some of the magistrates as well as ministers. The confessions of many of them, as taken from their own mouths, were sent to England and printed, and there approved of; and although the mission began in 1646, it was the year 1651 before the first church was gathered, viz. at Natick. Whereas with the Romish priests the repetition of a Pater Noster or Ave Maria, or perhaps the telling over a few beads, made them fit subjects of baptism. Mr. Eliot, as has been observed, always insisted upon their being civilized, and becoming men, at the same time they became christians. This was *naturam expellere*, and it was with great reluctance they forsook any of their savage customs. The French Coureurs de Bois and others married among the Indians and became savages themselves, and the priests went into their country and dwelt among them, suffered them to retain their old customs, and conformed to them themselves. However, the number of Indians in New-England which have from time to time made profession of christianity is far from inconsiderable. In 1660 there were ten Indian towns of such

Proposals had been made in the year 1648 to Monsieur D'Aillebout, the governor of Canada, for a free commerce between Massachusetts and that colony. The French professed to be greatly pleased, and a correspondence was kept

up

such as were called Praying Indians. (*Coffe's journal*.) Mr. Eliot mentions a visitation he made in 1670. He went down to the Indians at Maktepos, I suppose what we now call Mashpee, where Richard Bourne, a godly man, on the 17th of August was ordained pastor to an Indian church which was gathered upon that day, and the Indians and such of their children as were present were baptized. From thence he passed over to the Vineyard, where many were received into the church, men and women, and they and their children baptized, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered in the Indian church, and many of the English church desiring to join with them, it was celebrated in both languages. Two teaching and two ruling elders were ordained, and a foundation was laid for two churches more. The teacher of the praying Indians at Nantucket came to the Vineyard and made report that there were about ninety families that prayed unto God in that island, and advice was given that some of the most godly among them should join to the church at the Vineyard, and, after some experience of their orderly walk, should issue forth into church state among themselves, and have officers ordained. The Indians were very desirous of having Mr. Mayhew for their pastor, but he declined it, conceiving that he could serve them better in the capacity he was in of advising and instructing in the management of their church affairs, and was willing to die in the service of Jesus Christ. Advice was given for the settling of schools, and that all who neglected sending their children should be liable to censure. Mr. Eliot then takes notice of the state of the Indians in the Bay. Natick was the chief town where most of the Indian rulers dwelt, and where their courts were held. There were two teachers, John and Anthony, and betwixt forty and fifty communicants, and sundry more proposed to join to the church. Punkapog (now Stoughton) was the second town where the sachems of the blood, as they term the chief royal line, had their residence and rights, which (in other parts) as Mr. Eliot says, were mostly alienated to the English towns. I suppose the Indians of Naponset or Milton before this time had removed and were settled with those of Punkapog beyond or about the blue hills. Their chief ruler and teacher was Abauton. A family or two of his descendants remain to this day.

Haflunimefut, or, as it is now pronounced, Haflanemisco, were the Indians next in order of dignity and antiquity; from thence came some of the chief friends to praying to God. They lay upon Nichmug river, and were strict observers of the sabbath, and were judged by all travellers, especially such who had occasion to lodge among them, to be sincere in their religious professions. They had two teachers, Annuwekin and Toppukkoowelin, characterized sound and godly men. I suppose those who are called Grafton Indians, about 8 or 10 families, are all the remains of Haflanemisco.

Ogguonikongquamefut was the next praying town, which bordered upon Marlborough. The English meeting house being placed within the line of the Indian town caused great disputes and discouragements. Solomon, judged to be a serious and sound christian, was their teacher. I suppose they are all dispersed, if not extinct.

Nathope was the next. Tahattawans was called a sachem of the blood, a faithful zealous christian was their ruler. Their minister, John Thomas, a godly, understanding christian, was their teacher. Their town lay in that part of the country where the Maquas or Mohawks hunted, and had been much molested, and for a time was deserted; but in 1670 the Indians returned and dwelt there, but are now extinct.

Wamefut was another praying town, upon Merrimack river, where Concord river falls into it. Their sachem was Nomphon, a man of a noble spirit. This place had been so much molested by the Mohawks, that the year before they joined with a body of northern Indians and some of Punkapog, in an expedition against

up upon the subject until the year 1650, when the French governor sent an agent to Boston in order to settle, not merely trade, but a league or alliance defensive and offensive between the government of Canada and the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth; but being informed that all matters of that nature were left to the commissioners of the united colonies, he returned to Canada, and the next year two gentlemen were sent with letters to the commissioners, praying, in behalf of the French of Canada, and of the christianized Indians in Acadie, the aid of the English

gainst them, which proved unsuccessful. George was their teacher. They were not in general much noted for their esteem for religion.

Pantucket, at the falls in Merrimack river, was the place of another set of praying Indians. The Pennicook Indians had come down the river and built a fort at Pantucket, and were great opposers, and obstinately refused to pray to God; but being concerned in the expedition against the Mohawks, they were most of them cut off, and since that time the Pantucket Indians were, at least several of them, become praying Indians, and Jethro was sent to preach Christ to them.

Magunhukquok, where Simon was teacher, on the west of Natick, and Quantasket, which was under the care of the Hassanamisco teachers, are the two other towns mentioned. By this account of Mr. Eliot we see the state of the christianized Indians in 1670. The greatest body of Indians, viz. Massasoets or Woosamequins, and afterwards his son Philip's or Metacom's subjects, were ever averse to christianity; so were the Narragansets. These two nations engaging in war against the English in 1675 had drawn off some of the Indians of the praying towns to join with them, and occasioned fears and jealousies of all the rest, which caused a great discouragement; but the war being at an end in 1676, and the two other nations, the Wamponoags and Narragansets, the great enemies of christianity, being wholly extirpated, the Indians which remained in Massachusetts and Plymouth have in general ever since professed to be christians. In 1687, as appears by a letter of Dr. Increase Mather to Dr. Leusden at Utrecht, there were four Indian assemblies in Massachusetts, besides the principal church at Natick. In Plymouth, besides the principal church at Mashpee, there were five assemblies in that vicinity, and a large congregation at Saconet. There were also six different societies, probably but small, with an Indian teacher to each, between the last mentioned and Cape-Cod, all under the care of Mr. Treat, minister of Eastham; one church at Nantucket, and three at Martha's Vineyard. There were in all six assemblies formed into a church state, having officers, and the ordinances duly administered, and sixteen assemblies which met together for the worship of God. It does not appear that the number of christians have since decreased by the return of the Indians to paganism. The Indians themselves are wasted, and their tribes or nations every where in Massachusetts and Plymouth extinct except at Mashpee, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket. At Mashpee and near it are about 80 families, at the Vineyard about 80, and at Nantucket where the last year were 90 families, there are now but 1; remaining. There is besides a town of Indians in the western part of the province called Houshatonick Indians, who removed about 30 years ago from Hudson's river, who have a settled English minister or missionary supported by the corporation; perhaps 70 or 80 families generally reside there. They waste away as all other Indians have done, and there would have been a more sensible diminution of their numbers if they had not from time to time received additions from abroad of other nations, or of such of their own nation as did not at first incline to remove with them. These, with a few families at Natick and Grafton, and a family or two together scattered here and there about the province, are all the Indians at present within the province of Massachusetts.

English against the Indians of the six nations; urging, “that it was a just war, the Mohawks being breakers of the most solemn leagues, perfidious and cruel; that it was a holy war, the eastern Indians being persecuted and cruelly handled because of their professing the christian religion; that it was of common concern, the Mohawks disturbing and interrupting the trade both of English and French with other Indians.” They promised a due consideration and allowance for the expense of the war. If the English would not join in the war, it was then desired that the French might have leave to enlist volunteers, and that they might be victualled for the service; and if that could not be obtained, that at least the French might be allowed to pass through the colonies by water and land as occasion should require. Until these points were settled they could not proceed upon the treaty of commerce. The commissioners, having duly weighed the proposals, returned an answer in substance as follows, viz.

“That they were willing to admit that the French and eastern Indians might have just grounds to their own satisfaction for war against the Mohawks: That they looked upon all such Indians as received the yoke of Christ with another eye than upon others who worship the devil:* That they desired by all just means to keep peace, if it may be, with all men, even with these barbarians: That the Mohawks, living at a distance from the sea, have little intercourse with these parts; but in the war the English had with the Pequods 14 or 16 years before, the Mohawks shewed a real respect, and had offered no hostilities since: That the English engaged in no war before they had full and satisfying evidence that it was just, nor before peace upon just terms had been offered and refused: That the Mohawks not being subject to them, nor in league with them, they could not require an account of their proceedings, and had no means of information what they had to say for themselves: That to make war with the Mohawks would expose the Indians who were neighbours to the English,

* But such Indians have generally been taught to treat the English, as heretics, with greater cruelty; and it has been made more meritorious to extirpate them, than if they had been infidels or the worst of idolaters.

“ English, some of whom professed christianity, &c. That
 “ although they were ready to perform all neighbourly of-
 “ fices of righteousness and peace to the French colony,
 “ yet they could neither permit volunteers to be taken up,
 “ nor the French and eastern Indians to pass through the
 “ English jurisdiction to invade the Mohawks, lest they
 “ should expose, not the Indians only, but the smaller
 “ English plantations, to danger : That the English were
 “ much dissatisfied with that mischievous trade the French
 “ and Dutch have had, and still continue, by selling guns,
 “ powder and shot to all the Indians, which rendered them
 “ insolent, &c. That if all other difficulties were remov-
 “ ed, yet they had no such short and convenient passage,
 “ either by land or water, as might be had by Hudson’s
 “ river to and beyond Aurania fort, possessed by the
 “ Dutch : That the commissioners conceived the French
 “ deputies might proceed to settle a trade ; but if they
 “ thought proper to limit it under such restrictions, a fitter
 “ season for these treaties must be attended, which the
 “ commissioners would readily improve whensoever it pre-
 “ sented.”

The college at Cambridge became more and more an object of attention, and in the year 1650 was made a body corporate by act of the general court, and received a charter under the seal of the colony.*

Mr.

* Under this charter the college was governed until the year 1685, when the colony charter was vacated, saving that in 1673 by an order of the general court some addition was made to the number of the corporation. Mr. Dudley (who was a son of the college) when he received a commission for president of the colony altered the title of the president of the college for that of rector, but no attempts were made to take away the estate or stock of the college or to impose officers disagreeable to the country in general, but the government continued, in name at least, under the former corporation, who were Increase Mather rector, John Sherman, Nehemiah Hubbard, John Cotton, John Leveret and William Brattle as fellows (the two last were tutors also) and John Richards treasurer. When Mr. Mather the rector went to England in 1688, in his minutes of an intended petition to the King he says, that when the civil government was changed the college was under the inspection of these persons, and he supposed it continued so, except that Mr. Sherman was dead, in whose room he prayed Mr. Samuel Sewall might be appointed, and that the King would confirm the government in their hands ; but although these were in name the governors, they were not always so in fact. I find the following original order, dated December the 9th, 1686.

“ Whereas the monies and other estate belonging to Harvard-college in Cam-
 “ bridge has been by us committed to the care and management of John Richards,
 “ Esq. for the benefit of the said college, it is ordered that the produce thereof
 “ shall for this year, 1686, be disposed of as followeth.

“ 1st. There

Mr. Endicott was chosen governor in the years 1651, 1652 and 1653; Mr. Dudley deputy governor.*

At

" 1st. There shall be allowed to the present rector of the college, as some acknowledgment of the services which he has done for that society, the remainder of the income not disposed underneath.

" 2d. The present tutors, Mr. John Leveret and Mr. William Brattle, shall for this year, beginning the last commencement, be allowed each of them 40l. beside what shall be due to them from their several pupils.

" 3d. The scholars of the house (for this year) shall be Sir Gibbs, Rogers, Mitchel and Dudley, who shall be allowed each of them at least 5l. Sir Gibbs's pension to be paid out of Mr. Webb's legacy, and Rogers's out of Capt. Keyn's legacy.

" 4th. Major Richards shall be allowed, for his care in improving the college stock, after the proportion of 1l. for 100l.

" J. Dudley.

" William Stoughton."

The president of the colony, and afterwards the governor, assumed the whole authority when they thought fit. The rights of Magdalen college, Oxford, invaded, justly might alarm the whole nation; but Harvard college was too inconsiderable, had the proceedings been ever so arbitrary and oppressive, to occasion any great notice. Mr. Mather the rector went to England in 1688. No person was appointed in his stead. Sir E. Andros, the governor, wrote to Mr. Samuel Lee the minister of Bristol in New-Plymouth colony, to desire him to officiate at the commencement, but not receiving an answer in proper season (it seems the letter was delayed) Mr. William Hubbard was appointed, and officiated accordingly. In 1692, upon the arrival of the province charter, although by a clause in the charter, with a special view to the college, it was provided that no grants, &c. to any towns, colleges, schools of learning, &c. should be prejudiced through defect of form, &c. but should remain in force as at the time of vacating the colony charter, yet the president and many others with him were desirous of a new charter with additional powers and privileges. An act of the general court passed for that purpose in 1692, incorporating the college on a larger foundation than the former charter. Among other things the college was enabled to confer such degrees as are conferred by the universities in Europe, whereas under the former charter no higher degrees had been given than those of bachelors and masters of arts. This privilege was exercised in one instance only, a diploma for a doctorate, under the college seal, being presented to Mr. Mather the president. Before the expiration of three years the act of incorporation was disallowed. Those who interested themselves for the college were resolved upon further attempts; another provincial act passed in 1697 with some variations, which before 1700 was likewise disapproved, for at a session of the court that year a vote passed the council and house of representatives approving the form of a charter which they were willing the college should accept from the King, and I make no doubt the agents were instructed to endeavour to obtain a charter in such form. By this charter the corporation was to consist of a president, vice-president and fifteen fellows. It may not be unacceptable to some to have their names preserved. Increase Mather president, Samuel Willard vice-president, James Allen, Michael Wigglesworth, Samuel Torrey, Nehemiah Hobart, Peter Thacher, Samuel Angier, John Danforth, Cotton Mather, Nehemiah Walter, Henry Gibbs, John White, Jonathan Pierpoint, and Benjamin Wadsworth, together with the two senior tutors resident at college, were the first corporation named in the charter. The college was empowered to hold real estate to the amount of three thousand pounds per annum. The governor and the council were made the visitors. This application proved as ineffectual as the former. The true reason of the several failures appears from a letter of Mr. Blaithwait to the president, dated 1st June, 1704, which says, "that the only obstruction to the passing the charter was Sir Henry Ashurst's refusing to allow of a clause for a visitation by the king or his governor."

* In 1652 John Glover and Daniel Gookin were chosen assistants.

At a sessions of the general court in October, 1651, an act or order was passed, empowering the town of Boston to

nor." A letter from Lord Bellamont to Mr. Stoughton upon this subject deserves notice.

" New-York, 31st May, 98.

" Sir, I received a letter from the reverend president of Harvard college by Mr. White, fellow of the said college, together with a copy of an act of the assembly for incorporating the college. And I am of opinion that his Majesty will not give his royal approbation to that act as it stands worded, because it differs very materially from the terms of incorporation proposed by their excellencies the Lords Justices of England, viz. that the King and his governors should be the visitors, whereas the act of assembly vests the power of visitation of that college as well in the council as governor, which his Majesty may probably think derogatory to his prerogative. And I am apprehensive also that those noble Lords who under the title of Lords Justices of England lately exercised the royal authority will confirm his Majesty that it will be a diminution to the prerogative of the crown to make the council co-ordinate in the power of visitation with the King's governor.—For my own part I have a very great respect for the King's prerogative, but I could wish a way were found to secure the statutes or privileges of Harvard college against the capricious humour of future governors, who, out of prejudice to the way of worship used there, or for some sinister ends, may be vexatious to the college. There is great difference between the exercise of the prerogative in England and in these remote parts of his Majesty's dominions. There, the subject, whenever that exercise is abused, has the King, the fountain of justice, near at hand to recur to for redress. In these provinces, governors, I fear by what I have discovered since my being in America, are made bold and presumptuous in breaking the laws and governing arbitrarily, out of conceit that their being so far from under the eye of the government of England will be a sure cause of impunity to them. Therefore upon the whole matter I must in judgment and conscience declare for a qualification of the power of a governor in the case of the visitation of Harvard college, but what that qualification should be I must leave to his Majesty's wisdom and goodness to determine.

I am,

Sir, your most humble servant,

To the Honourable
Wm. Stoughton, Esq. &c.

BELLAMONT."

During these attempts, until advice of the respective acts being disallowed, the college was governed conformable to them. While no acts were in force, temporary orders passed the general court from time to time empowering such persons to act as a corporation as were therein named. But in 1707, all prospect of a new foundation being gone, it was thought proper to resort to the old, and the charter of 1630 hath been conformed to ever since. The several heads of the college, from its first establishment to this day, have been as follows. Mr. Eaton, appointed in 1638, continued until 1640, when Mr. Henry Dunster was appointed, who was succeeded by Mr. Charles Chauncy in 1654, who continued until 1671. Doctor Leonard Hoar succeeded Mr. Chauncy. Douglas says, Mr. Hoar was a doctor of physic from Cambridge in Old-England. He was educated at Cambridge in New-England, and took his bachelor's degree in 1650, went over to England in November 1653, was made a doctor at Cambridge and returned not long before he was elected, July 30, 1672. The students were too much indulged in their prejudices against him, and he was obliged to resign, March 15, 1674-5. His wife was daughter to Lord Lisle. Mr. Uriah Oakes, minister of Cambridge, was his successor, and continued from April 7, 1675, until his death in 1681. Mr. Mather was chosen by the corporation and confirmed by the overseers, and moderated at the masters disputations, and conferred the degrees at the commencement in 1681; but his church in Boston being unwilling to part with him, on April 20th, 1682, Mr. John Rogers was chosen and confirmed, but died in 1684, being suddenly seized the morning of commencement, July 1st, and dying the next day. Mr. William Hubbard of Ipswich moderated at the public exercises.

to choose seven commissioners, to be presented to the court of assistants; and, being authorized by them and sworn before them, or before the governor, they or any five of them, or any three together with one magistrate, might hear and determine all civil actions not exceeding ten pounds in value, and all criminal actions where the penalty or fine should not exceed forty shillings, the parties being such as were inhabitants of Boston neck or Noddle's island, or such as did not belong to the jurisdiction; and the county court was not to take cognizance of any such actions. This law was made for one year for trial. I do not find that it was revived.*

The committee for the state in England having imparted their mind to Mr. Winslow the agent for the colony respecting the government of the several jurisdictions in New-England, he acquainted Mr. Dudley therewith, and that an answer was expected. In consequence of this advice, the court at the sessions last mentioned agreed upon

exercises. Mr. Mather succeeded Mr. Rogers, and continued at the head of the college until Sept. 6, 1701. Mr. Samuel Willard, by order of court, officiated several years as vice-president, no president being appointed instead of Mr. Mather, until Mr. John Leveret was, by the governor, at the head of the overseers, declared president, January 14, 1707, and the college was put under his care, "agreeable to the choice of the fellows of the house, approbation of the overseers, and votes of the council and assembly in their last preceding session, the governor directing him to govern that house and the scholars there with duty and allegiance to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and obedience to her Majesty's laws." Mr. Leveret continued in the presidentship, until his death in 1724. Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, a minister of one of the churches in Boston, succeeded him. He died in 1737, and was succeeded by Mr. Holyoke, who continues in the presidentship at this time.

* Not only the town of Boston but every town in the old colony were to many purposes a corporate body; they might sue and be sued, might choose their own officers for managing what was called the prudential affairs of the town; and the selectmen were judges of the breach of the by-laws of the town, the penalty of which could not exceed twenty shillings. Under the new charter the selectmen have no judiciary power. They still are said to manage the prudential affairs. What is intended by the word prudential, when thus appropriated, is not very easy to determine. Be it what it may, all other town affairs are determined in a general town meeting of all the inhabitants. The inconveniency that must arise from such a constitution, where a town consists of a thousand or fifteen hundred voters, are too many to be enumerated, and too obvious to need it. There was a disposition fifty years ago in most of the principal inhabitants of Boston to be made a corporation. A plan was formed in order to be laid before the general court of the province, which by the charter is empowered to make corporations. When the heads of it were presented at a town-meeting, a demagogue called out, "It is a whelp now, it will be a lion by and by, knock it in the head; Mr. moderator, put the question." The people were prepared, and it was rejected by a great majority. Some of the best men in the town, despairing of doing any service, would never be present in a town-meeting afterwards.

upon a petition to the parliament,* and another to Cromwell,† then general of the parliament's forces in England, &c. The address and letters are preserved. By Mr. Winslow's letter it appears that it was expected that all processes in the colony should be in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, or that there should be an acknowledgment of the powers then in being by a renewal of the patent. It is certain neither of the two ways proposed were complied with.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges had made attempts for many years to settle the province of Main, but to little purpose. He was a zealous royalist, and neither he nor his descendants who were in the same interest could expect any favour from the parliament. The colony seems to have been deserted by the proprietors, and in the year 1651 the people were in confusion, and the authority of the government was at an end. In 1641 a charter had been granted by Sir Ferdinando to Acamenticus (York) making it a corporation, consisting of a mayor, eight aldermen and a recorder. His cousin Thomas Gorges was the first mayor. He lived about half a mile above what is called Trafton's ferry, near Gorges point. The cellar of the house he dwelt in remains to this day. He went to England in 1643. The people of York say that he returned and died there. If so, it must have been before 1651, or some mention would have been made of him. Massachusetts, who, as hath been observed, claimed the province of Main as within the bounds of their charter, took the opportunity of the confusions there, and encouraged the disposition which prevailed in many of the inhabitants to submit to their jurisdiction; and in 1651 they appointed Mr. Bradstreet, Major Denison and Capt. Hawthorn to treat with the gentlemen of that province about the surrender thereof, as in their best judgment and discretion should seem meet. The next year (1652) Mr. Bradstreet and others were sent commissioners to summon the inhabitants of Kittery to come in and own their subjection to Massachusetts, as of right belonging to them. The inhabitants accordingly assembled Nov. 16, and agreed to submit,

* Appendix No. 8.

† Appendix No. 9.

submit, and about forty inhabitants subscribed an instrument of submission. The like was done at Acamenticus the 22d of the same month, and soon after at Wells, Saco, and Cape-Porpoise. To the inhabitants of all these plantations larger privileges were granted than to those of the other parts of Massachusetts government, for they were all freemen upon taking the oath, whereas every where else none could be made free unless he was a church member. The province was made a county by the name of Yorkshire. The towns from that time sent their deputies to the general court at Boston.*

The trade of the province increasing, especially with the West-Indies, where the bucaners or pirates at this time were numerous, and part of the wealth which they took from the Spaniards as well as what was produced by the trade being brought to New-England in bullion, it was thought necessary, for preventing fraud in money, to erect a mint for coining shillings, six-pences and three-pences, with no other impression at first than N E on the one side, and XII. VI. or III. on the other; but in October 1651 the court ordered that all pieces of money should have a double ring with this inscription, MASSACHUSETTS and a tree in the centre on one side, and NEW-ENGLAND and the year of our Lord on the other side.† At the same

* This regulation of the province of Main, although the major part of the inhabitants were brought to consent to it, yet it appears, by the records which are still preserved in the registry of the county of York, that great opposition was made to it by some of the principal persons, and the government of Massachusetts was severely reproached by them for using violent compulsory means in order to reduce the province. They continued united to Massachusetts until 1665, when by King Charles's commissioners they were separated for a short time, as will hereafter be observed.

† The first money being struck in 1652, the same date was continued upon all that was struck for 30 years after; and although there are a great variety of dies, it cannot now be determined in what years the pieces were coined. No other colony ever presumed to coin any metal into money. It must be considered that at this time there was no King in Israel. No notice was taken of it by the parliament nor by Cromwell; and having been thus indulged, there was a tacit allowance of it afterwards even by King Charles II. for more than 20 years; and although it was made one of the charges against the colony when the charter was called in question, yet no great stress was laid upon it. It appeared to have been so beneficial, that during Sir Edmund Andros's administration endeavours were used to obtain leave for continuing it, and the objections against it seem not to have proceeded from its being an encroachment upon the prerogative, for the motion was referred to the master of the mint, and the report against it was upon mere prudential considerations. It is certain that great care was taken to preserve the purity of the coin.

same sessions a committee or council of trade was appointed, after the example, as expressed in the order, of the parliament of Great-Britain, who were to meet at Boston or Charlestown to receive proposals for promoting trade ; but nothing came from this attempt.*

In October 1651 hostilities began between the English and Dutch in Europe. The Dutch colony at Manhadoes was in too feeble a state openly to annoy the English colonies their neighbours, and therefore desired to preserve peace in America. The English colonies carried on an advantageous trade with the Dutch, and were for that reason willing to continue friendship, and a correspondence was kept up between the subjects of the two nations. In an address from the general court to Cromwell, they consider themselves as at liberty to continue in peace with the Dutch, and suppose their own act to be necessary to bring them

coin. I do not find, notwithstanding, that it obtained a currency any where, otherwise than as bullion, except in the New-England colonies. A very large sum was coined. The mint master, John Hull, raised a large fortune from it. He was to coin the money, of the just alloy of the then new sterling English money ; and for all charges which should attend melting, refining and coining, he was to be allowed to take fifteen pence out of every twenty shillings. The court were afterwards sensible that this was too advantageous a contract, and Mr. Hull was offered a sum of money by the court to release them from it, but he refused to do it. He left a large personal estate, and one of the best real estates in the country. Samuel Sewall, who married his only daughter, received with her, as was commonly reported, thirty thousand pounds in New-England shillings. " He was the son of a poor woman, but dutiful to and tender of his mother, which Mr. Wilton his minister observing, pronounced that God would bless him, and although he was then poor yet he should raise a great estate." *Magnalia.*

* Mass. Records

One Hugh Parsons of Springfield was tried in 1652 for witchcraft, and found guilty by the jury. The magistrates refused to consent to the verdict ; and the case, as the law provided, came to the general court, who determined that he was not legally guilty of witchcraft.

Mr. Cotton, the celebrated minister of the church of Boston and the patriarch of New-England, died Dec. 23, 1652, in the 62th year of his age. Mr. Hubbard gives this character of him : " His excellent learning and profound judgment, " eminent gravity, christian candour, and sweet temper of spirit, whereby he " could very placidly bear those who differed from him in their apprehensions, " made him most desired whilst he was amongst them, and the more lamented " when he was removed from hence. So equal a contention between learning " and meekness, magnanimity and humility, is seldom seen in any one person." Upon his death-bed he ordered his son to burn all his papers relative to the religious disputes began in the time of Sir Henry Vane's year. He had bundled them all up with an intention to do it himself, but death prevented his going into his study for that purpose. His son, loth to destroy what appeared to him valuable, made a case of conscience to Mr. Norton, whether he was bound to comply. Mr. Norton determined against the papers. (*MS. Letters.*) Mr. Cotton's life was published by his successor, Mr. Norton ; and afterwards by his grandson, Doctor Cotton Mather.

them into a state of war, notwithstanding the two nations were at war in Europe.* But in 1653 information was given by the Indians from several quarters that the Dutch governor was privately soliciting them to a general confederacy, in order totally to extirpate the English. The massacre at Amboyna was then but a late affair. A general alarm was spread through the colonies. An extraordinary meeting of the commissioners was called at Boston, April 19, "to consider of several rumours and reports, "gathered from the Indians and others, that the Dutch "had plotted with the Indians and stirred them up to cut "off the English." The result of this first meeting was, that although the evidence was so strong as that some of the commissioners looked upon it to be full proof, yet they thought it most expedient the Dutch governor should have opportunity of making answer; but before any message could be sent, letters were received from him, denying all which the Indians or any others had charged him with, wondering the English would give credit to Indian testimonies, and offering to come or send, or to make answer to any deputies which might be sent thither. It was thought proper to send agents to him, viz. Francis Newman, an assistant of New-Haven, John Leveret (afterwards governor of Massachusetts) and William Davis; and in a letter sent by them from the commissioners, the governor was told, "that he had made use of Indian testimonies against New-Haven in a case of land, that Kieft his predecessor had done it in a case of life, and that the Dutch governor and council at Amboyna had made a bloody use of the Japonese confession (though extorted by torture) against Captain Towerson and the English christians there." The commissioners demanded satisfaction for past injuries, and security for the future. Whilst their agents were gone, they determined what number of men should be raised if God should call them to war against the Dutch, viz. 500,† and appointed Capt. Leveret the commanding officer, unless Massachusetts should have some weighty objection against him. Notwithstanding the offers made

* Appendix, No. 10.

† Massachusetts 333, Plymouth 60, Connecticut 65, New-Haven 42.

made by the Dutch governor in his letter, he refused to submit to any examination into the affair by the agents or commissioners, any further than a committee of his own council should concur with them. They took the testimony of divers Indians and others, and returned to Boston. But however strong proofs there were, the commissioners were divided in opinion, and a conference was had before the Massachusetts general court and many of the elders. A state of the case was drawn by Mr. Eaton on the one side, and another by Mr. Denison on the other, and the elders * were desired to draw up their opinion; which was, "That the proofs and presumptions of the execrable plot, tending to the destruction of so many of the dear saints of God, imputed to the Dutch governor and the fiscal, were of such weight as to induce them to believe the reality of it; yet they were not so fully conclusive as to clear up a present proceeding to war before the world, and to bear up their hearts with that fulness of persuasion which was meet in commending the case to God in prayer and to the people in exhortations, and that it would be safest for the colonies to forbear the use of the sword; but advised to be in a posture of defence and readiness for action until the mind of God should be more clearly known, either for a settled peace or more manifest grounds of war." The deputies by their vote expressed a concurrence in sentiments with the elders. On the 26th of May letters were received from Hartford and New-Haven, advising that the Dutch governor was endeavouring, by presents and other methods, to engage the Mohawks and the Indians between Hudon's river and Delaware to fall upon the English. A messenger arrived the same day from Manhadoes with a long letter from the Dutch governor, complaining of encroachments and other grievances from the English, and exculpating himself in general terms from any plots or designs against them. The commissioners required further satisfaction and security from him. Mr. Norice, teacher of the church at Salem, "in the name of many pensive hearts there," presented their sense to the commissioners in favour of a war; and

* The elders continued to be consulted in every affair of importance as long as the charter continued. The share they had in temporal affairs added to the weight they had acquired from their spiritual employments, and they were in high esteem.

and the commissioners themselves were all of the same mind, except Mr. Bradstreet, one of the Massachusetts commissioners ; Mr. Hawthorne, the other, joining with those of the three other colonies ; but their proceedings were interrupted by a declaration sent in by the general court of Massachusetts, “ that no determination of the commissioners, though they should all agree, should bind the general court to join in an offensive war which should appear to such general court to be unjust.” This declaration occasioned such altercations between the Massachusetts general court and the commissioners of the three other colonies, at the next meeting, as threatened a dissolution of the confederacy, which seems, upon this occasion also, to have been prevented only by the inferiority of the rest to Massachusetts, and their inability to stand alone. Where states in alliance are greatly disproportioned in strength and importance, power often prevails over right. The government of New-Haven were so sensible of their danger, that they sent their agents to England to make a representation of it to Cromwell ; who ordered three or four ships, with a small number of forces, for the reduction of the Dutch, and recommended to the Massachusetts colony to afford their assistance. The ships were delayed, and did not arrive at Boston until the latter end of May or beginning of June 1654. The governor called the assembly, which met the 9th of June, and immediately came into the following resolution : “ The general court
“ having received and perused a letter from his Highness
“ the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England,
“ Scotland and Ireland, full of great and favourable respect
“ to this colony, which they desire to keep in grateful
“ remembrance ; and shall be ready at all times, wherein
“ they may with safety to the liberty of their consciences,
“ public peace and welfare, to their utmost to attend
“ to his Highness’s pleasure. This court therefore declares, that though they understand that the colony is
“ not in such a capacity as may be apprehended to send
“ forth such numbers of men as might vigorously assist in
“ that undertaking, yet do freely consent and give liberty
“ to his Highness’s commissioners, Major Robert Sedgewick

“wick* and Capt. John Leveret, to raise within our jurisdiction the number of five hundred volunteers to assist them in their enterprise against the Dutch, provided the persons might be free from legal † engagements.” The ships had a very long passage, so that the news of the peace with the Dutch, which was signed the 5th of April, prevented their proceeding. This occasioned the commander in chief to turn his forces, together with those raised in Massachusetts another way, and to dislodge the French from Penobscot, St. John’s, &c. where they met with no great resistance. It cannot be supposed that this was done without instructions from Cromwell.‡ It was a time of peace between the two nations, but the English had good right to the country, and the complaints of the French in Europe could not prevail upon Cromwell to give it up again.¶ The peace with the Dutch, together with “the hopeful establishment of government in England,” occasioned a public thanksgiving in Massachusetts (Sept. 20th) and an order, passed the last year, prohibiting trade with the Dutch, was repealed. Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, in these negotiations conducted himself very artfully. New-Haven and Connecticut were the two colonies with which he was immediately engaged in controversy. He might have been a match for one if not both those colonies, but they were in alliance with Massachusetts. His all depended upon preserving the friendship of that colony. He therefore kept up a constant correspondence

* Sedgewick had been of the artillery company in London, afterwards lived at Charlestown in New-England, and was the first military officer there, and in great repute. I suppose he died in England. There were several persons descended from him living in England a few years ago.

† By legal engagements must be intended apprenticeship and other servitude, as well as processes from courts, &c.

‡ The report in New-England was, that Sedgewick had only verbal instructions from some of Oliver’s sea commanders, and that this was the reason the country was so easily given up at the treaty of Breda. *Hubbard.*

¶ Mr. Dudley, deputy governor, died July 31, 1653, in the 77th year of his age, greatly lamented, being a principal founder of the colony, and having recommended himself by great firmness and fidelity in the discharge of his trust, having never been out of the magistracy, and generally either governor or deputy governor. He was zealous beyond measure against all sorts of heretics. At the next election for 1654, Mr. Endicott was chosen deputy governor in Mr. Dudley’s stead, Mr. Bellingham being chosen governor.

pondence with Mr. Winthrop; and although he would not concede to proposals for a joint trade with the six nations, yet he encouraged trade between Massachusetts and Manhadoes, and, what was more, he, as well as his predecessor Kieft, made great pretences to religion. Kieft was a serious man. Plymouth fell in with Connecticut and New-Haven, and Massachusetts must have done so too if the Dutch had committed any hostilities. Stuyvesant restrained his own people, but at the same time secretly encouraged the Indians to fall upon the English. The Narragansets were numerous, the Maquas or six nations were more so. A general union of the Indians, which it was supposed he was endeavouring, must have been the ruin of the English colonies; and although it might be expected that when they had rid themselves of the English, the Dutch would be in danger of the same fate, yet this was the least and most remote danger of the two. They were constantly in fear of the English. Their right to any part of the country had never been allowed in England. They were often threatened by the colonists in America, as the Dutch governors mention in their letters. Kieft complains to Winthrop, that "some of the English had said publicly "that their countrymen were fools to suffer the Dutch to "live there in the centre."

Massachusetts complied with Cromwell's proposal to extirpate the Dutch, notwithstanding their former scruples of the lawfulness of it. There must have been some other reasons, no doubt those I have mentioned, which caused them to be so backward in joining with the other colonies. They did not foresee, what has since happened, that the neighbourhood of the colonies of different nations would one time or other engage the powers in Europe in their respective defence and annoyance. Without this, they had nothing to fear from either Dutch or French. They were ten times as numerous as both, and continually increasing in much greater proportion than either of the other, whose present or future interior force could cause no great apprehensions.

Whilst these disputes with the Dutch were depending, the Narraganset Indians made attacks upon the Indians of Long-

Long-Island, who were under the protection of the English. This, together with the conspiracy which Ninigrate the Narraganset sachem was supposed to be in with the Dutch governor, the commissioners of the English colonies (all but Mr. Bradstreet) thought to be a sufficient ground for making war against the Indians, and came to a resolution in 1653 that 250 men should be forthwith raised in the several colonies, but the Massachusetts general court refused to raise their quota. The hostilities between the Indians continuing until 1654, and many upland Indians, as they were called, viz. Wampanoags,* Pocanoticks,* &c. being collected together, the commissioners sent a messenger to Ninigrate, who soon returned with the following answer, which is here inserted to shew the authority the English assumed at that time over the Indians, and the sense they still retained of their independency.

“ JONATHAN GILBERT returned 18th Sept. 1654, and brought Ninigrate's answer, in the words following: Having acquainted him that the commissioners were met at Hartford, and that they had perused the letter sent to the governor of the Massachusetts, he answered he knew nothing of any such letter, and made strange of it.

“ Concerning his invading the Long-Islanders, he answered, Wherefore should he acquaint the commissioners, when as the Long-Islanders began with him, and had slain a sachem's son and sixty others of his men, and therefore he will not make peace with the Long-Islanders, but doth desire that the English will let him alone, and that the commissioners would not request him to go to Hartford, for he hath done no hurt. What should he do there? If your governor's son was slain, and several other men, would you ask counsel of another nation how and when to right yourselves? And added, that he would neither go nor send to Hartford.

“ Concerning the upland Indians, his answer was, That they were his friends, and came to help him against the Long-Islanders, which had killed several of his men.

“ Wherefore

** Afterwards called Philip's Indians.

“Wherefore should he acquaint the commissioners with it? He did but right his own quarrel, which the Long-Islanders began with him.”

Upon the receipt of this answer, the commissioners agreed to raise forthwith 270 foot and 40 horse out of the several colonies, and gave a commission to Major Simon Willard to command them, with instructions “to take as many of said forces as should be at the place of rendezvous by the 13th of October; and to march with them to Ninigrate; and to require his compliance with the demands made upon him; and, if he refused, to compel him to it; and, if it should be necessary, to send immediately for the remainder of the forces, and a greater number if necessary.” Willard marched with his men into the Narraganset country. Ninigrate with his men had secured themselves in a swamp, where it was not thought advisable to attack them; and the forces returned with no other success than the bringing off a number of the Pequods, who had been left with the Narragansets by the English ever since the Pequod war, upon the promise of an annual payment for each head. The commander made it a part of his excuse, that the instructions to him were equivocal. But the commissioners were offended at this proceeding, and charged him with neglecting an opportunity of humbling the pride of Ninigrate, which since the return of the forces was greatly increased, and left him to consider what satisfaction was to be expected from him and those of his council who joined with him.* It is to be observed, that Major Willard was a Massachusetts man; and although that colony had so far complied with the rest as to join in sending out the forces, yet they still were desirous of avoiding an open war. This was the second time of their preventing a general war, contrary to the minds of six of the commissioners of the other colonies.†

The

* Records of united colonies.

† Mr. Edward Winslow, who had been several years governor of Plymouth colony, died May 8, 1655, on board the fleet which was sent against Hispaniola. He was sent to England agent for Massachusetts. He attained to such favour as to be made one of Cromwell's grand commissioners in the expedition. He was a gentleman of the best family of any of the Plymouth planters, his father, Edward Winslow, Esq. being a person of some figure at Draughtwich in Worcestershire.

The most remarkable occurrence in the colony in the year 1655 was the trial and condemnation of Mrs. Ann Hibbins for witchcraft. Her husband, who died in the year 1654, was an agent for the colony in England, several years one of the assistants, and a merchant of note in the town of Boston; but losses in the latter part of his life had reduced his estate, and increased the natural crabbedness of his wife's temper, which made her turbulent and quarrelsome, and brought her under church censures, and at length rendered her so odious to her neighbours as to cause some of them to accuse her of witchcraft. The jury brought her in guilty, but the magistrates refused to accept the verdict; so the cause came to the general court, where the popular clamour prevailed against her, and the miserable old woman was condemned and executed. Search was made upon her body for tetts, and in her chests and boxes for puppets, images, &c. but there is no record of any thing of that sort being found. Mr. Beach, a minister in Jamaica, in a letter to Doctor Increase Mather in the year 1684, says, "You may remember what I have sometimes told you your famous Mr. Norton once said at his own table before Mr. Willson the pastor, elder Penn and myself and wife, &c. who had the honour to be his guests:—That one of your magistrates wives, as I remember, was hanged for a witch only for having more wit than her neighbours. It was his very expression; she having, as he explained it, unhappily guessed that two of her persecutors whom she saw talking in the street were talking of her, which proving true, cost her her life, notwithstanding all he could do to the contrary, as he himself told us."

It fared with her as it did with Joan of Arc in France. Some counted her a saint and some a witch, and some observed solemn marks of Providence set upon those who were very forward to condemn her, and to brand others upon

shire. An elegy occasioned by his death has much of the spirit of Thomas Saffin's epitaph, which I remember to have read in Stepney church yard.

The eighth of May, west from 'Spaniola's shore,
God took from us our grand commissioner,
Winslow by name, a man in chiefeft trust,
Whose life was sweet and conversation just,
Whose parts and wisdom most men's did excell,
An honour to his place as all can tell.

upon the like ground with the like reproach.* This was the second instance upon record of any person's being executed for witchcraft in New-England.†

About this time, however inconsistent it may seem with the professed ecclesiastical constitution and the freedom of every church, the general court in several instances interposed their authority. They laid a large fine upon the church at Malden for choosing a minister without the consent and approbation of the neighbouring churches and allowance of the magistrates, and soon after, viz. in 1653, they restrained the north church in Boston from calling Mr. Powell to be their minister, who had the character of a well-gifted though illiterate man, and went so far as to recommend to them Mr. Reyner, who had been a minister at New-Plymouth.

It was justly observed upon this occasion, that “let the
“experience of all reformed churches be consulted, and it
“will appear that disorder and confusion in the church will
“not be avoided by all the determinations, advice and
“council of synods or other messengers of churches, unless
“they be a little actuated by the civil authority: all men
“are naturally so wedded to their own apprehensions, that,
“unless there be a coercive power to restrain, the order and
“rule of the gospel will not be attended.”‡

Mr. Endicot was governor in 1655, and was annually chosen until 1660, and Mr. Bellingham deputy governor each year.¶ During this period the trade of the colony was in a flourishing state, free admission being allowed to all nations, and the vessels of the colony trading to and from France, Holland, and other parts of Europe, the importation of no commodities whatsoever being prohibited,
or

* Hubbard.

† She was not executed until June 1656. She disposed of her estate by will, executed May 27, 1656, and a codicil June 16. She appointed several of the principal gentlemen overseers, and hoped they would shew her so much respect as to see her decently interred. There was no forfeiture of goods for felony.

‡ Hubbard.

¶ *Richard Russell* and *Thomas Danforth* were chosen assistants in 1659, the former of Charlestown. His son, grandson, and two of his great grandsons, have been since of the council. [The present *Thomas Russell*, Esq. who has also been of the council, is descended from him.] The latter was of Cambridge, and had a great share in managing the public affairs in the most difficult times. He left no male children.

or under any clog or restraint. Notwithstanding the great variety of sectaries in England, there had been no divisions of any consequence in Massachusetts; but from 1637 to 1656 they enjoyed, in general, great quietness, in their ecclesiastical affairs, discords in particular churches being healed and made up by a submission to the arbitrament of neighbouring churches, and sometimes the interposition of the civil power. The reputation not only of the constitution of the churches, but also of the New-England clergy, had been for some time very great in England, and the opinions of Mr. Cotton, Hooker, Davenport, and others, are cited as authorities by many English divines. The persecution of the episcopalians by the prevailing powers in England was evidently from revenge for the persecution they had suffered themselves, and from political considerations and the prevalence of a party, seeing all other opinions and professions, however absurd, were tolerated; but in New-England it must be confessed that bigotry and cruel zeal prevailed, and to that degree that no opinions but their own could be tolerated. They were sincere, but mistaken in their principles; and, absurd as it is, it is too evident, they believed it to be for the glory of God to take away the lives of his creatures for maintaining tenets contrary to what they professed themselves. This occasioned complaints against the colony to the parliament and to Cromwell, but without success.*

Mr. Winslow the agent for the colony in England being dead, Mr. Leveret, one of Cromwell's commissioners in the expedition to Acadie, was appointed in his stead. Cromwell had been very desirous of drawing off the New-Englanders to people Ireland after his successes there, and the inhabitants of New-Haven had serious thoughts of removing, but did not carry their design into execution. Jamaica being conquered, Cromwell renewed his invitation to the colony of Massachusetts to remove and to go and people that island, and it appears by Mr. Leveret's letters and

* In 1655 a distemper went through the plantations in New-England, like to that in 1647. It was so epidemical that few were able to visit their friends at any distance to perform the last offices to them. It was attended with a faint cough. Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, minister of Ipswich, died of it July 2. He was son of Mr. John Rogers, a celebrated puritan preacher at Dedham in England, descended from the protomartyr in Queen Mary's reign. *Hubbard.*

and a letter from the general court to Cromwell that he had it much at heart.* Cromwell foresaw that the West-India

* "At my presenting your letter of the first of December 56 to his highness, he was pleased to inquire of New-England's condition, and what news as to the business of Jamaica; to which I gave answer according to the advice received. By his request thereof, together with what I had from him the 18th of November, he manifesteth a very strong desire in him for some leading and considerable company of New-England men to go thither; for at that time he was pleased to express, that he did apprehend the people of New-England had as clear a call to transport themselves from thence to Jamaica, as they had from England to New-England, in order to their bettering their outward condition, God having promised his people should be the head, and not the tail; besides, that design hath its tendency to the overthrow of the man of sin: and withal was pleased to add, that though the people had been sickly, yet it was said to be a climacterical year; that others had been to view the place, as Nevis people, who upon liking were gone down, and Christopher's people were upon motion, and he hoped by what intelligence he had from Capt. Gookin that some considerable numbers would go from New-England. His highness was pleased to hear me in what I objected. As to the bettering our outward condition, though we had not any among us that had to boast, as some particulars in other plantations, of raising themselves to great estates, yet, take the body of the people, and all things considered, they lived more comfortably like Englishmen than any of the rest of the plantations. To which his highness replied, that they were more industrious, what then would they be in a better country? To which I added, that there were more in New-England produced to bespeak us a commonwealth than in all the English plantations besides; the which his highness granted. I objecting the contrariety of spirits, principles, manners and customs of the people of New-England to them that were at the island or in any other plantations that could remove thither, so not like to cement, his highness replied that were there considerable persons that would remove from thence, they should have the government in their hands, and be strengthened with the authority of England, who might be capable of giving check to the ill and vicious manners of all. Whilst his highness was pleased to entertain me with these discourses, an honourable gentleman of his council came in, who, hearing his highness upon New-England, was pleased to express himself concerning New-England's rigidity and persecution; to which his highness was pleased to answer, very much in the favour of them, that they acted like wise men, and God had broken the designs of evil instruments, bearing witness with them against evil seducers which had risen up among them, mentioning one or two; to which that honourable gentleman replied, the miscarriage of particular persons proved not God's bearing witness against the body of them that withdrew and departed from them for their rigidity; to which, with their favour, I replied, that if Rhode-Island and those parts were intended, that then God had borne witness against them in general as well as against particulars, which would appear by that looseness and profaneness they were left to. To that they had not only declined christian religion but moral observations; to which the honourable gentleman was pleased to wave the credit thereof, and express, that if it were so, he thought his highness ought to animadvert upon one and the other. Much more passed in discourse, and his highness broke off with this, that he would not impose any particular injunction upon me."—*Extract from J. Leveret's letter to governor Endicot, London, Dec. 20, 1656.*

The Court's letter to Oliver Cromwell.

"SIR,

"We received by Capt. Gookin your highness's proposals for the removal of some of ours to the island of Jamaica, which by our order were communicated to the people of this jurisdiction in compliance with your highness's good and pious intentions of planting the place with such as through the blessing of God may prosperously promote a design so religious. But if, by the intelligence from thence of the mortality of the English there, the motion here answereth not expectation,

may

India planters would raise estates far superior to those of the inhabitants of the northern colonies, and though a mere worldly consideration was not proper for him to urge, yet accompanied with the fulfilment of a divine promise, that God's people should be the head and not the tail, it was in character, and he artfully enough joined it with the other consideration. But all was insufficient to induce the people of New-England to quit a country where they could live tolerably, and were indulged with all the privileges they desired, and we have no account of many families having removed. A few accepted the invitation. Complaints were carried to Cromwell from Rhode-Island against Massachusetts by Clark, Holmes and others, but Mr. Leveret, who was a captain of horse under Cromwell during some part of the war, had much of his favour, and though he could not prevent the Rhode-Islanders from being favourably received, for no sect could fail of an advocate in Cromwell's court, yet he prevented so much as an inquiry into the conduct of Massachusetts. Nay Cromwell applauded the colony for banishing the evil seducers which had risen up among them, of which Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson were the chief, and probably he had a view to them in particular. This same Mr. Wheelwright had been several years in England and lived in the neighbourhood of Sir Henry Vane, who had been his patron in New-England and now took great notice of him. Vane
being

may it please your highness not to impute it to us as declining your service, much less as disaccepting your favour and endeavours of promoting what may conduce to our welfare, wherein we have always found your highness ready upon all occasions to testify the same, and in particular by your gracious acceptance of our last by Capt. Leveret, by whom we found ourselves necessitated to make our addresses to your highness, that by your just favour we might be supported, without which, we have cause to fear, we cannot be secure from the clamours and calumnies of some whose endeavours may be to render us obnoxious to your displeasure. We account it our duty to our utmost power to advance your highness's service; and, if all other opportunities shall be wanting, yet never to cease to present our requests to Him that is able abundantly to recompense all your labours of love to his, to preserve your highness, long to continue you a happy instrument to carry on his work, overthrow the enemies of his truth, and to enlarge the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we are

Your highness's most obliged servants,

Boston in New-England,
the 24th October, 1656.

Jo. Endicott, gov.
Rich. Bellingham, dep. gov.
Edward Rawlin, secr.

In the name and with the consent
of the general court."

being disaffected to Cromwell, it is not likely that Cromwell had any great esteem for Wheelwright, yet he sent for him by one of his guard,* and after a very orthodox discourse, according to Mr. Wheelwright's apprehensions of orthodoxy, "and without shewing countenance to sectaries,"† he exhorted him to perseverance against his opposers, and assured him their notions would vanish into nothing. This meeting effectually engaged Mr. Wheelwright in Cromwell's favour. Leveret's and Wheelwright's letters compared confirm a distinguishing part of Cromwell's character. Besides the complaints from Rhode-Island, Rigby, Gorges, and Godfrey, who claimed lands by patents in the eastern parts of New-England, made complaints to Cromwell against the colony for usurpation, and there were others who envied the flourishing state of the colony, but by means of Mr. Leveret's discreet management and the favourable opinion Cromwell had conceived, all attempts to its prejudice were to no purpose.‡ He did not shew like favour to the other colonies.

Cromwell seems to have been the first who had a true sense of the importance of the colonies to their mother country. The expedition to Hispaniola was by him well intended, though by his servants badly executed, and his plan for enlarging the national interest in America no doubt extended

* "I have lately been at London about five weeks. My Lord Protector was pleased to send one of his guard for me, with whom I had discourse in private about the space of an hour. All his speeches seemed to me very orthodox and gracious, no way favouring sectaries. He spake very experimentally to my apprehension of the work of God's grace; and, knowing what opposition I met withal from some whom I shall not name, exhorted me to perseverance in these very words, as I remember: 'Mr. Wheelwright, stand fast in the Lord, and you shall see that these notions will vanish into nothing,' or to that effect. Many men, especially the sectaries, exclaim against him with open mouths; but I hope he is a gracious man. I saw the lord mayor and sheriff with their officers carry sundry of the fifth monarchy men to prison, as Mr. Can, Mr. Day, with others, who used to meet together in Colman street to preach and pray against the Lord Protector and the present power, &c." *Mr. Wheelwright's letter to the church at Hampton, April 20, 1658.*

† All that do not think as we do in religion are sectaries. There would be some difficulty in determining who upon this occasion were referred to as sectaries, if the fifth monarchy men had not been mentioned presently after.

‡ "Although his highness and divers of the council are very cordial friends to New-England, yet there are not wanting those who wait an opportunity of complaints coming against you to utter in something else, the great privileges belonging to New-England being matter of envy, as of some in other plantations so of divers in England who trade to those places." *Leveret's letter to Androst.*

extended further than the conquest of that Island. Let us take a view of the state of the colonies at that time. Barbados was then more populous than it is at present. That island and the Caribbees were under the same government. These, with Virginia, Maryland and Bermudas, refused to acknowledge the parliament whilst the King lived, and it occasioned some trouble to reduce them after his death. They were all the colonies, except New-England, which were settled when Cromwell took the government upon him. There were no less than three different governors over Virginia during his short rule, Digby, Bennet and Matthews. Barbados surrendered to Sir George Aiscough, upon condition that the government should be by governor, council and assembly; and Daniel Searl being appointed their governor, continued until the restoration. It was a rash thing to resist the supreme authority in England, and gave great offence. Until then, all the colonies had been indulged in a free, open trade to and from all parts of the world, unless the privileges granted to the East-India company made an exception; but Cromwell obtained an act or ordinance of the parliament, prohibiting the plantations from receiving or exporting any European commodities, except in English-built ships, navigated by Englishmen; and all correspondence was forbidden with any nation or colony not subject to England; and no alien was allowed to set up a factory or carry on a trade in the plantations. Virginia made heavy complaints, that they were not allowed to send off their produce to, nor to import necessaries from, any foreign countries, whilst England alone (they said) could not take off their produce, nor could they at that time be supplied from thence with all things necessary for them. But, however grievous this act might prove to the other colonies, it is certain that those of New-England, whether it was designed to extend there or not, suffered nothing by it. In a letter to Cromwell in 1654,* Massachusetts seem to be under fears lest they should be deprived of the privileges which had been indulged to them by his predecessors, and hope his highness will be no less propitious, and will

* Appendix.

will not be displeased with them for asserting their just privileges, to the prejudice whereof some attempts had been made by the commanders of ships, especially by some armed with commission, which though for fear of offending they had patiently endured, yet they thought it not safe to approve of such actings, &c. If this letter had respect to any attempts to regulate the trade, they were attempts which were soon given over, and caused little or no interruption; and they were not only indulged in their trade to all parts, but that extraordinary privilege of having their goods imported into England free from all custom, which other subjects were liable to pay, seems to have been continued until the restoration. No wonder if they were envied by the other colonies, and if the merchants in England were dissatisfied also with the continuance of the last mentioned extraordinary favour.

In the year 1656 began what has been generally and not improperly called the persecution of the Quakers.* Two years before, an order had been made that every inhabitant who had in their custody any of the books of John Reeves and Lodowick Muggleton, "who pretend to be the two last witnesses and prophets of Jesus Christ," which books were said to be full of blasphemies, should bring or send them in to the next magistrate, within one month, on pain of ten pounds for each book remaining in any person's hands after that time; but no person appeared openly professing the opinions of the quakers until July 1656, when Mary Fisher † and Ann Austin arrived from Barbados. A few weeks after arrived in the ship Speedwell of London, Robert Lock master, nine more of these itinerants, whose names, "after the flesh," (the language they used to the officers sent to make inquiry) were William Brend, Thomas Thurston, Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Richard Smith, Mary Prince, Dorothy Waugh,

* This sect made its first appearance in England in the year 1652. They soon spread themselves into America.

† Mary Fisher travelled as far as Adrianople, and coming near the grand vizier's camp she procured a man to inform him that there was an English woman had something to declare from the great God to the great Turk. She was introduced and delivered her message, &c. *New-England judged, by G. Bishop.* She lived better among the Turks than among christians.

Waugh, Sarah Gibbons, and Mary Witherhead.* On the 8th of September they were brought before the court of assistants; and being examined, and each of them questioned how they could make it appear that God sent them, after a pause they answered, that they had the same call which Abraham had to go out of his country: to other questions they gave rude and contemptuous answers, which is the reason assigned for committing them to prison. A great number of their books, which they had brought over with intent to scatter them about the country, were seized and reserved for the fire. Soon after this, as the governor was going from the public worship on the Lord's day to his own house, several gentlemen accompanying him, Mary Prince called to him from a window of the prison, railing at and reviling him, saying, Wo unto thee, thou art an oppressor; and denouncing the judgments of God upon him. Not content with this, she wrote a letter to the governor and magistrates, filled with opprobrious stuff. The governor sent for her twice from the prison to his house, and took much pains to persuade her to desist from such extravagancies. Two of the ministers were present, and with much moderation and tenderness endeavoured to convince her of her errors; to which she returned the grossest railings, reproaching them as hirelings, deceivers of the people, Baal's priests, the seed of the serpent, of the brood of Ishmael, and the like.

The court passed sentence of banishment against them all, and required the master of the ship in which they came to become bound with sureties to the value of five hundred pounds to carry them all away,† and caused them to be committed to prison until the ship should be ready to sail. At this time there was no special provision by law for the punishment of quakers; they came within a colony law against heretics in general. At the next sessions of the general court, the 14th of October following, an act passed, laying a penalty of one hundred pounds upon the master of any vessel who should bring a known quaker into any part

* Mr. Neale says they came from Rhode-Island. I take this account from the records of the superior court. See a letter from the president, &c. of Rhode-Island in the appendix, shewing the sense they had of the quakers at that time.

† I cannot find what law they had for this.

part of the colony, and requiring him to give security to carry them back again; that the quaker should be immediately sent to the house of correction and whipped twenty stripes, and afterwards kept to hard labour until transportation. They also laid a penalty of five pounds for importing, and the like for dispersing, quakers' books, and severe penalties for defending their heretical opinions. And the next year an additional law was made, by which all persons were subjected to the penalty of forty shillings for every hour's entertainment given to any known quaker; and any quaker, after the first conviction, if a man, was to lose one ear, and the second time the other; a woman, each time to be severely whipped; and the third time, man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron; and every quaker, who should become such in the colony, were subjected to the like punishments. In May, 1658, a penalty of ten shillings was laid on every person present at a quaker-meeting, and five pounds upon every one speaking at such meeting. Notwithstanding all this severity, the number of quakers, as might well have been expected, increasing rather than diminishing,* in October following a further law was made for punishing with death all quakers who should return into the jurisdiction after banishment.† That some provision was necessary against these people, so far as they were disturbers of civil peace and order, every one will allow; but such sanguinary laws against particular doctrines or tenets in religion are not to be defended. The most that can be said for our ancestors is, that they tried gentler means at first, which they found utterly ineffectual, and that they followed the example of the authorities in most other states and in most ages of the world, who with the like absurdity have

* This is the ordinary consequence of pity and compassion for the sufferers. And although it has been observed, that persecution tends to frighten men from coming into a country, yet it was a characteristic of this sect at the beginning of it to court persecution, and to submit to death with an insatiation equal to that of some roman catholic priests carrying their religion into China or Tartary.

† Great opposition was made to this law; the magistrates were the most zealous, and in general for it; but it was rejected at first by the deputies, afterwards upon reconsideration concurred by 12 against 11, with an amendment, that the trial should be by a special jury. Capt. Edward Hutchinson, and Capt. Thomas Clark, two of the court, desired leave to enter their dissent against this law. *New-England judged.*

have supposed every person could and ought to think as they did, and with the like cruelty have punished such as appeared to differ from them. We may add, that it was with reluctance that these unnatural laws were carried into execution, as we shall see by a further account of proceedings. Nicholas Uphall was apprehended in October, 1656, fined twenty pounds, and banished, for reproaching the magistrates, and speaking against the law made against quakers; and, returning in 1659, was imprisoned.* At the same court, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, Mary Dyer and Nicholas Davis were brought to trial. The first gave no particular account of himself. Stephenson had made a public disturbance in the congregation at Boston the 15th of June before. He acknowledged himself to be one of those the world called quakers, and declared that in the year 1656, at Shipton in Yorkshire, as he was at plough, he saw nothing, but heard an audible voice saying, "I have ordained thee to be a prophet to the nations," &c.

Dyer declared, that she came from Rhode-Island † to visit the quakers; that she was of their religion, which she affirmed was the truth; and that the light within her was the rule, &c.

Davis came from Barnstable: he came into court with his hat on, confessed he had forsaken the ordinances and resorted to the quakers. The jury found, "that they were all quakers." Robinson was whipped twenty stripes for abusing the court, and they were all banished on pain of death.

Patience Scott, a girl of about eleven years of age, came I suppose from Providence; her friends lived there; and, professing herself to be one of those whom the world in scorn calls quakers, was committed to prison, and afterwards brought to court. The record stands thus: "The court, duly considering the malice of satan and his instruments by all means and ways to propagate error and disturb

* Nicholas Uphall was a member of Boston church, a very old man. When he was banished he went first to Plymouth, where people were torbad entertaining him; but some that were more compassionate prevailed upon the authority to suffer him to tarry until the spring. *New-England judged.*

* Her husband or son, William Dyer, was secretary of that colony.

turb the truth, and bring in confusion among us—that satan is put to his shifts to make use of such a child, not being of the years of discretion, nor understanding the principles of religion—judge meet so far to slight her as a quaker, as only to admonish and instruct her according to her capacity, and so discharge her, Capt. Hutchinson undertaking to send her home.” Strange such a child should be imprisoned! it would have been horrible if there had been any further severity.*

Robinson, Stephenson and Dyer at the next general court were brought upon trial, and, “for their rebellion, sedition, and presumptuous obtruding themselves after banishment upon pain of death,” were sentenced to die; the two first were executed the 27th of October.† Dyer, upon the petition of William Dyer her son, was reprieved on condition that she departed the jurisdiction in 48 hours, and if she returned, to suffer the sentence. She was carried to the gallows, and stood with a rope about her neck until the others were executed. She was so infatuated as afterwards to return, and was executed June 1st, 1660.‡ The court thought it advisable to publish a vindication of their proceedings; they urge the example of England in the provision made against jesuits, which might have some weight against a charge brought from thence; but in every other part of their vindication, as may well be supposed from the nature of the thing, there is but the bare shadow of reason. Christopher Holder, who had found the way into the jurisdiction again, was at this court banished

* Bishop says, that they cut off the right ear of Holder, Copeland, and Rous in the prison; and that Catharine Scott, the mother of Patience Scott, reproving them for a deed of darkness, they whipped her ten strokes, though they allowed her to be otherwise of blameless conversation and well bred, being a minister's daughter in England. *New-England judged.*

† Mr. Winthrop, the governor of Connecticut, laboured to prevent their execution; and Col. Temple went to the court and told them, “that if according to their declaration they desired their lives absent rather than their deaths present, he would carry them away and provide for them at his own charge, and if any of them should return he would fetch them away again.” This motion was well liked by all the magistrates except two or three, and they proposed it to the deputies the next day, but those two or three magistrates with the deputies prevailed to have execution done. *New-England judged.*

‡ Being asked what she had to say why sentence should not be executed; she answered, that she denied their law, came to bear witness against it, and could not choose but come and do as formerly. This is the same Mary Dyer who in the year 1637 was banished for her familistical tenets.

ished upon pain of death. At the same court seven or eight persons were fined, some as high as ten pounds, for entertaining quakers; and Edward Wharton, for piloting them from one place to another, was ordered to be whipped twenty stripes, and bound to his good behaviour. Divers others were then brought upon trial, "for adhering to the cursed sect of quakers, not disowning themselves to be such, refusing to give civil respect, leaving their families and relations, and running from place to place vagabonds like;" and Daniel Gold was sentenced to be whipped thirty stripes, Robert Harper fifteen, and they, with Alice Courland, Mary Scott and Hope Clifton, banished upon pain of death; William Kingsmill whipped fifteen stripes; Margaret Smith, Mary Trask and Provided Southwick ten stripes each, and Hannah Phelps admonished.

The compassion of the people was moved, and many resorted to the prison by day and night, and upon a representation of the keeper a constant watch was kept round the prison to keep people off.*

Joseph Nicholson and Jane his wife were also tried and found quakers, as also Wendlock Christopherson, who declared in court that the scripture is not the word of God, and Mary Standley, and all sentenced to banishment, &c. as was soon after Benjamin Bellflower; but John Chamberlain, though he came with his hat on, yet refusing directly to answer, the jury found him "much inclining to the cursed opinions of the quakers," and he escaped with an admonition.

Nicholson and his wife returned, and were apprehended; but upon their petition had liberty, with several others then in prison, to go for England. Christopherson returned also, and was sentenced to die. It is said he desired the court to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings. "For the last man (says he) that was put to death, here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same

* The pillory served for a pulpit to George Fox. He preached to the populace, and made so many converts that they delivered him in a tumultuous manner, and set a clergyman who had been instrumental in Fox's punishment upon the same pillory. *Volt. Letters.*

“same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment.” He was ordered to be executed the fifth day sevensnight after the fourteenth of March 1660, afterwards reprieved till the thirteenth of June; but he was set at liberty, upon his request to the court, and went out of the jurisdiction.

Bellflower afterwards in court renounced his opinions, as also William King (Kingmill I suppose) the only instances upon record. Chamberlain was afterwards apprehended again, and found a quaker, and committed to close prison, but no further sentence appears.

In September 1660 William Lodea was tried, and convicted of being a quaker, and sentenced to banishment, &c.; but returning, and being apprehended, the general court gave him liberty notwithstanding to go to England with Nicholson and others; but he refused to leave the country, and was brought upon trial for returning into the jurisdiction after sentence of banishment, acknowledged himself to be the person, but denied their authority, and told the court, that “with the spirit they called the devil he worshipped God; that their ministers were deluders, and they themselves murderers.” He was told that he might have his life and be at liberty if he would. He answered, I am willing to die, I speak the truth. The court took great pains to persuade him to leave the country, but to no purpose. The jury brought him in guilty, and he was sentenced to die, and suffered accordingly March 14, 1660.

Mary Wright, of Oyster-bay, was tried at the court in September 1660. She said she came to do the will of the Lord, and to warn them to lay by their carnal weapons and laws against the people of God; and told the court they thirsted for blood. The court asked her what she would have them do; she said, “Repent of your bloodshed and cruelty, and shedding the blood of the innocent William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson and Mary Dyer.” She said, her tears were her meat many days and nights before she gave up herself to this work of the Lord, but added, that if she had her liberty she would be gone quickly.

quickly. Being found a quaker, she was banished.

Edward Wharton, who had been whipped before, was now indicted for being a quaker, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment, and afterwards to banishment. Judah Brown and Peter Pierfon stood mute. They were sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail in Boston, Roxbury and Dedham.

John Smith of Salem, for making disturbance at the ordination of Mr. Higginson, crying out, "What you are going about to set up, our God is pulling down," was committed to prison by order of court.

Philip Verin was also tried and imprisoned; Josias Southwick, first banished and returning, whipped at the cart's tail, and John Buristowe bound to his good behaviour. These are all * who were tried by the court of assistants or by the general court. Some at Salem, Hampton, Newbury and other places, for disorderly behaviour, putting people in terror, coming into the congregations and calling to the minister in the time of public worship, declaring their preaching, &c. to be an abomination to the Lord, and other breaches of the peace, were ordered to be whipped by the authority of the county courts or particular magistrates. At Boston one George Wilson, and at Cambridge Elizabeth Horton, went crying through the streets, that the Lord was coming with fire and sword to plead with them. Thomas Newhouse went into the meeting-house at Boston with a couple of glass bottles, and broke them before the congregation, and threatened, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." Another time M. Brewster came in with her face smeared and as black as a coal. Deborah Willson went through the streets of Salem naked as she came into the world, † for which she was well whipped.

* George Bishop mentions several who suffered corporeal punishment by order of particular magistrates or the county courts, of whom I find no notice any where else. *New-England judged.*

† One of the sect, apologizing for this behaviour, said, "If the Lord did stir up any of his daughters to be a sign of the nakedness of others, he believed it to be a great cross to a modest woman's spirit, but the Lord must be obeyed." Another quoted the command in Isaiah, chap. 20. R. Williams. One Faubord of Grindleton carried his enthusiasm still higher, and was sacrificing his son in imitation of Abraham; but the neighbours, hearing the lad cry, broke open the house and happily prevented it.

whipped. For these and such like disturbances they might be deemed proper subjects either of a mad-house or house of correction, and it is to be lamented that any greater severities were made use of. After all that may be said against these measures, it evidently appears that they proceeded not from personal hatred and malice against such disordered persons, nor from any private sinister views, as is generally the case with unjust punishments inflicted in times of party rage and discord, whether civil or religious, but merely from a false zeal and an erroneous judgment. In support of their proceedings they brought several texts of the old testament: "Come out of her, my people," &c. "If thy brother entice thee to serve other gods, thou shalt surely put him to death;" and "for speaking lies in the name of the Lord, his father shall thrust him through when he prophesieth;" and the example of Solomon, who first laid Shimei under restraint, and then for his breach put him to death; as also many passages of the new testament, requiring subjection to magistrates, &c. and thus, from a zeal to defend the holy religion they professed, they went into measures directly opposite to its true spirit and the great design of publishing it to the world.

That I may finish what relates to the quakers, it must be further observed, that their friends in England solicited, and at length obtained, an order from the King, Sept. 9, 1661, requiring that a stop should be put to all capital or corporeal punishment of those of his subjects called quakers, and that such as were obnoxious should be sent to England. Whatever opinion they might have of the force of orders from the crown controuling the laws of the colony, they prudently complied with this instruction, and suspended the execution of the laws against quakers, so far as respected corporeal punishment, until further order. Indeed before the receipt of this letter, but probably when they were in expectation of it, all that were in prison were discharged and sent out of the colony. The laws were afterwards revived, so far as respected vagabond quakers, whose punishment was limited to whipping, and, as a further favour, through three towns only. But there was little or no room for carrying the laws into execution, for
after

after these first excursions they became in general an orderly people, submitting to the laws, except such as relate to the militia and the support of the ministry; and in their scruples as to those they have from time to time been indulged. At present, they are esteemed as being of good morals, friendly and benevolent in their disposition, and I hope will never meet with any farther persecution on account of their peculiar tenets or customs. May the time never come again, when the government shall think that by killing men for their religion they do God good service.*

From 1656 to 1660 I find but very few facts relative to the public affairs of the colony worth transmitting to posterity. After the peace with the Dutch in Europe the trade between the English and Dutch colonies was revived, and Stuyvesant the Dutch governor in 1657 wrote to the commissioners of the English colonies, that the limits agreed and settled in 1650, both upon the main and upon Long-Island, were ratified and confirmed by the States General of the United Provinces, and desired that, the confirmation of the Lord Protector being ready, time and place might be appointed for the exchange. The commissioners in their answer let him know, that they had ever conformed to that settlement although he had not, but they said nothing of the Protector's confirmation. It does not appear that ever they sought for it. Towards the end of this period, the changes in England were so frequent, that it was prudence in the colonies to take as little notice of them as might be, until there appeared a prospect of a lasting establishment. An express acknowledgment of Richard Cromwell was expected from Massachusetts, but they declined it. An original letter † from him

* The author of the account of the European settlements in North-America, who is very erroneous in some historical facts which concern the Massachusetts colony, but has many judicious observations which run through his whole performance, says, upon the subject of the New-England persecutions, "Such is the manner of proceeding of religious parties towards each other, and in this respect the New-England people are not worse than the rest of mankind, nor was their severity any just matter of reflection upon that mode of religion which they profess. No religion whatsoever, true or false, can excuse its own members, or accuse those of any other, upon the score of persecution." Vol. II. p. 185. It is a doctrine of Calvin, *In hereticos gladio vindicandum est*, and the death of Servetus is generally laid to his charge.

† Appendix No. 12.

him to the governor, recommending the case of Mr. Sewall, a minister, is all that appears upon the records relative to him.*

The rapid increase of the Massachusetts colony, together with the figure which many of the first settlers made in England before their removal, and the correspondence which they maintained with their friends of great distinction there many years after, eclipsed the colony of New-Plymouth,† whose growth and progress would otherwise have been thought considerable. The southern part of the colony in general, being of a light sandy soil, would have been incapable of supporting its inhabitants, were it not for the large bodies of salt meadow, the hay of which serves for fodder for their cattle in the winter, and the dung from it, being an excellent manure, produces good crops of grain with little labour in the summer, light land being easily tilled. The northern parts, bordering upon Massachusetts, afford many good farms, particularly the town of Bridgewater, which hath been famous for the quality of the land and for good husbandry. They were few at first, and but little additions were made after Massachusetts was planted, except from their natural increase; and yet before the year 1643, besides the town of Plymouth, they had settled Duxbury, Scituate, Taunton, Rehoboth, Sandwich, Barnstable, Yarmouth, and Eastham. Upon the death of Mr. Carver their first governor, soon after their arrival, they chose in his stead Mr. Bradford, being a grave, discreet man. They were so well satisfied with his administration, that they continued to choose him annually until his death in 1657, except two years when they chose Mr. Winslow, and one year Mr. Prince.

Their

* Sir Thomas Temple came first to New-England in 1657, having with others obtained from Oliver a grant of lands in Acadie or Nova Scotia, of which he was made governor. He was recommended by Nathaniel Fiennes, son to Lord Say. Mr. Fiennes calls him his near kinsman.

† Mr. William Bradford, who had been many years governor of Plymouth colony, died the 9th May, 1657. He was in great esteem. Having taken notice of Mr. Winslow's elegy, for the same reason we cannot well omit three or four of the first lines of Mr. Bradford's.

The ninth of May, about nine of the clock,
A precious one God out of Plymouth took;
Governor Bradford then expir'd his breath,
Was call'd away by force of cruel death. &c.

These will be sufficient for a specimen of New-England poetry in that age.

Their ecclesiastical affairs were for divers years in discouraging circumstances. They had expectations that Mr. Robinson their pastor, whom they had left with one half his church in Holland, would follow them, but his death in 1624 put an end to their hopes. They were unsuccessful in their attempts to settle a minister; the principles of one and the manners of another were exceptionable; and having several brethren among themselves well gifted, they chose to continue without a minister for some time rather than to settle one who was not exemplary in his life, or who differed from them in points of doctrine or church government. But in 1643 they had a set of pious, learned ministers,* one of which, Mr. Chauncey, some years after, was chosen to the presidentship of the college in Massachusetts, and removed to Cambridge.

They had many local laws. In criminal cases they took Massachusetts for their pattern, but in civil matters they professed to take the common law for their rule more than was practised in Massachusetts.

An exemplary piece of justice is recorded to their honour in the year 1638, when they caused three Englishmen to be executed for the murder of an Indian near Providence.

Plymouth colony adjoining to Massachusetts, some short disputes subsisted between them concerning bounds. In order to settle the controversy, commissioners were appointed in the year 1640, viz. John Endicott and Israel Stoughton for Massachusetts, and William Bradford and Edward Winslow for Plymouth. It was not then effected. An observation had been taken by Nathaniel Woodward, in the year 1638, upon part of Charles river, 41 degrees 59 minutes north latitude, the river still running southward, the persons employed not being able to proceed farther for want of provisions. In 1642 the northern bounds of Massachusetts were ascertained by the same Woodward, with Solomon Saffery,† and a station fixed, which has since

* Mr. Hubbard gives the list of their names. Charles Chauncey, Ralph Partridge, William Hooke, Nicholas Street, John Lothrop, John Mayo, Edward Bulkley, William Leveridge, Richard Blinman, John Miller, and Marriaduke Matthews.

† Douglass says, they were two obscure sailors who assisted in the survey; but they are called in the record two able mathematicians.

since been allowed to be the Massachusetts corner, 3 miles south of Charles river ; and from this corner the lines between Massachusetts, and the governments of Plymouth, Rhode-Island and Connecticut, have been run and confirmed by acts of the several governments.*

* There has been a pretence started or revived of late years, that Massachusetts had extended the southerly part of Charles-river to a brook too small to be accounted a branch of it ; but such pretences, after so many years acquiescence, can have little weight, especially if it be considered that what is now a small brook, after the country has been opened and cleared of wood for an hundred years, may probably have been a navigable stream for canoes and boats at the time of fixing the station.



CHAP. II.

C H A P. II.

From the Restoration of King Charles the Second to the Year 1686, when the Charter of the Colony was vacated.

SINCE the year 1640 the people had been without any apprehensions of danger to their religious or civil privileges. They prudently acknowledged subjection to the parliament, and afterwards to Cromwell, so far as was necessary to keep upon terms and avoid exception, and no farther. The addresses to the parliament and Cromwell shew this to have been the case. After Cromwell's death, during the frequent changes in the supreme authority in England, they seem to have taken part with none, but to have waited until some settlement was made which should have a prospect of stability.* I have no where met with any marks of disrespect to the memory of the late King, and there is no room to suppose they were under disaffection to his son; and if they feared his restoration, it was because they expected a change in religion, and that a persecution of all non-conformists would follow it.† At the election in May, they could have received no intelligence from England to enable them to make any certain judgment of affairs. Mr. Endicot was then chosen governor, and Mr. Bellingham deputy governor, both of them as fixed in their principles as any of their brethren. The business of this session of the general court went over, and nothing

* I find this remark in an ancient manuscript, wrote about the year 1665 :—
 “ When a packet of letters was sent by Mr. John Thurloe, containing an express order of the council, signed by Henry Lawrence president, requiring and enjoining the governor and magistrates of the Massachusetts colony to proclaim Richard in these following terms; that is to say, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the territories thereunto belonging, they did not obey the said order. And since his Majesty King Charles the Second was proclaimed in the Massachusetts, at Boston and other places, they have not failed in all their courts and judicial proceedings, throughout the colony, to give that tribute of honour to his Majesty, which in such like cases is commonly rendered by the courts of law at Westminster.”

† They had undoubtedly a good opinion of the persons in whose hands the administration then was; but the uncertainty of their continuance in power was reason enough for caution.

nothing passed relative to affairs in England. On the 27th of July, capt. Peirce, a noted shipmaster in the trade between England and the colony, arrived, and brought the news of the King's being proclaimed. If they received at the same time the King's declaration from Breda, and depended that a royal promise would be, as it always ought to be, religiously complied with, they need not have been under great concern about their public affairs either in church or state. No advices were received from authority, and the King was not proclaimed in the colony,* nor was any alteration made in the forms of their public acts and proceedings. There was a session of the general court in October, and a motion was made for an address to the King, but it did not succeed. Mr. Norton, one of the ministers of Boston, was very earnest for it; but rumours came by the way of Barbados, that the government in England was in a very unsettled state, the body of the people dissatisfied, that the Scotch had demanded Monk to be delivered up to them, that lord Fairfax was at the head of a great army, &c. and they had seen so many changes in the course of a few months, that they thought it was not very certain that an address to the King would not fall into the hands of a committee of safety, council of state, or a junto with some other title. On the 30th of November a ship arrived from Bristol, which brought advices of the proceedings of parliament, and that all matters were fully settled. They were also informed, by letters from Mr. Leveret their agent, and others, that petitions and complaints were preferred against the colony to the King in council, and to the parliament (a citation being posted upon the exchange in London) by Mason, Gorges, and others. The governor and assistants met forthwith, called the general court to convene the 19th of December, a very loyal address to the King was presently agreed on, and another to the two houses of parliament. Letters were sent by sir Thomas Temple, who was a constant friend to the colony, to lord Manchester, lord Say and Seal,

* This was the first instance of the accession of a prince to the throne since this colony had been planted, and perhaps the propriety and necessity of this ceremony in the plantations was not fully understood and considered. I find nothing said about it until notice taken in England of the neglect.

Seal, and other persons of note, to pray them to intercede in behalf of the colony. A most gracious answer was given to the address, by the King's letter, dated Feb. 15, 1660, which was the first public act or order concerning them after the restoration, except a few lines, the 23d of January before, from secretary Morice, to inclose an order for the apprehending two of the late King's judges; both letters, it is probable, by the same ship, which arrived in May following.

Before the receipt of this letter, the governor and council, March 18th, took public notice of a book published by Mr. Eliot not long before, entitled *The Christian Commonwealth, &c.* which they declare they find on perusal full of seditious principles and notions in relation to all established governments in the christian world, especially against the government established in their native country. Upon consultation with the elders, their censure was deferred until the general court met, "that Mr. Eliot might have the opportunity in the mean time of making a public recantation."

At the next sessions, in May, Mr. Eliot gave into the court the following acknowledgment under his hand:

"Understanding by an act of the honoured council, that there is offence taken at a book published in England by others, the copy whereof was sent over by myself about nine or ten years since, and that the further consideration thereof is commended to this honoured general court now sitting at Boston; upon perusal thereof-I do judge myself to have offended, and in way of satisfaction not only to the authority of this jurisdiction but also to any others that shall take notice thereof, I do hereby acknowledge to this honoured court, that such expressions as do too manifestly scandalize the government of England, by king, lords and commons, as anti-christian, and justify the late innovators, I do sincerely bear testimony against, and acknowledge it to be not only a lawful but eminent form of government.

"2d. All form of civil government deduced from scripture I acknowledge to be of God, and to be subjected to for conscience sake. And whatsoever is in the whole epistle
"or

“ or book inconsistent herewith, I do at once most cordial-
 “ ly disown. John Eliot.”

The books were ordered by the court to be called in, and this acknowledgment to be posted up in the principal towns in the colony. When the times change, men generally suffer their opinions to change with them, so far at least as is necessary to avoid danger. Between the reigns of Henry the Seventh and James the First, how many times did the whole body of the clergy of England change or shift their opinions in matters of greater importance !

A day of public thanksgiving was appointed by authority, to acknowledge the favour of Heaven in inclining the King graciously to accept and answer the address made to him.

They were notwithstanding under no small degree of fear, lest the revolution of government in England should produce as great a change in the form of their government, both in church and state. They were alarmed from all quarters. Reports were spread, that Virginia and the islands were forbid trading with them, that three frigates would soon be sent from England, and that a general governor over all the colonies was to come in one of them.*

At the same sessions in May they passed the following vote :

“ Forasmuch as the present condition of our affairs of
 “ the highest concernment call for diligent and speedy use
 “ of the best means seriously to discuss and rightly to un-
 “ derstand our liberty and duty, thereby to beget unity a-
 “ mongst ourselves, in the due observance of obedience and
 “ fidelity to the authority of England, and our own just
 “ privileges ; for the effecting whereof it is ordered, that
 “ Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Mr. Samuel Symonds, Major-
 “ General Denison, Mr. Danforth, Major William Haw-
 “ thorn, Capt. Thomas Savage, Capt. Edward Johnson,
 “ Capt.

* “ The general vogue of people is, that a governor will be sent over ; other rumours there are concerning you. I made bold to address myself to lord Say, and desired his favour. His lordship protested his great respect for the plantations, and thanked God he prayed for you daily, promising to improve his interest, &c. Episcopacy, common prayer, bowing at the name of Jesus, sign of the cross in baptism, the altar, and organs, are in use, and like to be more. The Lord keep and preserve his churches, that there may not be fainting in a day of trial.” *Leveret's letter to Mass. Lond. 13th Feb. 1660.*

" Capt. Eleazer Lusher, Mr. Mather, Mr. Norton, Mr.
 " Corbett, and Mr. Mitchell,* be and hereby are a com-
 " mittee, immediately after the dissolution or adjournment
 " of the court, to meet together in Boston on second day
 " next, at 12 of the clock, to consider and debate such
 " matter or thing of public concernment, touching our
 " patent, laws, privileges, and duty to his Majesty, as they
 " in their wisdom shall judge most expedient, and draw up
 " the result of their apprehensions, and present the same to
 " the next session for consideration and approbation, that
 " so (if the will of God be) we may speak and act the same
 " thing, becoming prudent, honest, conscientious and
 " faithful men."†

An answer was drawn up, and accepted by the court, at a session specially appointed to receive the same.‡

In the ship which arrived from London the 27th of July, there came passengers, col. Whaley and col. Goffe, two of the late King's judges. Col. Goffe brought testimonials from Mr. John Rowe and Mr. Seth Wood, two ministers of a church in Westminster. Col. Whaley had been a member of Mr. Thomas Goodwin's church. Goffe kept a journal or diary from the day he left Westminster, May 4, until the year 1667, which, together with several other papers belonging to him, I have in my possession. Almost the whole is in characters or short hand, not very difficult to decypher. The story of these persons has never yet been published to the world. It has never been known in New-England. Their papers after their death were collected, and have remained near an hundred years in a library in Boston. It must give some entertainment to the curious. They left London before the King was proclaimed. It does not appear that they were among the most obnoxious of the judges; but as it was expected vengeance would be taken of some of them, and a great many had fled, they did not think it safe to remain. They did not attempt to conceal their persons or characters when they arrived at Boston, but immediately went to the governor, Mr. Endicot, who received them very courteously.

* The four last named were ministers.

† Massachusetts records.

‡ Appendix, No. 13.

courteously. They were visited by the principal persons of the town, and among others they take notice of Col. Crown's coming to see them. He was a noted royalist. Although they did not disguise themselves, yet they chose to reside at Cambridge, a village about four miles distant from the town, where they went the first day they arrived. They went publicly to meetings on the Lord's days, and to occasional lectures, fasts and thanksgivings, and were admitted to the sacrament, and attended private meetings for devotion, visited many of the principal towns, and were frequently at Boston, and once when insulted there the person insulting them was bound to his good behaviour. They appeared grave, serious and devout, and the rank they had sustained commanded respect. Whaley had been one of Cromwell's lieut. generals, and Goffe a major-general. It is not strange that they should meet with this favourable reception, nor was this reception any contempt of the authority in England. They were known to have been two of the King's judges; but King Charles the Second was not proclaimed when the ship that brought them left London; they had the news of it in the channel. The reports afterwards by way of Barbados were, that all the judges would be pardoned but seven. The act of indemnity was not brought over until the last of November. When it appeared that they were not excepted, some of the principal persons in the government were alarmed; pity and compassion prevailed with others. They had assurances from some that belonged to the general court that they would stand by them, but were advised by others to think of removing. The 22d of February the governor summoned a court of assistants to consult about securing them, but the court did not agree to it. Finding it unsafe to remain any longer, they left Cambridge the 26th following, and arrived at New-Haven the 7th of March. One capt. Breedan, who had seen them at Boston, gave information thereof upon his arrival in England. A few days after their removal, an hue-and-cry, as they term it in their diary, was brought by the way of Barbados; and thereupon a warrant to secure them issued, the 8th of March, from the governor and assistants, which

was

was sent to Springfield and the other towns in the western parts of the colony; but they were beyond the reach of it.*

The proclaiming the King having been deferred until August, 1661, the governor, upon intelligence from England of what was doing there to the prejudice of the colony, did not think proper to delay it any longer, and called the general court together the 7th of August, when, after a great variety of forms for a proclamation had been proposed, the following was agreed to :

“FORASMUCH

* They were well treated at New-Haven by the ministers and some of the magistrates, and for some days seemed to apprehend themselves out of danger. But the news of the King's proclamation being brought to New-Haven, they were obliged to abscond. The 27th of March they removed to Milford, and appeared there in the day time, and made themselves known; but at night returned privately to New-Haven, and lay concealed in Mr. Davenport the minister's house, until the 30th of April. About that time news came to Boston that ten of the judges were executed; and the governor received a royal mandate, dated March 5, 1660, to cause Whaley and Goffe to be secured. This greatly alarmed the country, and there is no doubt that the court were now in earnest in their endeavours to apprehend them; and, to avoid all suspicion, they gave commission and instructions to two young merchants from England, Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk, zealous royalists, to go through the colonies as far as Manhadoes in search of them. They had friends who informed them what was doing, and they removed from Mr. Davenport's to the house of one Jones, where they lay hid until the 11th of May, and then removed to a mill, and from thence on the 13th into the woods, where they met Jones and two of his companions, Sperry and Burrill, who first conducted them to a place called Hatchet-Harbour, where they lay two nights until a cave or hole in the side of a hill was prepared to conceal them. This hill they called Providence-hill, and there they continued from the fifteenth of May to the 11th of June, sometimes in the cave, and in very tempestuous weather in a house near to it. During this time the messengers went through New-Haven to the Dutch settlement, from whence they returned to Boston by water. They made diligent search, and had full proof that the regicides had been seen at Mr. Davenport's, and offered great rewards to English and Indians who should give information that they might be taken; but by the fidelity of their three friends, they remained undiscovered. Mr. Davenport was threatened with being called to an account for concealing and comforting traitors, and might well be alarmed. They had engaged to surrender, rather than the country or any particular persons should suffer upon their account; and upon intimation of Mr. Davenport's danger, they generously resolved to go to New-Haven, and deliver themselves up to the authority there. The miseries they had suffered and were still exposed to, and the little chance they had of finally escaping, in a country where every stranger is immediately known to be such, would not have been sufficient to have induced them. They let the deputy governor, Mr. Leete, know where they were, but he took no measures to secure them, and the next day some persons came to them to advise them not to surrender. Having publicly shewn themselves at New-Haven, they had cleared Mr. Davenport from the suspicion of still concealing them, and the 24th of June went into the woods again to their cave. They continued there, sometimes venturing to a house near the cave, until the 19th of August, when the search for them being pretty well over, they ventured to the house of one Tomkins near Milford, where they remained two years, without so much as going into the orchard. After that, they took a little more liberty, and made themselves known to several persons, in whom they could confide; and each of them frequently prayed, and also exercised, as they term it, or preached, at private meetings in their chamber. In 1664

“FORASMUCH as Charles the Second is undoubtedly
 “King of Great-Britain, and all other his Majesty’s terri-
 “tories and dominions thereunto belonging, and hath been
 “some time since lawfully proclaimed and crowned ac-
 “cordingly: We therefore do, as in duty we are bound,
 “own and acknowledge him to be our Sovereign Lord and
 “King; and do therefore hereby proclaim and declare his
 “sacred Majesty Charles the Second to be lawful King of
 “Great-Britain, France and Ireland, and all other the ter-
 “ritories thereunto belonging. God save the King!”

An

the commissioners from King Charles arrived at Boston. Upon the news of it, they retired to their cave, where they tarried eight or ten days. Soon after, some Indians in their hunting discovered the cave with the bed, &c. and the report being spread abroad, it was not safe to remain near it. On the 13th of October, 1664, they removed to Hadley, near an hundred miles distant, travelling only by night, where Mr. Russell, the minister of the place, had previously agreed to receive them. Here they remained concealed fifteen or sixteen years, very few persons in the colony being privy to it. The last account of Goffe is from a letter, dated Ebenezer (the name they gave their several places of abode) April 2d, 1679. Whaley had been dead some time before. The tradition at Hadley is, that two persons unknown were buried in the minister’s cellar. The minister was no sufferer by his boarders. They received more or less remittances every year, for many years together, from their wives in England. Those few persons who knew where they were, made them frequent presents. Richard Saltonstall, Esq. who was in the secret, when he left the country and went to England in 1672, made them a present of fifty pounds at his departure; and they take notice of donations from several other friends. They were in constant terror, though they had reason to hope, after some years, that the inquiry for them was over. They read with pleasure the news of their being killed with other judges in Switzerland. Their diary for six or seven years contains every little occurrent in the town, church and particular families in the neighbourhood. These were small affairs. They had indeed for a few years of their lives been among the principal actors in the great affairs of the nation, Goffe especially, who turned the members of the little parliament out of the house, and who was attached to Oliver and to Richard to the last; but they were both of low birth and education. They had very constant and exact intelligence of every thing which passed in England, and were unwilling to give up all hopes of deliverance. Their greatest expectations were from the fulfilment of the prophecies. They had no doubt that the execution of the judges was the slaying of the witnesses. They were much disappointed when the year 1666 had passed without any remarkable event, but flattered themselves that the christian era might be erroneous. Their lives were miserable, and constant burdens. They complain of being banished from all human society. A letter from Goffe’s wife, who was Whaley’s daughter. I think worth preserving.* After the second year, Goffe writes by the name of Walter Goldsmith, and the of Frances Goldsmith, and the correspondence is carried on as between a mother and son. There is too much religion in their letters for the taste of the present day; but the distresses of two persons under these peculiar circumstances, who appear to have lived very happily together, are very strongly described.

Whilst they were at Hadley (Feb. 10, 1664) Dixwell, another of the judges, came to them; but from whence, or in what part of America he first landed, is not known. The first mention of him in their journal is by the name of Col. Dixwell, but ever after they call him Mr. Davids. He continued some years at Hadley, and then removed to New-Haven. He was generally supposed to have

been

An order passed the court the same day, and was posted up in Boston, forbidding all disorderly behaviour on the occasion, declaring that no person might expect indulgence for the breach of any law, and "in a particular manner that no man should presume to drink his Majesty's health,"* which the order says "he hath in an especial manner forbid."

An address to the King was likewise agreed to, and ordered to be sent to England.

Intelligence arriving of further complaints against the colony, and orders being received from the King that persons should be sent over to make answer, the governor called

been one of those who were obnoxious in England, but he never discovered who he was until he was on his death-bed. I have one of his letters, signed James Davids, dated March 23d, 1683. He married at New-Haven, and left several children. After his death, his son, who before had been called Davids, took the name of Dixwell, came to Boston, and lived in good repute; was a ruling elder of one of the churches there, and died in 1721 of the small-pox by inoculation. Some of his grandchildren are now living. Col. Dixwell was buried at New-Haven. His grave-stone still remains, with this inscription: "J. D. Esq. deceased March 18th, in the 82d year of his age, 1688."

It cannot be denied that many of the principal persons in the colony greatly esteemed these persons, for their professions of piety and their grave deportment, who did not approve of their political conduct. Mr. Mitchell, the minister of Cambridge, who shewed them great friendship upon their first arrival, says, in a manuscript which he wrote in his own vindication, "Since I have had opportunity by reading and discourse to look a little into that action for which these men suffer, I could never see that it was justifiable." After they were declared traitors, they certainly would have been sent to England if they could have been taken. It was generally thought they had left the country; and even the consequence of their escape was dreaded, lest when they were taken those who had harboured them should suffer for it. Mr. Endicot, the governor, writes to the Earl of Manchester, that he supposes they went towards the Dutch at Manhadoes, and took shipping for Holland; and Mr. Bradstreet, the then governor, in December 1684 writes to Edward Randolph, "that after their being at New-Haven he could never hear what became of them." Randolph, who was sent to search into the secrets of the government, could obtain no more knowledge of them than that they had been in the country, and respect had been shewn them by some of the magistrates. I am loth to omit an anecdote handed down through governor Leveret's family. I find Goffe takes notice in his journal of Leveret's being at Hadley. The town of Hadley was alarmed by the Indians in 1675, in the time of public worship, and the people were in the utmost confusion. Suddenly, a grave, elderly person appeared in the midst of them. In his mein and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but put himself at their head, rallied, instructed, and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by this means were repulled. As suddenly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared. The people were left in consternation, utterly unable to account for this strange phenomenon. It is not probable that they were ever able to explain it. If Goffe had been then discovered, it must have come to the knowledge of those persons who declare by their letters that they never knew what became of him.

* *Hoc est ad nostros non leve crimen avos.* Ovid.

called the court together again the 31st of December; and Simon Bradstreet, one of the magistrates, and John Norton, one of the ministers of Boston church, were chosen agents for the colony, and instructions given them, the sum of which was—to represent the colony as his Majesty's loyal and obedient subjects—to endeavour to take off all scandal and objections—and to understand his Majesty's apprehensions concerning them; to do nothing which might be prejudicial to the charter, and to keep the court advised of these transactions and all occurrences.*

These gentlemen engaged in the service with great reluctance, Mr. Norton particularly. A ship was stopped for them upon demurrage, and then discharged, and then stopped again. At length the committee, appointed to do every thing necessary for their dispatch in the recess of the court, engaged "to make good all damages they might sustain by the detention of their persons in England or otherwise." They departed the 10th of February.

Their reception in England was much more favourable than was expected, their stay short, returning the next fall with the King's most gracious letter, some parts of which cheered the hearts of the country; and they then looked upon, and often afterwards recurred to them, as a confirmation of their charter privileges, and an amnesty of all past errors. The letter was ordered to be published; and in an order for a public thanksgiving particular notice is taken of "the return of their messengers, and the continuance of the mercies of peace, liberties, and the gospel."†

There

* Mr. Pyncheon writes to Mr. Davenport at New-Haven, March 26, 1662, "Our general court after much agitation and opposition have at last sent two messengers to England, Mr. N. and Mr. B. who went from Boston 10th Feb. "I pray God it may be for the best. The event is doubtful to me, seeing we "have so many false friends and open enemies." The fears of the people while they were absent appear from many passages in private letters, mentioning reports that Mr. Bradstreet and Norton were detained in England, that Mr. Norton was in the tower, &c.

† Lord Say, who, upon the restoration, which he had been instrumental in promoting, was made lord privy seal, retained his friendship for the colony, as appears by the following letter.

"London, 10th July, 1662.

"Gentlemen and honoured friends,

"Having so safe a hand and so true a friend to convey a line to you, as the bearer, Mr. Crowne, I was loth to omit writing, because it may be my last, my glass being almost run out, and I retiring home. You have had several appeared here.

There were some things however in the King's letter hard to comply with ; and although it was ordered to be published, yet it was with this caution, that " inasmuch as " the letter hath influence upon the churches as well as " civil state, all manner of actings in relation thereto shall " be suspended until the next general court, that so all " persons concerned may have time and opportunity to " consider of what is necessary to be done in order to his " Majesty's pleasure therein." The King expressly declares, " We will preserve, and do hereby confirm, the " patent and charter heretofore granted unto them by our " royal father, of blessed memory ; and they shall fully " enjoy all the privileges and liberties granted to them in " and by the same ; and we will be ready to renew the " same charter to them under our great seal of England " whensoever they shall desire it." His Majesty's gracious pardon to all his subjects was likewise declared, for all treasons, &c. during the late troubles, except to such as stood attainted by act of parliament, if any such should have transported themselves thither : but then it was required, that all their laws should be reviewed, and such as were contrary or derogatory to the King's authority and government should be annulled and repealed ; that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered ; that the administration of justice should be in the King's name ; that freedom and liberty should be given to all such as desired to

here against you, and have been examined against you, as Capt. Breedan and others, of whom, and about what, this bearer can more particularly inform you than I will at this time write ; and I must say for Mr. Crowne, he hath appeared both here in the council, and to the lord chamberlain and others, as really and cordially for you as any could do, and hath allayed the ill opinion of your cruelty against the quakers, willingly neglected his passage to stay here to serve you ; and by his means and information of the state of your government as now it is, I hope you will have no governor put upon you but of your own liking ; wherefore I must request you will really own and accordingly requite Mr. Crowne his love, care and pains for you, of which I have been an eye witness. I have brought him to the lord chamberlain and others, and have requested their lordships to assist him in your behalf. I have not been wanting both to the King and council to advance your interest ; more I cannot do, but earnestly to pray the Lord to stand with you and for you. I remain your assured loving friend to serve you,

*For his ever honoured friends the governor of
the Massachusetts colony in New-England,
for the time being, to be communicated to the
rest of the magistrates and deputies there.*

W. SAY & SEALE."

to use the book of common prayer, and perform their devotions in the manner established in England, and that they might not undergo any prejudice thereby; that all persons of good and honest lives and conversations should be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the book of common prayer, and their children to baptism; that in the choice of governor and assistants, the only consideration to be had should be of the wisdom, virtue and integrity of the persons to be chosen, and not of any faction with reference to opinions and outward profession; that all freeholders of competent estates, not vicious, &c. though of different persuasions concerning church government, should have their votes in the election of all officers, civil and military; and, finally, that this letter should be published, &c.

However reasonable the several things required by the King appear to us at this day,* yet many of them were grievous to our ancestors. The agents met with the fate of most agents ever since.† The favours they had obtained were supposed to be no more than might well have been expected, and their merits were soon forgot; the evils which they had it not in their power to prevent were attributed to their neglect or unnecessary concessions. Mr. Bradstreet was a man of more phlegm, and not so sensibly touched;

* When the legislator has believed it a duty to permit the exercise of many religions, it is necessary that he should enforce also a toleration amongst these religions themselves. *Spir. Laws.*

† Mr. Davis, a merchant in Boston, lately arrived from England, writes to Mr. Davenport at New-Haven as follows: "Mr. Norton hath lost himself much in the esteem of the generality, and will do more. I was told that he declared to the court, if they complied not with the King's letter, the blood that should be spilt would lie at their door. Yesterday half a dozen of the great church went to him and Mr. Wilton and elder Penn, in the name of themselves and others, desiring that an assistant might be chosen (intending Mr. Allen, I suppose, whom the Lord appears much with, having given him large room in the hearts of the people) but some I hear have gone on the other side and opposed it."

Doctor Mather says, upon this occasion, "Such has been the jealous disposition of our New-Englanders about their dearly bought privileges, and such also has been the various understanding of the people about the extent of those privileges, that of all the agents which they have sent over unto the court of England for now forty years together, I know not any one who did not at his return meet with some very froward entertainment among his countrymen. And there may be the wisdom of the holy and righteous God, as well as the malice of the evil one, acknowledged in the ordering of such temptations. Of these temptations a considerable share fell to Mr. Norton; concerning whom there were many who would not stick to say, that 'he had laid the foundation of ruin to all our liberties,' and his melancholy mind imagined that his best friends began therefore to look awry upon him." *Magvalia.*

touched ; but Mr. Norton was so affected, that he grew melancholy. He died suddenly, very soon after his return (April 5, 1663)* The only thing done at this session in compliance with his Majesty's orders, besides making the letter public, was the giving directions, that all writs, processes, &c. should be in his Majesty's name. A committee was afterwards appointed to consider what was proper to be done as to the other parts, who were to report the next session ; and liberty was given to any of the reverend elders, to any freemen, and to any other the inhabitants, to send in their thoughts, that so after serious consideration something might be agreed upon, "satisfactory and safe, conducing to the glory of God and the felicity of his people."

The year 1662 was remarkable for a synod or general council of all the churches, held at Boston in the month of September, by order of the general court.

The two questions referred to their decision, and concerning which the country was much divided in sentiment, were these :

1st. Who are the subjects of baptism ?

2d. Whether according to the word of God there ought to be a consociation of churches, and what should be the manner of it ?

The result of this synod was printed by order of the general court, and is particularly mentioned by Doctor Mather, Mr. Neal, and other writers. †

John

* Upon his sudden death the Quakers remarked, "John Norton, chief priest in Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord was smitten; and as he was sinking down by the fire side, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died." *Represent. to King and Parliament.*

A drunken justice, who had been a great persecutor of the Quakers in England, was threatened by Fox with divine punishment. The justice died of an apoplexy two days after. His death was not ascribed to his intemperance, but to Fox's predictions. *Volt. Let.*

Subito mori piis pariter atque impiis commune est. *Eras. Epist.*

† It being part of the result of this synod, that the children of such as made a public profession of their faith, &c. although not in full communion, might be admitted to baptism, several of the members dissented. Mr. Chauncey, the president of the college, and Mr. Davenport, of New-Haven, opposed it in print. Mr. Allen answered the first, and Mr. Richard Mather the other. His son, Mr. Increase Mather, a young gentleman about three and twenty, was with the dissenters. He writes Mr. Davenport, October 21, 1662, "I have your writings still in my hands. I offered the synod to read them, but Mr. Norton advised them not to suffer me ; whereupon I let them have a copy of them, which

John Touton, a French doctor and inhabitant of Rochel in France, made application to the court in behalf of himself and other protestants expelled from their habitations on account of their religion, that they might have liberty to inhabit here, which was readily granted to them.

Capt. Breedan, who as we have before mentioned had been in England, and had complained of the government for harbouring regicides, and had laid divers other things to its charge to render it obnoxious, returned to New-England this year, and behaved with great insolence in the face of the court, usurping authority, and laying his commands on them; but he soon found they had not lost their spirit. They committed him to prison for his contemptuous carriage, and afterwards fined him two hundred pounds,* and ordered that he become bound in two hundred pounds, with sureties, to be of good behaviour, standing committed until sentence be performed. On the other hand, Isaac Cole, the constable of Woburn, being charged with having refused to publish the King's letter, and Edward Converse, one of the selectmen of that town, with having spoken disrespectfully of it, as tending to popery, process was ordered against them, and they were held to answer for a high misdemeanor; but the facts charged against them not being proved, they were acquitted.

The severe acts of parliament against nonconformists caused some of them again to think of a place of refuge.

Several

"was generally transcribed. I have given in yours and Mr. Street's testimony
"unto the general court, with a preface subscribed by Mr. Chauncey, Mr. Mayo,
"my brother, and myself, in the name of others of the dissenting brethren in the
"synod, wherein we declare that we fully concur with what is inserted by your
"self in those papers. Some of the court would fain have thrown them out
"without reading, but the major part were not so violent. It was moved they
"might be printed. All the answer we could get was, that we might do as we
"would. We count it a favour we were not commanded to be silent. You
"may see which way things are like to be carried."

Mr. Eleazer Mather, of Northampton, writes to Mr. Davenport, of New-Haven, 4th of 5th month, 1662, "There was scarce any of the congregational
"principles but what were layen at by some or other of the assembly; as rela-
"tions of the work of grace, power of voting of the fraternity in admission, pro-
"fession of faith and repentance not to be required of such as were baptized in
"the church, in reference to the baptism of their children. Mr. Parker, or
"Newbury, was one of the great antagonists of the congregational way and
"order, though it not being the work of the present synod, his many motions to
"consider whether we were in the right ecclesiastical order were not attended."

* Afterwards, upon application from Sir Thomas Temple, seconded by governor Winthrop of Connecticut, the fine was remitted, or granted to Sir Thomas Temple to be disposed of at his pleasure.

Several ministers came over, and more intended to follow; but New-England was threatened with a loss of their privileges, and if the threat had been executed they would not have been secure in these remote parts.*

The inhabitants upon Connecticut river being increased to three townships, Springfield, Northampton and Hadley, at the sessions of the general court in May, 1662, they were made a county by the name of Hampshire.

A letter was sent signed by the governor in the name of the general court, dated Oct. 20, 1663, to Doctor John Owen, desiring him to come over and to accept the call or invitation which the first church in Boston had given him to become their teacher in the room of Mr. Norton; but he could not be prevailed upon.†

In 1664 the people of New-England were surprised with the appearance of a very large comet, which continued from the 17th of November, until the 4th of February following. At first it appeared in the east, bearded; afterwards in the west, with a tail. They were not alone in their opinion that comets were omens of great evils. So judicious a writer as Sleidan observes, that a comet was seen all the month of August preceding the October when Zuinglius was slain; he adds, that the queen mother of France died about the same time. One had appeared just before Mr. Cotton's death. The death of their aged governor, and the troubles the colony met with the next year from the King's commissioners, tended to confirm people in their opinion. The aurora borealis, and even eclipses, in

* "Here is come with Woodgreene one Mr. Davies, a rich merchant; and there came with him one Mr. Allen, a young man, a very able teacher, recommended by Mr. Goodwin. He hath taught here divers times since he came. Many are expected this summer. Mr. Bartlett of Biddford, and his son, were shipped for New-England; but an oath being required of them before they could get out of the harbour, they chose to die in prison rather than take it." *E. Mather's letter to Davenport, July, 1662.* Another MS in 1662 says, "There is great talk of many ministers with their congregations coming over the next year, if room can be found for them. There was a general governor and a major general chosen, and a bishop with a suffragan; but Mr. Norton writes, that they are not yet out of hopes to prevent it; the governor's name is Sir Robert Carr, a rank papist."

† Capt. Gookin, one of the assistants, in a letter dated July, 1666, says, "Doctor Owen and some choice ones who intended to come with him in Mr. Peirce are diverted, and that not from hopes of better times there, but from fears of worse here, which some new counsels there acting gave them occasion for, so that in all probability a new cloud is gathering and a storm preparing for us."

in former ages have been deemed prodigies, and of ill omen.*

The first prosecution I find upon record of any of the people called anabaptists was in the year 1665. William Turner, Thomas Gold, Edward Drinker, John George, and Thomas Osborne, were charged before the governor and other magistrates with "gathering themselves into a pretended church state,† in opposition to the order of the churches of Christ in the colony, and intermeddling with those holy appointments of the Lord Jesus, which are proper only to office trust." They confessed they had joined in a church society, that they had been rebaptized, and that one of them administered the Lord's supper. They were admonished, and threatened that if they continued to meet and practise contrary to the order of the gospel, the court would proceed against them according to their demerits. They persevered notwithstanding, and were sentenced by the court to be disfranchised, if they were freemen, and if they still continued their practice to be committed to prison upon conviction before one magistrate, until the general court should take further order; and some time after they were imprisoned and banished. *Nititur in vetitum* was verified in this proceeding as it usually is in the like cases. Severity made converts, and then it was thought advisable to cease from further prosecutions.‡ The baptists in England were distinguished at this

* *Cœlum visum est ardere plurimo igni, portentaque alia aut observata oculis aut vana externis ostentare species. Liv.*

† This severity was disagreeable to many. A petition to the court was signed by Capt. Hutchinson, Capt. Oliver, and others, in 1668, for favour to Thomas Gold and the rest; but it gave offence, and some of the petitioners were obliged to acknowledge their fault, some expressions in the petition being construed reproachful, and the chief promoters were fined. Mr. Increase Mather writes to his brother at Northampton, July 3d, 1665, "In this town is lately congregated a church of anabaptists. They take advantage from the commissioners, who declared that they would have liberty given to all sorts and sects of men."

‡ This was not the first appearance of antipædobaptism in the colony. Mr. Dunstar, the president of the college, made profession of it, and was forced to quit his presidentship. Mr. Chauncey, his successor, held immersion necessary, but was content that the ordinance should be administered to infants, provided it was done in that way. In Mr. Hooker's time, soon after the year 1640, it appears by his letters that many were inclined that way, and he expresses his apprehensions that the number would increase. "In 1644, one Painter, for refusing to let his child be baptized (his wife desiring it) was brought before the court, where he declared their baptism to be antichristian. He was sentenced to be

this time into three divisions. "Such as look upon all
 "who had not been baptized after they came to adult age
 "as little better than heathens, and will not join in prayer
 "with the most eminent congregational ministers, if they
 "were providentially in a family together. Others are so-
 "ber, moderate men, and manifest the power of godliness
 "in their conversations; and these upon our occasional
 "meetings we join hand and heart with, and call some of
 "them out to pray with us, and we would not have this
 "difference in judgment between us make the least breach
 "in affection, for many of those we look upon to be emi-
 "nent, precious, holy men. We have a third sort, but
 "they are not many (and most of them at London) that
 "take into fellowship those that are godly, and desire to
 "join with them, though they come not up to be baptiz-
 "ed, and walk lovingly together.* The first baptists in
 Massachusetts are represented by the writers of that day
 to have been of the same principles with those first de-
 scribed. Some of them were not so. I have seen a letter
 dated not many years after this time, from Mr. Miles, the
 baptist minister at Swansey, to one of the congregational
 ministers at Boston, which breathes the true spirit of the
 gospel, and urges christian concord, charity and love, al-
 though they did not agree in every point.

In the year 1664 the line between Massachusetts and
 Plymouth was fully and amicably settled and ran, by a
 committee from each colony, their return being accepted
 by the general court of Massachusetts, and ordered to be
 recorded;

be whipped, which he bore without flinching, and boasted that God had assisted
 him. His neighbours gave him the character of an idle, lying fellow." *Hubbard*.

Mr. Westgate, who had been in New-England, writes from Harlestone, 5th 2d
 month, 1653, to Mr. Thomas Lake, a merchant of note in Boston, "Pray inform
 "me in your next whether Mr. Cotton be alive, and if he be dead, what supply
 "the church have in his stead, and how the state of it stands, and also the state
 "of the other church in Boston, of which I can hear nothing. Inform me whe-
 "ther the number of those that oppose baptizing of infants increase, and how it
 "is taken by the magistrates and churches, and who of Boston church declare
 "themselves that way."

When the proceedings against the congregationalists in England were com-
 plained of, they were told by Dr. Stillingfleet that they were justified by the pro-
 ceedings of their brethren in New-England against dissenters from the established
 worship there. *Still. miscb. of separation.*

* Mr. Westgate's letter to Mr. Increase Mather.

recorded; and there is no doubt the general court of Plymouth colony accepted it likewise.*

From the restoration until the vacating the charter, the colony never stood well in England; the principal persons both in church and state were never without fearful expectations of being deprived of their privileges. The years 1664 and 1665 afforded them greater occasion for fears than they had met with at any time before.† In the spring of 1664 intelligence was brought that several men of war were coming from England, and several gentlemen of distinction aboard them. As soon as the general court met in May, they ordered the captain of the castle to give the speediest notice, upon sight of the ships, to the governor and deputy governor; appointed a committee to repair on board, to present the respects of the court to the gentlemen, and to acquaint them, that it was the desire of the authority of the place that strict orders should be given to the under officers and soldiers, in their coming ashore to refresh themselves, at no time to exceed a convenient number, and those without arms, and to behave themselves orderly, and to give no offence to the people and laws of the place. This was no more than a prudent precaution, considering how strict the laws were against all immoralities, the sense the magistrates had of their obligations to execute them upon all offenders without distinction, the certainty that the crews of men of war would offend, and the danger of tumults, quarrels and bloodshed when they should be brought to punishment. Preparation was likewise made for receiving and entertaining the gentlemen in the best manner.

A day of fasting and prayer ‡ was appointed to be observed

* Although there have been disputes concerning this line since the present charter, between the proprietors of the towns in the county of Plymouth and Suffolk, which were bounded by the colony lines, yet the station from whence they then began to run has never been doubted. The committee say in their return, "We all mutually agreed upon the first station, having measured three miles southerly of the southernmost part of the said river." Charles river being just before mentioned.

† In the year 1664 the wheat through the colony was spoiled by blast or mildew. This is represented as a new or unusual thing, but continued more or less for divers years together, until the people were discouraged from sowing, but little wheat having been raised since, except in the towns upon Connecticut river.

‡ This was their practice upon every important occasion. Their dependence upon these days however was not such as caused them to neglect any other means in

served throughout the jurisdiction, to implore the mercy of God to them under their many distractions and troubles according as they should stand in need. And apprehending it to be of great concernment that the patent or charter should be kept safe and secret, they ordered the secretary to bring it into court, and to deliver it, together with a duplicate, to four of the court,* who were directed to dispose of them as might be most safe for the country.

The ships arrived Saturday the 23d of July, with Col. Richard Nichols, and George Cartwright, Esq.† who, together with Sir Robert Carr and Samuel Maverick, Esq. had received a commission‡ from the King for reducing the Dutch at the Manhadoes, visiting the colonies in New-England, hearing and determining all matters of complaint, and settling the peace and security of the country, any three or two of them to be a quorum, Col. Nichols during his life being one. At their desire the governor ordered a meeting of the council on Tuesday the 26th. The commissioners laid their commission before the council, with the King's letter of the 23d of April, and part of an instruction referring to the reducing the Manhadoes; and proposed the raising such a number of men as the country could spare, to begin their march on the 20th of August, promising that if in the mean time they could prevail by treaty or any nearer assistance they would stop the progress of raising or marching the men.

The council gave their answer, that they would cause the general court to assemble the 3d of August, and communicate the proposal to them. The commissioners then acquainted the council that there were many more things to signify to them at their return from Manhadoes; and the council was desired in the mean time further to consider of his Majesty's letter to the colony, June 28, 1662, and to give a more satisfactory answer than formerly. The commissioners then proceeded to the Manhadoes.

The

in their power for promoting the public weal. Modern historians censure this conduct as weakness. Cato only censured the ancient Romans for not joining their endeavours to their prayers. "Ubi socordix tete atque ignavix tradideris, nequequam deos implores, irati infestique sunt." *Cato apud Salust.*

* Mr. Bellingham, Maj. Gen. Leveret, Capt. Clark, and Capt. Johnson.

† Sir Robert Carr and Mr. Maverick arrived at Piscataqua about the same time.

‡ Appendix, No 15.

The court assembled at the time appointed. They first resolved "that they would bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, and adhere to their patent, so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed by undoubted right in the sight of God and men." And then resolved to raise a number not exceeding two hundred men, at the charge of the colony, for his Majesty's service against the Dutch. The men were raised; but the place surrendering on articles, no orders were given for them to march.* The court in the next place considered of his Majesty's letter of 1662, and repealed the law relating to the admission of freemen, and instead of it provided another that allowed English subjects, being freeholders, rateable to a certain value, certified by the minister of the place to be orthodox, and not vicious in their lives, to be made freemen, although not members of the church. The other parts of the letter were referred until the commissioners' return.

They agreed upon an address to the King, setting forth the purchase of the soil from the council of Plymouth—the charter from King Charles the First—the great charge they had been at in transporting themselves and families, in purchasing lands of the natives, and settling the colony—his Majesty's explicit confirmation of their privileges, &c. They then express their grief in having four persons sent over, one of them † their known and professed enemy, with such extraordinary powers, by means whereof they were like to be subjected to the arbitrary power of strangers, proceeding not by any established law but their own discretion; and being thus subjected to complaints, appeals, and the determinations of new judges, the government and administration would be made void and of no effect; and although they had but tasted of the words and actions of the gentlemen, yet they had enough to satisfy them that the powers given by the commission would be improved to the

* Thomas Clark and John Pyncheon, as commissioners from Massachusetts, attended the King's commissioners to Manhadoes. The Manhadoes surrendered the 27th Aug. 1664, the inhabitants becoming English subjects and being left in the enjoyment of their estates and many of their privileges; Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, also becoming subject to the English government. I have the copy of a letter sent to him from the Dutch West-India company, requiring him to come home, and give a more satisfactory account by word of mouth than he had done by his letters.

† Maverick.

the subversion of their all ; that if things went on according to the present appearance, they must either seek new dwellings or sink under intolerable burdens, the inhabitants would be driven to they knew not what extremities, and a hopeful plantation ruined ; that if any profit was expected by the King, or by new rulers imposed upon them, they would be disappointed, the country being poor, and but just affording subsistence ; that if the people should be drove out of the country (for to a coalition they would never come) it would be hard to find another people that would stay long in it ; that the body of the people was satisfied with the present government ; that there was no government under heaven where there were no discontented persons ; that there were but few among them, and fewer that had cause to be so. They appeal to God that they came not into this wilderness to seek great things for themselves, but for the sake of a quiet life. They profess their subjection to his Majesty, and willingness to testify their dutiful affection in any righteous way ; but it was a great unhappiness to be reduced to the hard case of having no other way of doing it but by destroying their own being, which nature taught them to preserve, or yielding up their liberties, far dearer to them than their lives ; which if they had had any reason to expect, they would not have wandered from their fathers' houses to the ends of the earth, a royal donation from so great a Prince being the greatest security in human affairs. They sent letters humbly to sue for favour to several of the nobility, and among others to the Lord Clarendon, from whom they had an unfavourable answer.*

The Dutch being reduced, Nichols remained at New-York ; the other commissioners returned to Boston the 15th of February, and acquainted the governor and council that the next day they should go to Plymouth to deliver the King's letter to that government, and desired orders might be given to all the inhabitants to assemble together the next election day : to which it was answered, that all were at their liberty ; but the reason of such a motion they could not see into, nor should they encourage it, not only on account

* Appendix, No. 17.

count of the business of the season, but because the wives and children of a considerable part of the people, together with many aged persons, must be left exposed to the rage of the natives. To which Cartwright replied, "that the motion was too reasonable, that he that would not attend to it was a traitor." This was rough usage, and could have no good consequences. The commissioners sent letters in their own name about the country, to invite the people to assemble.

Having dispatched their business at Plymouth,* they went

* His Majesties commissioners propositions to Plymouth jurisdiction.

WE were commanded particularly to recommend these things to you from his Majesty.

1. That all householders inhabitinge in your colonye take the oath of allegiance. And that your administrations of justice be in his Majestie's name.

2. That all men of competent estates and civil conversation, though of different judgment, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose and be choosen officers both civil and military.

3. That all men and women of orthodoxe opinions, competent estates, knowledge, civil liues and not scandalous, may be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and their children to baptisme [if they desire it] either by admittinge them into the congregation already gathered, or permittinge them to gather themselves into such congregations, where they may enjoy benefit of the sacrament, and that difference in opinion may not breake the bonds of peace and charity.

4. That all lawes and expressions in lawes derogatory to his Majesty, if any such have beene made in these partes in the late troublesome tymes, may be repealed, altered and taken off from the file.

The Court's answer.

1. To the first we consent, it hauing been the practise of this court in the first place to insart in the oath of fidelity, required of every householders, to be true and loyall to our soveraigne Lord the King, his heires and successors: alsoe to administer all actes of justice in his Majesties name.

2. To the second we alsoe consent, it hauing beene our constant practise to admit men of competent estates, and civil conversation, though of different judgment, yet beinge otherwise orthodoxe, to be freemen, and to have liberty to choose and to be choosen officers both civil and military.

4. To the 4th we consent, that all lawes and expressions of lawes derogatory to his Majesty [if any such be found amongst us, which at present we are not conscious of] shall be repealed, altered and taken off the file.

3. To the 3d, we cannot but acknowledge it to be a high favour from God and from our soveraigne that we may enjoy our consciences in point of God's worship, the main end of transplanting ourselves into these remote corners of the earth, and should most heartily rejoice that all our neighbours, so qualified as in that proposition, should adioine themselves to our societies according to the order of the gospel, for the enjoyment of the sacraments to themselves and theirs; but it through different persuasions respecting church government it cannot be obtained, we would not deny a liberty to any according to the proposition that are truly conscientious, altho differing from us (especially where his Majesty commands it) they maintaining an able preaching ministry for carrying on of publick sabbath worship, which we doubt not is his Majesties intent, and withdraw not from paying their due proportions of maintenance to such ministers as are orderly settled in the places where they live, until they have one of their owne, and that in such places as are capable of maintaining the worship of God in two distinct congregations.

went to the Narraganset country, and at Warwick held their court, made inquiry into the titles of lands there, and made divers determinations which had no long effect, and came privately and separately to Boston the latter end of April, and so prevented, designedly as was supposed, that respect which was intended to have been shewn them at their arrival. Mr. Endicot, the governor, died the 15th of March, 1665. Mr. Bellingham, the deputy governor, with some of the magistrates, assembled as usual, the 2d of May, the day before the election, to prepare for the business of the next day. The commissioners desired to speak with them, which though at first they refused, being no court, yet when it was urged by the commissioners, it was submitted to. Five writings were delivered as part of their instructions. The first, expressing "the great kindness of the King for the colony, and his desire to advance a plantation which had given so good an example of sobriety and industry to all others." The second, declaring that the King was so far from any thought of abridging, that he was very ready to enlarge all the concessions made by his royal father in the charter, or to make any alterations for the prosperity of the colony." The third, "that the principal end of their journey was to remove all jealousies the King might have of the loyalty and affections of his good subjects towards him, or which they might have of his good opinion and confidence in them, and his protection over them." The fourth, "that by this means the designs of wicked and seditious persons would be disappointed, and a foundation laid for mutual confidence and satisfaction; the King would look upon his colony of Massachusetts within the same limits of affection, duty and obedience to his

gregations. We being greatly encouraged by his Majesties gracious expressions in his letter to us, and your honours further assurance of his royal purpose to continue our liberties, that where places by reason of our paucity and poverty are incapable of two, it is not intended that such congregations as are already in being should be rooted out, but their liberties preserved, there being other places to accommodate men of different persuasions in societies by themselves, which by our knowne experience tends most to the preservation of peace and charity.

The league between the colonies was not with any intent (that ever we heard of) to cast off our dependance upon England, a thing which we utterly abhorre; increasing your honours to believe us, for we speak as in the presence of God.

New-Plymouth;
May 4, 1665.

By order of the general court for
the jurisdiction of New-Plymouth,
per me Nathaniel Morton, sec'y.

his person and government as Kent or Yorkshire, and they again would have the same confidence of his care and protection as the others had, and all have great reason to acknowledge the good effects which by God's blessing would proceed from this commission." These were given as from his Majesty. The fifth was a message of their own, "assuring the council, in his Majesty's name, that whatever had been granted by his royal predecessor, or promised by himself, should to the utmost be made good; and desiring they might have no just cause to represent to his Majesty any thing which might seem to come short of that just duty and allegiance which might merit his Majesty's favour." They then acquainted the council with the favourable representation they had made to his Majesty of the readiness of the colony to have assisted in the expedition against the Dutch, if it had been necessary.*

Before there was an opportunity for an answer, they acquainted the deputy governor and the rest with two other instructions; one, "for publishing the letters which had been sent to the King, with the answers to them;" the other, "for laying before the commissioners a map or plan of the colony, that they might hear and determine all claims made by such as bordered upon it." They also complained of slanderous reports about the country, that they were come to raise a revenue of 5000*l.* a year for the King, to lay 12*d.* per acre annual rent on all improved lands, &c.

As soon as the election was over, viz. on the 4th of May, these matters were laid by the governor before the general court. The commissioners were immediately desired to communicate to the court the whole which his Majesty had given in command to declare to them, that so they might have their whole work before them: but they replied, that they would not observe that method, but when they had an answer to what they had given in, they would then present them with more work. The refusal
itself

* Mr. Smith in his history of New-York says, that Col. Nicholls and Sir George Carterett in their letter to the Secretary of State complain much of the backwardness of Massachusetts. Two hundred men it is certain were raised and ready to march with great expedition.

itself was not so displeasing as the terms and manner in which it was expressed and delivered.

The 5th the court gave their answer, in substance as follows, reserving liberty to enlarge afterwards if there should be cause, viz.

“ That they acknowledged with all humble thanks his Majesty’s grace and favour in his letters and messages, and they would lay hold of every opportunity to shew their duty and loyalty to him.

“ That what relates to the Dutch being fully accomplished, no further answer could be expected, only an acknowledgment of the favourable representation which the commissioners had made of the conduct of the court.

“ As to a map of the colony, it was preparing, and they should soon have satisfaction therein.

“ That his Majesty’s letters had been laid before the court, and so had the papers received from the commissioners, and copies were spread about the country, and if the commissioners desired any further publication they would endeavour their satisfaction.

“ That they were willing to advise with the commissioners upon the best way of putting a stop to all false rumours ; and finally, that their confidence of his Majesty’s grace and favour and royal intentions to them, being further cherished by the commissioners, would undoubtedly draw from them more ample expressions and demonstrations of duty, loyalty and good affection to his Majesty, according as by their patent they were bound.”

To this answer the commissioners replied,

That to the preface “ they desired the court to improve the liberty reserved of enlarging, &c.”

To the first head, “ that the opportunity they seemed so willing to lay hold of was now brought to their hands.”

To the second, “ that nothing further was necessary.”

To the third, “ that many things of great moment could not be issued until a perfect map was had.”

To the fourth, “ That they would not aggravate any neglect, but they hoped the general court by practical assertions of duty would give his Majesty satisfaction upon

the

the points contained in the letter of 1662, which had so long slept in some hands."

To the fifth, "they were fully persuaded the printing the results and conclusions which should be made on his Majesty's part, and the part of the colony, would silence all those false and malicious reports which they expected should be inquired into."

To the conclusion, "that altho' their patent laid them under peculiar obligation, yet it did not circumscribe all that duty and allegiance which was due to his Majesty from natural born subjects, and which they themselves in former papers had more fully expressed."

The same day the commissioners communicated other parts of their instructions, viz.

"That they should inform themselves of the state of the neighbouring Indian Princes, and inquire what treaties had been made between them and any of the King's subjects, and if there had been any failure on the part of any of his Majesty's subjects, the commissioners should take effectual course that reparation and satisfaction be made for any injury sustained thereby, and use all ways and means to let those Princes and other Indians know of his Majesty's charge, &c."

The commissioners informed the court of great complaints received from the Narraganset Indians, and desired to be advised how they should attain a true information, that they might do justice and give the King a just account, &c.

"That they should make due inquiry what progress had been towards the foundation and maintenance of any college or schools for the education of youth and conversion of infidels, the King having taken abundant satisfaction in the accounts he had received of the designs of the colony herein, which he hoped would draw a blessing upon all their other undertakings."

"That they should not give too easy an ear to clamours or accusations against such as then were, or had been, in places of government, except from men of equal condition, and then they should proceed to examine and determine, according to the rules of justice, without respect of persons or opinions."

"That

“ That they should not receive any complaints against a magistrate, except for something done against equity or against the charter, nor interrupt the course of justice between party and party, except the proceedings should be expressly contrary to the rules prescribed by the charter, or the matter in difference arose from some expression or clause in some grant under the great seal. In those cases to examine and proceed according to justice.”

Upon the subject of this instruction the commissioners acquainted the court, “ they had received many complaints from the English of hard measure in several kinds, one more especially which they offered to communicate, and dared not refuse to examine it, but had so much respect to the authority in the several colonies that they would leave it to the choice of the court whether it should be heard at Providence in Rhode Island, or at Boston, either at that time, or after the commissioners’ return from the eastward where they were going.” This referred to a criminal prosecution against one John Porter, jun. to whom they had granted a warrant of protection, as it was termed.

“ That in due season they should inquire how far the particulars required by the King’s letter of 1662 had been complied with,” as,

1st, “ That all persons take the oath of allegiance.”

2d, “ That all process and administration of justice be performed in our name.”

3d, “ That such as desire to use the book of common prayer, be permitted so to do without incurring any penalty, reproach, or disadvantage, it being very scandalous that any persons should be debarred the exercise of their religion according to the laws and customs of England, by those who were indulged with the liberty of being of what profession or religion they pleased.”

4th, “ That persons of good and honest conversation might enjoy the privilege of choosing and being chose into places of government and the like.”

The commissioners desired they might be enabled to give the King such information as should be fully satisfactory.

The

The 8th of May they delivered three other writings as parts of their instructions, viz.

“ That they should duly inquire whether any persons attainted of high treason now reside there, or have been entertained there, and by whom, and what is become of them, and endeavour to cause them to be apprehended and sent to England.”

“ That they should take care that such orders be established as that the act of navigation be punctually observed, it being of infinite concernment, and what the hearts of the whole nation were set upon, but had been evaded, under pretence that acts made in the assembly there during the late rebellion were in force notwithstanding the act of parliament; an assertion the King would not suffer to be made; but that all such acts of assembly should be repealed, taken off the files, and no more remain upon record; and that they should cause justice to be done to Thomas Dean, who had been denied it in a prosecution upon the act of parliament.”

The commissioners desired a book of the colony laws, that they might examine, &c. and that any laws contrary to this act might be declared null.

“ That they should inform themselves of the whole frame and constitution of government, civil and ecclesiastical, the yearly taxes and impositions, the shipping, the militia, horse and foot, fortified towns, and forts, &c.”

They desired some persons might be appointed to draw up an information of all those particulars, to satisfy his Majesty's desires.

Before the court gave answer to these papers, they sent a message, May 9th, to the commissioners, to acquaint them that the court apprehended their patent to be greatly infringed by the warrant granted to John Porter: upon which the commissioners desired a conference with a committee, that the court might have better information; which was agreed to, and held the 11th.

The commissioners asserted, that they were to be justified by their commission in what they did, and that the charter was not infringed. The committee urged, “ that the general court had full power and authority to make laws,
and

and provide for the execution of them : they were very ready to give an account to his Majesty of all their proceedings, whensoever he required it ; but it would be an insuperable burden if the colony must be brought upon a level, and stand with every criminal upon whom sentence had been passed, at the bar of another tribunal, which their charter knew nothing of." The commissioners being asked, "Whether they proposed a jury should pass upon these and the like cases? they replied, no, theirs was a commission of oyer and terminer. Whether they would admit of new evidence? yea." The committee then further urged, "that they esteemed it their greatest unhappiness to be held to give up their privileges by charter, and the rights of Englishmen, or else be accounted among such as denied his Majesty's authority." The commissioners nevertheless insisted upon their own authority, and required a submission to it. The court then proceeded to give answer to the other instructions which had been communicated.

To that which relates to the Indians, called the fifth instruction, they say, "that they have been too long acquainted with the falsehood of the Narraganset and other Indians, to wonder that they should complain of injuries when they themselves were the aggressors ; that all matters relating to the Indians had been managed by the commissioners of the united colonies, and their records might be examined."

To the next or sixth instruction : "That there is a small college at Cambridge, from which, they might say without boasting, more than an hundred able preachers, physicians, and other useful persons, had issued ; for the particulars of the foundation and benefactions they referred to the president and fellows ; that the country was well provided with schools ; that there was also at Cambridge a small fabric of brick for the use of the Indians, built by the corporation in England, in which there were then eight Indian scholars, one of which had been admitted into college ; that there were six towns of Indians in the jurisdiction, professing the christian religion ; that they had schools to teach the youth to read and write, and persons appointed

appointed to instruct them in civility and religion, who had orders to wait upon the commissioners and shew them the towns and manner of life of the Indians, if it should be desired."

To the proposition upon the 7th and 8th instructions, by which an offer is made of the choice of a place for hearing and determining complaints, they say, "that hearing and determining appeals from their judgments is inconsistent with their charter; nevertheless, as they desired to be doers of truth and righteousness, and not to shun the light, if the commissioners would be pleased to impart the complaints that had been brought against the government, they hoped to be able to give such answer as should satisfy his Majesty that their actions had been consonant to reason and equity, and not such as evil-minded men had represented them."

To the ninth, touching his Majesty's letter of June, 1662, they say, "that they had endeavoured formerly to satisfy his Majesty's expectations, &c. and now further say, touching the oath of allegiance, that in August last the court by a public declaration expressed their resolution, God assisting, to bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, and to adhere to their patent, the duties and privileges thereof; that many now in authority, and also many of the common people, had taken the oath of allegiance before they left their native country; and they had ordered that the oath, in the form prescribed by the colony law, should be taken by all freemen and all other householders."*

"And touching civil liberties, they observed the qualifications mentioned in his Majesty's letter,† orderly evidenced to them,‡ as appeared by their late law and practice thereupon."

"And as to ecclesiastical privileges, they had commended to the ministry and people here the word of the Lord for their rule." To

* The oath was in this form:—"Whereas I, A. B. am an inhabitant within this jurisdiction, considering how I stand obliged to the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, by our charter and the government established thereby, do swear accordingly, by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to our sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors. So help me God."

† Orthodox in religion, and not vicious in their lives.

‡ By certificate from the minister.

To the next or tenth instruction : " That they knew of no persons attainted of high treason who had arrived here, except Mr. Whaley and Mr. Goffe, and they before the act of parliament, and they departed this jurisdiction the February following ; and a proclamation against them coming soon after by way of Barbados, the court sent two gentlemen, Mr. Kellond and Mr. Kirke, after them to Connecticut and New-Haven to apprehend them."

To the eleventh instruction they say, " The act for trade had been for some years observed here ; that they had been misrepresented to his Majesty, the act not having in any instances that they knew of been greatly violated, and such laws as appeared to be against it were repealed, and that justice had been done in the case of Thomas Dean, as they would find upon inquiry."

To the twelfth : " For the form of their constitution they refer to their patent. The annual ordinary charges of government were about 1200*l*. For their ecclesiastical constitution, they had none imposed by civil authority ; all that was enjoined by that, was attendance on public worship on Lord's days and other occasional days. The people who maintained, also chose their ministers, whose administrations were known, and they hoped consonant to the word of God ; and if any deviated, in such case they made use of a synod and the civil authority. The militia consisted of about four thousand foot and four hundred horse ; more might be in the lists, but aged and infirm were excused. They had a fort or keep at the entrance of Boston harbour, with five or six guns, two batteries in the harbour, and one at Charlestown. The number of their ships and vessels as follows, about eighty from 20 to 40 tons, about forty from 40 to 100 tons, and about a dozen ships above 100 tons."

These papers were delivered to the commissioners on the 16th of May, and on the 18th they made their reply.

" They were sorry to find by the court's answer to the 7th and 8th instruction, that they put more value upon their own conceptions, than the wisdom of the King, in interpreting the charter. The commissioners would reduce all the discourses upon this head to one question : Do you acknowledge

acknowledge his Majesty's commission, wherein we are nominated commissioners, to be of full force to all the purposes therein contained?"

To their answer to the 9th instruction the commissioners reply, "That the court had been so far from endeavouring to give his Majesty satisfaction, by observing what he required, that they had even complained of his Majesty for enjoining them, and for the commission given to inquire whether they had observed them or not; that they professed highly to prize the King's favour, and yet in the same paper refuse to do what the King required, viz. that all who came into the colony should take the oath of allegiance, making provisos not expressed in their charter, and so curtailing the oath. That the end of the first planters' coming over, as the court expressed in their address, 1660, was liberty of conscience, and yet it was denied to those for whom the King required it. That they had tendered the King's qualifications for freemen, by suffering none to be made such who were not church members, unless they paid ten shillings to a single rate, which not one church member in a hundred did pay; and although they commend the word of the Lord to the ministry and people for their rule, yet it was with a proviso that they have the approbation of the court. The commissioners supposed the King and his council and the church of England understood the word of God as well as the Massachusetts corporation. They feared these answers would highly offend the King, and advised to an ingenuous and free consent to what he desired."

On the 19th of May the court by a message to the commissioners desired to be excused from a direct answer to the question, "whether they acknowledged his Majesty's commission," &c. and chose rather to plead his Majesty's charter, and his special charge to the commissioners not to disturb them in the enjoyment of it: they were ready to give such an account of their proceedings as that the commissioners might be able to represent their persons and actions to his Majesty.

The commissioners, by a message on the 20th, insisted on a direct answer to their question; and on the 22d the court

court declared, that it was enough for them to give their sense of the powers granted to them by charter, and that it was beyond their line to determine the power, intent or purpose of his Majesty's commission.

On the 23d the commissioners informed the court, that since they had been pleased to send them a more dubious answer than the former, that they might discharge their duty to his Majesty, they intended to sit to-morrow morning, at the house of Capt. Thomas Breading, as his Majesty's commissioners, to hear and determine the cause of Mr. Thomas Dean and others, against the governor and company and Joshua Scottow merchant, defendants; and that they thought proper to give this notice, and expected that they would appear by their attorney to answer to the complaint. They sent at the same time a summons to Joshua Scottow. The court thereupon drew up a declaration, which they sent to the commissioners; but they not receding from their purpose, when the time appointed for their meeting was come, the court ordered the declaration to be published by sound of trumpet, in the following words:

“ WHEREAS in the debate and conference had between this court and Col. Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick esquires, his Majesty's honourable commissioners, we have pleaded only the maintenance of his Majesty's authority in the government of the people of this colony according to the rules and prescriptions of his charter under the great seal of England, the full and peaceable enjoyment whereof his Majesty hath given good assurance of to all his loyal subjects of this place, giving special charge to the above-named gentlemen not to disturb us therein; yet accounting it our duty to God and his Majesty, by all lawful ways and means, to give full satisfaction unto his Majesty touching all such cases and complaints against us as in his wisdom and prudence he shall see reason to take cognizance of; we have sundry times in our conferences both by word and writing tendered unto the abovesaid gentlemen our readiness to present unto them a full and clear account of the grounds of our proceedings in any case, matter or complaint

complaint that themselves shall see meet to inquire into, whereby they may be enabled to represent the matter truly to his Majesty, his Majesty's letters to this colony of April 23d, 1664, expressly declaring this to be his principal end in sending hither the abovesaid gentlemen in such a capacity, and that for such pious and good intentions as is therein more particularly declared, and not in the least to infringe our charter or any the privileges thereof.

“ All this notwithstanding, the abovesaid gentlemen not resting satisfied with these our tenders and proposals made unto them (wherein we have endeavoured to answer his Majesty's just expectation) contrary to the express charge of his Majesty unto them, they have by warrant under three of their bands given protection to John Porter, jun. an high offender against God, his Majesty's authority, laws, and the peace of his good subjects here (who breaking prison made his escape out of the hands of justice) and that before any signification to the government of this place of any complaint made against them, their sentence, or proceedings against the said Porter, and requiring all officers, as well military as civil, to be observant to them therein. And although this court have expressed their sense of this act, in conjunction with some other of their proposals, to be an infringement of our privileges granted us by his Majesty's royal charter, yet they have not withdrawn their protection of the said Porter, but have proceeded to summon, as well the governor and company of this his Majesty's colony, as also particular persons, to appear before them, to answer to the complaint of Thomas Dean and others for injustice done unto them. The submission unto which proceedings of theirs being, as we apprehend, inconsistent with the maintenance of the laws and authority here, so long enjoyed and orderly established under the warrant of his Majesty's royal charter, the upholding whereof being absolutely necessary for the peace and well-being of his Majesty's good subjects here—— This court doth, therefore, in his Majesty's name, and by his authority to us committed by his royal charter, declare to all the people of this colony, that in observance of their duty to God and to his Majesty, and to the trust committed

ted unto us by his Majesty's good subjects in this colony, we cannot consent unto, or give our approbation of the proceedings of the abovesaid gentlemen, neither can it consist with our allegiance that we owe to his Majesty to countenance any who shall in so high a manner go across to his Majesty's direct charge, or shall be their abettors or consentors thereunto. God save the King.

By the court, Edward Rawson, secr'y."

After the publishing of this declaration the commissioners sent the following writing to the court.

" Gentlemen,

" WE thought when we received our commission and instructions that the King and his council knew what was granted to you in your charter, and what right his Majesty had to give us such commission and commands. And we thought the King, his Chancellor,* and his Secretary, had sufficiently convinced you that this commission did not infringe your charter. But since you will needs misconstrue all these letters and endeavours, and that you will make use of that authority which he hath given you to oppose that sovereignty which he hath over you, we shall not lose more of our labours upon you, but refer it to his Majesty's wisdom, who is of power enough to make himself to be obeyed in all his dominions; and do assure you, that we shall not represent your denying his commission in any other words than yourselves have expressed it in your several papers under your secretary's hands. But for the better manifestation of the transactions between us, and for the satisfaction of all concerned in these parts, we desire that you will cause his Majesty's commission to us, his Majesty's letters of June 28th, 1662, of April 23d, 1664, of February 25th, 1664, by Mr. Secretary Morrice, and all those papers we have given into the court, and yours also, may be printed and published.

May 24, 1665. Richard Nichols, Robert Carr,
Geo. Cartwright, Sam. Maverick.

To the general court of his Majesty's
colony of the Massachusetts."

The

* This refers to the chancellor's letter.

The commissioners at the same time laid before the court proposals for amendments or alterations of the laws, to the number of twenty-six.

The court the same day acquainted the commissioners, that they should be ready, by writing or conference, whenever the commissioners pleased, to lay before them the grounds and reasons of their claim and exercise of jurisdiction in the eastern country, that so his Majesty might be satisfied of the true state of the controversy; and that as his Majesty had directed his commissioners to examine into the proceedings in the case of Thomas Dean, and cause justice to be done, the court had summoned the said Dean before them, at nine of the clock the next day, to make out the truth of his complaint to his Majesty; and the commissioners were desired to be present, that they might understand the grounds of the said complaint, and that justice may be done.

The commissioners replied, the 26th, that they could not have imagined that the court, after interruption of the authority committed by his Majesty to the commissioners, would have assumed to themselves the hearing of the same case, wherein the governor and company are impleaded, it being unheard of, and contrary to all the laws of christendom, that the same persons should be judges and parties; and declared it contrary to his Majesty's will and pleasure, that the cause should be examined by any other persons than themselves.

The commissioners broke off from any further conference; and all, except Colonel Nichols, went to New-Hampshire and the province of Main, where they appointed justices of the peace, and exercised divers acts of government, and then returned to Boston. The court declared that their proceedings at the eastward tended to the disturbance of the public peace, and desired a conference with them concerning their doings there, but received such an answer from Sir Robert Carr as determined them to put a stop to all further treaty. He told them, amongst other things, that the King's pardon to them for all their deeds during the late rebellion was conditional, and depended upon their future good behaviour; and threatened the

the leaders or contrivers of their measures with the punishment which so many concerned in the rebellion had met with in England. They had no better success at Connecticut than in the Massachusetts colony. At Plymouth and Rhode-Island they met with less opposition. They sat as a court at Providence and Warwick, in the colony of Rhode-Island, and spent divers months in the colony, examining into purchases and titles of lands from the Indians, hearing the complaints of Gorton and his company against Massachusetts, inquiring into the proceedings of the executive powers of that colony, and receiving all complaints which discontented persons were ready to offer.

Col. Nichols, by his discreet behaviour, gained the esteem of the people; and afterwards, whilst he was governor of New-York, kept up a friendly correspondence with the governor and company of Massachusetts. Carr and Cartwright were men very unfit for such a trust, and by their violent proceedings rendered themselves odious. Maverick seems to have been appointed only to increase the number, and to be subservient to the others. He had lived in the colony from its beginning. He was always in opposition to the authority. Upon the restoration he went home to complain to the King, was two or three years soliciting that commissioners might be appointed; at length the measures against the Dutch at New-York being agreed upon, the conduct of that affair, and this extraordinary power, were committed to the same persons. He was in the colony again in 1667, with a message from Col. Nichols, which is the last account given of him. Sir Robert Carr went first to Delaware, and soon after home to England, and died at Bristol June 1st, 1667, the day after he landed.* Cartwright in his passage was taken by the Dutch, stripped, and very ill used. He had taken the minutes of all their proceedings, and went home the most enraged; but the enemy took all his papers from him, and he never could recover them. The principal persons in the colony were afraid of further proceedings. Capt. Gookins, one of the assistants, writes to his friend, in 1666, "In all probability a new cloud is gathering, and a new storm."

* Morton's Memorial.

storm preparing for us, which we expect every day."

The government of the colony I imagine will not be thought culpable for refusing entirely to submit to the absolute authority of the commissioners, which must have superseded their charter; and if this authority had been once admitted, they would have found it very difficult ever after to have ejected it. Some part of their conduct may appear extraordinary; particularly their refusing to make the oath of allegiance necessary, unless with restrictions and limitations, and to cause all proceedings at law to be more expressly in his Majesty's name and by his authority. From some original manuscripts, which discover the sentiments of some persons of influence amongst them upon the nature of civil subjection, their conduct in this and some former instances may be pretty well accounted for.

They distinguished civil subjection into necessary and voluntary. From actual residence within any government necessarily arose subjection, or an obligation to submit to the laws and authority thereof. But birth was no necessary cause of subjection. The subjects of any prince or state had a natural right to remove to any other state, or to another quarter of the world, unless the state was weakened and exposed by such remove; and even in that case, if they were deprived of the right of all mankind, liberty of conscience, it would justify a separation; and upon their removal, their subjection determined and ceased. The country to which they themselves had removed was claimed and possessed by independent princes, whose right to the lordship and sovereignty thereof had been acknowledged by the Kings of England.* They therefore looked upon themselves obliged, and accordingly, as appeared by their records, actually had purchased, † for valuable considerations, not only the soil, but the dominion, the lordship and

* Bartholomew Sharp the buccaneer was tried in England for robbery and piracy upon the Spaniards in South-America, and acquitted because he had a commission from the Indian Princes of Darien. *Det. of Scot's Settlement.*

† Mr. Josias Winslow the governor of Plymouth in a letter dated May 1st 1676 says "I think I can truly say that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors."

and sovereignty of those princes; and without such purchase, in the sight of God and men, they had no right or title to what they possessed. The King indeed, in imitation of other Princes of Europe who laid claim to countries merely from the discovery of them, had granted this country to certain of his subjects; and the first planters thought it proper to purchase the title of such grantees, to prevent molestation from them or from other states; and they had also received a charter of incorporation from the King, containing a mutual compact, from whence arose a new kind of subjection, to which they were held, and from which they would never depart.

This was what they called voluntary civil subjection, arising merely from compact; and from thence it followed, that whatsoever could be brought into question relative to their subjection must be determined by their charter. The compact between the King and the city of London, as contained in its charter, was not the constituting cause of subjection in the inhabitants there, because they were resident, and from thence necessary subjection remained; but when residence, the sole grounds of this necessary subjection, ceases, then it becomes voluntary, and depends upon compact alone. By this compact they acknowledged they were so bound, that they were not at liberty to subject themselves to, or to seek protection from, any other prince; they were to pay a fifth part of all silver and gold mines; they were to make no laws repugnant to the laws of England, &c. : but on the other hand they were to be governed by laws made by themselves, and by officers elected by themselves, &c. But *however pleasing these principles were in speculation, or whatever foundation they may have in nature, yet they could not continue to practise upon them, nor would they bear the test when adopted by English subjects.* In a short time, as we shall see hereafter, they were content fully to comply with the oath of allegiance without qualifying it, and to give up other points which they had before insisted upon; and *their posterity, who claim by birthright as well as charter the peculiar privileges of Englishmen, and who enjoy the protection, are very sensible that they likewise owe the allegiance of English subjects, which by a general*

*eral rule of law is not considered as local, but perpetual and unalienable.**

The King's letter to New-Plymouth, dated April 10, 1666, highly approving their behaviour, may be seen in the appendix. Mr. Maverick, who had been one of the commissioners, delivered to the governor a writing of the same date, said to be a copy of a letter to Massachusetts from the King; † wherein he requires five persons to be sent to England to answer for the conduct of the colony, and that Mr. Bellingham and Mr. Hawthorne be two of the number. A special court was called by the governor, Sept. 11th, to consider of this letter; and those of the elders who were in town were desired to be present to give their advice. A letter was agreed upon to Mr. Secretary Morrice, wherein the court seem willing to doubt of the genuineness of the King's letter, and excuse themselves from sending any persons over, supposing the ablest among them could not declare their cause more fully than it had been already done. ‡

I will finish what relates to these commissioners with a short account of a prosecution commenced by one of them against Arthur Mason, a constable.

The commissioners with other gentlemen meeting sometimes at a public house called the Ship tavern, || the constable expected to find them there upon a Saturday evening, which would have been a breach of law; but before he came,

* July 15, 1665, Capt. Richard Davenport, commander of the castle, being fatigued with labour, laid down upon his bed to rest, and was struck dead with lightning. Three or four of the people were hurt, a dog was killed at the gate. There was only a wainscot partition between the room where the captain was killed and the magazine of powder. *Hubbard.*

† Maverick delivered it to the governor when he was sitting in a court of assistants for the trial of causes, affirming it came under cover with a letter from the King to Sir Robert Carr and the rest of the Commissioners. *Sup. Court Rec.*

‡ Several persons of Boston, with John Appleton of Ipswich, petitioned the general court, praying them to comply with the King's order, but they were censured for intermeddling; and some of the elders inclined that the two magistrates should be sent, and thought they ought to obey for conscience sake; but Mr. Mitchel opposed it, urging, that if two might be sent for, ten might; that the civil magistrate was the minister of God for the good of the people, and so far as his commands tended to their good, they ought to obey; but none would say it was for the good of the colony to send away their rulers. *Mr. Cobbett's letter & MS paper.*

|| The opposite corner to what is called Clarke's ship-yard at the north part of the town.

came, they had adjourned to Mr. Kellond's, a merchant, who lived opposite to the tavern. Another constable, who had been at the tavern before, had been beaten by them. Mason, who had more courage and zeal, went into the company with his staff, and told them he was glad to see them there, for if he had found them on the other side the street he would have carried them all away ; and added, that he wondered they should be so uncivil as to beat a constable, and abuse authority. Sir Robert Carr said, it was he that beat him, and that he would do it again. Mason replied, that he thought his Majesty's commissioners would not have beaten his Majesty's officers, and that it was well for them that he was not the constable who found them there, for he would have carried them before authority. Sir Robert asked, if he dare meddle with the King's commissioners ? Yes, says Mason, and if the King himself had been there I would have carried him away. Upon which, Maverick cried out, Treason ! Mason, thou shalt be hanged within a twelvemonth ! Sir Robert Carr spake to Sir Thomas Temple and some others of the company, to take notice of what passed ; and the next day Maverick sent a note to Mr. Bellingham, the governor, charging Mason with high treason for the words spoken, and requiring the governor to secure him. The governor appointed a time for Maverick to come to his house, and to oblige himself to prosecute the constable at the next court of assistants ; but Maverick, instead of appearing, thought proper only to send another note, promising to appear against the constable, and charge him home, and therefore required his person should be secured. The governor thought it advisable to cause Mason to recognize, as principal, in five hundred pounds, with two sufficient sureties in two hundred and fifty each, for his appearance ; but the day before the court Maverick sent another note to the governor, desiring to withdraw his charge, being "satisfied that although the words were rash and inconsiderate, yet there was no premeditated design in Mason to offer any injury to the King or his government." The governor returned for answer, "the affair was of too high a nature for him to interpose in, Mason being bound over to answer."

wer." Upon his appearance a bill was laid before the grand jury, wherein he was charged with maliciously and treasonably uttering the treasonable words mentioned. According to liberty taken by grand juries at that day, they only found "that the words charged were spoken;" and Mason being brought upon trial, and the words fully proved, the court of assistants suspended judgment, and referred the cause to the next general court, where it was resolved, that although the words were rash, insolent, and highly offensive, yet, as his accusers and witnesses all cleared him from any overt act, or evil intended against the King, the court did not see cause to adjudge him a capital offender, but sentenced him to be admonished in solemn manner by the governor.* However trivial this anecdote may appear, yet there are circumstances which throw some light upon the character of the commissioners, as well as that of the governor, and the judiciary and ministerial powers of the government at that time.

The commissioners had prevailed on some of the inhabitants of the towns in New-Hampshire † to sign a petition and complaint to his Majesty of the wrongs they had sustained from Massachusetts, "who had usurped the government over them;" but the inhabitants of Dover in town meeting, and Portsmouth and Exeter by writings under the hands of the town officers, declared their dissent, and all the towns desired to be considered as part of the Massachusetts colony, as they had been for many years before.‡ Three persons || were also appointed to repair to the province of Main, to settle the peace of the towns there, by bringing them to an orderly submission, which was not immediately effected.§

I

* Sup. Court Rec. † Portsmouth, Dover and Exeter.

‡ The secretary was ordered to issue an attachment, directed to the constables of Dover and Portsmouth, to apprehend one Abraham Corbet, and to bring him before the governor or magistrates at Boston, to answer for his tumultuous behaviour against the government, who fined him 20*l.* and bound him to his good behaviour.

|| Thomas Danforth, Eleazer Lusher, and John Leveret, esquires.

§ Ferdinando Gorges, grandson to Sir Ferdinando, attempted a settlement of the province of Main under himself as lord proprietor, soon after the restoration. He obtained a letter from King Charles, dated the 11th of January, 1664, directed to the governor of the Massachusetts colony, and council of New-England, requiring

I have endeavoured impartially to relate the proceedings between the commissioners and the colony. On the one hand, I think it appears that the government had not sufficient excuse for not complying more fully with what the King required of them by his letter in 1662. Mr. Norton, their agent, who knew the resolutions of the King and his ministers, saw the necessity of it. This would probably have prevented such a commission from issuing. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the commission was a stretch of power, superseding in many respects the authority and powers granted by the charter; and there appears in the conduct of the general court, upon this occasion, not an obstinate, perverse spirit, but a modest, steady adherence to what they imagined, at least, to be their just rights and privileges.* At the same time they endeavoured, not only by repeated humble addresses, and professions of loyalty, to appease his Majesty, but they purchased a ship-load of masts (the freight whereof cost them sixteen hundred pounds sterling) and presented to the King, which he graciously accepted; and the fleet in the West-Indies being in want of provisions, a subscription and contribution was recommended through the colony, for bringing in provisions to be sent to the fleet for his Majesty's service.† It appears by the record that several towns had liberally subscribed, and it was recommended to the rest not to fall short of what had been done by those who had gone before them, but I find no record of the whole

quiring restitution to be forthwith made, and quiet possession delivered, or otherwise, without delay, reason be shewn for the contrary. By their humble address they excused themselves from the delivery, and attempted to give reasons for their conduct; but Mr. Gorges appointed officers in several parts of the Province, whose authority was of short continuance.

* The King having recommended, by a letter, Feb. 22d, 1665, to the governor and council, an expedition against Canada, the court in their answer to Lord Arlington, July 17th, 1666, say, that "having consulted with Sir Thomas Temple, governor of Nova-Scotia, and with the governor of Connecticut (Mr. Winthrop, who had lately been in England) they concluded it was not feasible at present, as well in respect of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of a land march over the rocky mountains and howling deserts, about four hundred miles, as the strength of the French there, according to reports."

† This was so well received, that a letter was sent to the general court under the King's sign manual, dated the 21st of April, 1669, signifying how well taken it was by his Majesty. So the letter expresses it.

whole amount. About two hundred and fifty of the inhabitants of St. Christopher's, which had been taken by the French, arriving in the spring of 1666, and more being daily expected, provision was made by the court for the relief and support of such as were in necessity. Upon the news of the great fire in London, a collection was made through the colony for the relief of sufferers. The amount of it cannot be ascertained. I have a letter from Mr. Seaman and other dissenting ministers in London, to Mr. Symms and Mr. Shephard, ministers of Charlestown, advising the receipt of 105*l.* sterling collected in that church. If others contributed in proportion, a large sum must have been raised.

There had been a press for printing at Cambridge for near twenty years. The court appointed two persons,* in October, 1662, licensors of the press, and prohibited the publishing any books or papers which should not be supervised by them; and in 1668 the supervisors having allowed of the printing "*Thomas a Kempis de imitatione Christi*," the court interposed, "it being wrote by a popish minister, and containing some things less safe to be infused among the people;" and therefore they commended to the licensors a more full revival, and ordered the press to stop in the mean time. In a constitution less popular, this would have been thought too great an abridgment of the subject's liberty.

From 1666 to 1670 Mr. Bellingham was annually chosen governor, and Mr. Willoughby deputy governor. Nova-Scotia and the rest of Acadie, which had been rescued from the French by Cromwell, were restored by the treaty of Breda. The French made little progress in settling this country. The only inconvenience Massachusetts complained of, until after the revolution, was the encouragement given to the Indians to make their inroads upon the frontiers. Sir Thomas Temple, who, with others, had a grant of the country first from Cromwell, and afterwards from King Charles, thought he had reason to complain; and the King's order was repeated to him to give up his
forts

* Capt. Daniel Cookins, and Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, the minister of Cambridge.

forts to the French, some pretence being made for not complying with the first order.

After forty years, the greatest part of our first emigrants had finished their pilgrimage, and were arrived at the place of their everlasting abode. Some of them lamented their being born too soon to see New-England in its most flourishing state. This will be the case with their posterity for many generations yet to come. Mr. Wilson, the first minister of Boston church, died August 7th, 1667, in the 79th year of his age. He left an amiable character, and is represented by his contemporaries as one of the most humble, pious and benevolent men of the age. He was son of Doctor Wilson, a prebend of St. Paul's, Rochester and Windsor, and rector of Cliff, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He married a daughter of Lady Mansfield, and a near kinswoman of Sir William Bird. It was with much difficulty that he persuaded her to go to New-England. After having spent one winter there without her, he returned to England to fetch her. His life has been published by Dr. Mather. I have it in manuscript by another hand. In both are related many instances to shew his prophetic spirit. We may very well remark upon those sort of prophecies, *Qui bene conjiciet, hunc vatem*. Richard Mather, a learned, grave divine, and minister of Dorchester, died the 22d of April, 1669, aged 73. Charles Chauncy, bachelor of divinity, the venerable learned president of the college, died the 19th of February, 1671, in his 80th year.* Besides these, we are not

* This is the Charles Chauncy of whom Rushworth in his collections for the year 1629 takes this notice: "Mr. Charles Chauncy, minister of Ware, using some expressions in his sermon, that idolatry was admitted into the church, that the preaching of the gospel would be suppressed, that there is much atheism, popery, arminianism and heresy crept into the church, and this being looked upon to raise a fear among the people that some alteration in religion would ensue, he was questioned in the high commission, and by order of that court the cause was referred to the bishop of London, being his ordinary, who ordered him to make a submission in latin." A letter which he wrote two years before to Mr. Cotton will be thought by some worthy of being preserved.

"*Salutem in fonte salutis.*"

"Good Sir,

"My kindest respects and most loving salutations to yourself and your wife. The present convenience of a messenger from Ware makes me bold to trouble you with these few lines. I am now (by God's good hand) vicar of Ware, and desire your best direction how I may with most profit and edification of my charge

not to omit Jonathan Mitchell, the minister of Cambridge, who died the 9th of July, 1668, in his 43d year, and is always spoken of as one of the most learned men and best preachers in his day. Mr. Davenport, who had been minister of New-Haven from the first settlement of that colony, removed to Boston about the year 1667, to the great grief of his people, and against the mind of many of the principal persons of the church in Boston, which caused them, some time after, to separate from their brethren, and to form a new society, ever since known by the name of the south church.* He died of the palsy March 16th, 1670, in the 73d year of his age.†

Mr. Gorges' claim to the province of Main, supported by the acts of the commissioners, had encouraged the people to withdraw from their subjection to Massachusetts; but the province, according to some accounts, was in the utmost confusion, and in 1668 some of the principal persons applied to the general court of Massachusetts to reassume the jurisdiction over them. The court always thought it

charge proceed in the Lord's work. I have a very large parish and a dissolute town to deal with (as you may well guess); and, which is worse, we have little government in the place to assist us. The people have wanted instruction for many years (such I mean as might build them up in the faith, and make them wise unto salvation); besides, the places round about me are a barren wilderness, and so must undergo much opposition. I have already sustained *aliqua gravamina conscientia*, to go thus far in regard to the government and discipline of our church, and am likely to undergo more in the book of articles, which we are bound to read publicly, and to yield our assent unto; the article concerning the ordination of bishops and ministers doth somewhat trouble me, as also the ceremonies which we are bound unto, which though I forbear myself, yet I know not how to avoid but that my curate must use if I will stand here. I pray afford your wisest advice herein. *Hæc sub sigillo.*

I shall be glad to see you at my poor vicarage, *in transitu*; and for my part (if God permit) I will not fail to see you once a year. I pray salute Mr. Johnson and Mr. Beltingham with their wives in my name, and the rest of my christian friends in your town or family, and I beseech you remember me unto the Lord in your prayers, and the Lord give a blessing to your person and labours.

Yours in the Lord, with all hearty affection,

Ware, March 15, 1627.

Charles Chauncy."

* Mr. Thomas Thacher was the first minister of this church, and Mr. Rainsford, brother to Lord Chief Justice Rainsford, was the first ruling elder. [From him Rainsford's island took its name.]

† In 1667 the people at Cape-Fear being under distressing circumstances, a general contribution by order of court was made through the colony for their relief. Although this was a colony subject to the proprietary government of Lord Clarendon and others, yet the foundation was laid, about the time of the restoration, by adventurers from New-England; who supposed they had a right to the soil as first occupants and purchasers from the natives, and, issuing from Massachusetts, to the same civil privileges; but they were disappointed as to both. MS.

it the part of good governors, as well as of good judges, to amplify their jurisdiction ; and, from a sense of their duty to God and the King, published a declaration, requiring the inhabitants of the county of York to yield obedience to the laws of the colony, and to choose officers within the several towns, as they had done before the late interruption: As this proceeding was made one of the grounds of complaint against the colony, a more particular account of it may not be improper.

The declaration of the court was of the form following :

“ WHEREAS this colony of the Massachusetts, in observance of the trust to them committed by his Majesty’s royal charter, with the full and free consent and submission of the inhabitants of the county of York, for sundry years did exercise government over the people of that county ; and whereas about three years now past some interruption hath been made to the peace of that place and order there established, by the imposition of some, who, pretending to serve his Majesty’s interest, with unjust aspersions and reflections upon this government here established by his royal charter, have unwarrantably drawn the inhabitants of that county to submission unto officers that have no royal warranty, thereby infringing the liberty of our charter, and depriving the people now settled of their just privileges, the effect whereof doth now appear to be not only a disservice to his Majesty, but also the reducing a people that were found under an orderly establishment to a confused anarchy : The premises being duly considered, this court doth judge meet, as in duty they stand bound to God and his Majesty, to declare their resolution again to exert their power of jurisdiction over the inhabitants of the said county of York ; and do hereby accordingly, in his Majesty’s name, require all and every of the inhabitants there settled, to yield obedience to the laws of this colony as they have been orderly published, and to all such officers as shall be there legally established by authority of his Majesty’s royal charter and the order of our commissioners, whom this court hath nominated and
“ empowered

“empowered to settle all affairs necessary for the government of the people there, and to keep a court this present summer the first Tuesday in July, at York town, as hath been formerly accustomed; and for that end we have commanded our secretary to issue out warrants to the inhabitants there in their respective towns to meet to choose jurors, both grand and petit, constables and other officers, for the service of that county, as the law requireth; the said warrant to be directed unto Nathaniel Masterfon, who is by this court appointed marshal of that court as formerly; and by him the said warrants are to be delivered to the several constables, to be accordingly executed; a due observance whereof, with an orderly return to be made to the court to be held as aforesaid, is hereby required of all persons respectively concerned, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

By the court, Edward Rawson, secr'y.”

The commissioners appointed were Major-General Levret, Mr. Edward Tyng,* Capt. Waldron,† and Capt. Pike.‡ They made return to the general court, who gave them thanks for their good services, allowed and approved of what they had done, and ordered their proceedings to be entered upon their records as followeth :

“UPON receipt of this court's commission, which is recorded in the last session, we presently appointed Peter Wyer clerk of the writs; and hearing Masterfon, appointed by the court, was imprisoned, we appointed another marshal, by warrant under our hands; but the former marshal being set at liberty, the other did not act. The court being by law to be kept in York the first Tuesday of July, 1668, being the 7th day of the month, we repaired to York upon Monday the 6th day. Mr. Jocelin and several others, stiled justices of the peace, coming nigh to the ordinary where we were before the door, after salutes passed, they told us they desired to speak with us in the morning. To their desires we com-
“plied,

* Edward Tyng was afterwards an assistant.

† Richard Waldron was speaker of the deputies, and represented Dover.

‡ Robert Pike was of Salisbury. He was afterwards one of the council named in the province charter.

“plied, and gave them a meeting, where we acquainted
“them we were ready to hear what they had to say, but
“not as sent to treat with them about what we had to do by
“virtue of the general court’s commission. They acqu-
“ainted us, that they had lately received, in a packet
“from Col. Nichols, his letter to the governor and magis-
“trates of the Massachusetts colony, which they desired
“us to read, and first their commission, the which we
“read; and having read them, we told them that those
“concerned the general court, and had been under their
“consideration, all but the letter from Col. Nichols; and
“that they had sent their declaration into the county; so
“that we had nothing to say, only that we did not un-
“derstand that the commissioners had power to make any
“such temporary settlement, his Majesty having before him
“the case, for that the Massachusetts had in obedience sent
“their reasons why they did not deliver up the government of
“that country to Mr. Gorges, which was according to his
“Majesty’s command. Then Mr. Jocelin told us there
“was not above five or six of a town for us: to which we
“replied, we should see by the returns made to the court’s
“warrants and appearances; and further told them, we
“must attend our commission, in prosecution whereof we
“should attend his Majesty’s and the country’s service, not
“our own, and if we met with opposition we should ad-
“vise what to do. Many other things passed, but with
“mutual respect. They said they must attend their com-
“mission. We parted, and repaired to the meeting-house,
“and there opened the court by reading our commission
“publicly, and declaring to the people wherefore we came;
“whereto there was great silence and attention. Then by
“the marshal we called for the town returns to be brought
“in for the election of associates;* and returns were made
“from five towns, the other two being hindered (as they
“said) by the justices; yet in one of them above half the
“electors sent in their votes. Whilst the court was busy
“in opening, sorting and telling the votes, the justices
“came, and, without doors, by some instrument, made
“proclamation

* The associates seem to be intended in the room of magistrates, and being joined with persons appointed by the general court had the same power as the court of magistrates or assistants had in the colony.

“ proclamation that all should attend to hear his Majesty’s
“ commands ; upon which, orders were given to the mar-
“ shal, and accordingly he made proclamation, that if any
“ had any command from his Majesty, they coming and
“ shewing it to the court, the court was open and ready to
“ hear the same. Thereupon these gentlemen came in,
“ and manifested their desire that what they had shewn to
“ us in private might be read in court to the people : to
“ whom we replied, that the court was in the midst of
“ their business in opening the returns of the county from
“ the several towns of election, and so soon as that was
“ over, and after dinner, they should have their desire
“ granted ; so they left us, and we proceeded to see who
“ were chosen associates, had the returns of the jurymen
“ and their names entered, both the grand jury and that
“ of trials, also of the constables, but did not swear any
“ one, but adjourned the court and went to dinner ; in
“ which time we heard that the gentlemen were going to
“ the meeting-house to sit as an assembly, they having be-
“ fore issued out their warrants for the towns to send their
“ deputies ; whereupon we sent to speak with them after
“ dinner. They returned they would, provided we would
“ not proceed any further till we spake with them. We
“ sent them word we did engage it. They sent us word
“ they would meet with us at the meeting-house ; and
“ presently after their marshal and Nathaniel Phillips went
“ up and down, and at all public places published a paper
“ or writing ; whom meeting upon their return, it was de-
“ manded what, and upon what authority, they had pub-
“ lished to the people to make a disturbance ; they an-
“ swered, they published what they had in the King’s name :
“ they were demanded to shew their order or authority ;
“ they answered, that was for their security : so refusing to
“ shew it, they were committed to the marshal. Then we
“ went to court, where we found the house full, and the
“ gentlemen to have taken up our seats ; so room being
“ made, we went up to them, and told them we expected
“ other things than that they would have put such an af-
“ front upon the court, nor should motions hinder us from
“ prosecuting our commission ; we could keep the court
“ elsewhere.

“ elsewhere. Some of the people began to speak, but we
“ commanded silence, and the officer was commanded by
“ us to clear the court, whereupon Mr. Jocelyn spake to
“ some nigh him to depart; so they coming from their
“ seat, we came to private discourse, and they insisted to
“ have their commission and the King’s mandamus of 1666
“ to be read; we told them we would perform what we
“ had promised when the court was set; so we repaired to
“ our seat, and they being set by us desired that their com-
“ mission might be read, which was done, and the grounds
“ of it expressed to be from the people’s petitioning, who
“ were told that they could best give answer thereto, but
“ said nothing; then that part of the mandamus of 1666
“ which they desired might be read, was read. After which
“ they desired that Col. Nichols’s letter to the governor and
“ magistrates of the Massachusetts might be read; but that
“ not being of concernment to them there, save only for
“ information of the justices of what had passed from him
“ to the governor and magistrates to whom it was directed,
“ it was refused; some short account being publicly given,
“ that that which had been read, for the matter, having
“ been before under the consideration of the general court,
“ they had the declaration of their intendments, in prose-
“ cution whereof we were commissioned to keep court
“ and settle the country; which work we had begun, and,
“ God willing, would prosecute, to perform the trust com-
“ mitted to us; and have declared to the people that we
“ were not insensible how at the time of the interruption
“ of the government, in the year 1665, by such of the
“ gentlemen of the King’s commissioners as were then up-
“ on the place, they had manifested their displeasure by
“ telling the people that the Massachusetts were traitors,
“ rebels, and disobedient to his Majesty, the reward where-
“ of, within one year, they said, should be retributed; yet
“ we told them, that through the good hand of God and the
“ King’s favour, the Massachusetts were an authority to as-
“ sert their right of government there, by virtue of the royal
“ charter derived to them from his Majesty’s royal prede-
“ cessors, and that we did not doubt but that the Massa-
“ chusetts colony’s actings for the forwarding his Majesty’s
“ service

“ service would outspcak others’ words, where there was
“ nothing but words for themselves or against us. Which
“ done, the gentlemen left us, and we proceeded to the
“ work of the court, to impanel the grand jury, gave them
“ their oaths and charge, and then the associates present we
“ called to take their oaths ; one of them, viz. Mr. Roger
“ Plaisted, expressed publicly that he was sent by the town
“ he lived in ; accordingly he had applied himself to the
“ major-general more privately, to know how we reassumed
“ the government, and how they were to submit to it ;
“ which he now mentioned in public, that he might render
“ himself faithful to them that sent him : to which he was
“ answered in public, as he had been in private, that we
“ reassumed the government by virtue of the charter, and
“ that they were to have the like privileges with ourselves
“ in the other counties. We had also from Scarborough
“ a paper presented, which we herewith present to the
“ court. Then having sworn the constables present, im-
“ panelled the jury for trials, sworn them, and committed
“ what actions were entered, and prosecuted to them, in
“ which time the gentlemen sent to desire that at our
“ leisure time they might speak with us ; they were sent
“ for, and presented us with a paper. After we had received
“ it, we attended to settle the business of the military
“ officers and trained bands, and commissioned, for
“ York, Job Alcock lieutenant, Arthur Bragdon ensign ;
“ for Wells John Littlefield lieutenant, Francis Littlefield
“ jun. ensign ; for Scarborough, Andrew Augur, lieutenant ;
“ for Falmouth, George Ingerfield lieutenant ; for Kitter-
“ ry, Charles Frost captain, Roger Plaisted lieutenant,
“ John Gassingsley ensign ; for Saco, Bryan Pendleton ma-
“ jor, and he to settle Black-point, Mr. Knight, of Wells,
“ the morning before we came away, being Thursday the
“ 9th of July, came and took his oath in court to serve as
“ an associate. The court made an order for a county
“ court to be held the 15th of September there at York,
“ and for that end continued the commission to Capt,
“ Waldron, Capt. Pike, and others, for the better strength-
“ ening the authority upon the place, as by their
“ commission may appear. The associates that are now in
“ place

" place are Major Pendleton, Mr. Francis Cotterell, Mr. Knight of Wells, Mr. Raynes of York, Mr. Roger Plaisted of Kittery. Which is humbly submitted to the honourable general court as the return of your servants,

John Leveret,

" The 23d of October, 1668. Edward Tyng,

Richard Waldron."

This proceeding of Massachusetts was reported and published by Jocelyn* in a more unfavourable light, and as an act of greater force and violence. Indeed, he does not pretend that there was any opposition made by the inhabitants, but only by the particular persons appointed by the commissioners to govern there, and it always appeared to be the desire of a great part of the people to live under the government of Massachusetts.

The people of New-Hampshire had continued in a quiet and orderly state ever since the year 1641. There was no person who had any pretence to the powers of government, Mason having only a grant of the soil from the council of Plymouth; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges received a royal charter, granting the same royalties, privileges and franchises as are of right or ought to be enjoyed by the bishop of Durham,

* " The province of Main, or the country of the Tioquois (Iroquois) heretofore called Laconia or New-Somersetshire, is a colony belonging to the grandson of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of Ashton Phillips, in the county of Somerset. The said Sir Ferdinando Gorges did expend, in planting several parts of New-England, above twenty thousand pounds sterling; and, when he was between three and fourscore years of age, did personally engage in our royal master's service, and particularly in the siege of Bristol, and was plundered and imprisoned several times, by reason whereof he was discountenanced by the pretended commissioners for foreign plantations, and his province encroached upon by the Massachusetts colony, who assumed the government thereof. His Majesty that now reigneth sent over his commissioners to reduce them within their bounds, and to put Mr. Gorges again into possession: but there falling out a contest about it, the commissioners settled it in the King's name (until the business should be determined before his Majesty) and gave commissions to the judge of their courts, and the justices, to govern and act according to the laws of England, and by such laws of their own as were not repugnant to them. But as soon as the commissioners were returned for England, the Massachusetts enter the province in a hostile manner with a troop of horse and foot, and turned the judge and his assistants off the bench, imprisoned the major or commander of the militia, threatened the judge and some others that were faithful to Mr. Gorges' interests. I could discover many other foul proceedings, but for some reasons which might be given, I conceive it not convenient to make report thereof to vulgar ears," &c. *Jocelyn's voyage to New-England*, p. 199.

This Mr. Jocelyn I take to be brother to the justice of peace mentioned in the report of the Massachusetts commissioners. He writes with acrimony, and in this account as well as several other parts of his voyages to New-England discovers a strong prejudice against the people of the colony.

Durham, in the county palatine of Durham, with power to constitute a deputy governor, a chancellor, a treasurer, a marshal, a judge of admiralty, officers of admiralty for ordering maritime affairs, master of ordnance, a secretary, &c. ; and by repeatedly nominating some such officers, and attempting to establish a form of government consisting of different persons from those appointed by Massachusetts, there were always two different parties and interests kept alive in that province. New-Hampshire had been so long united to Massachusetts, that the people of both colonies were of one heart and mind in civil and religious affairs. The town of Portsmouth shewed an instance of their great regard to the public interest, and in 1669 made a collection, as it is termed in the instrument presented to the general court, more probably a subscription, of sixty pounds per annum, for the term of seven years, for the use of Harvard college, to be paid into the hands of the overseers ; and they say they hoped to make it more.* The colony about this time made a greater figure than it ever did at any other time. The report made by the commissioners to the King had produced no further troubles from England. The plague, the fire of London, the discontents among the people of England, caused by their jealousies of a design to subvert the constitution there, may well enough be supposed to have been the cause of a respite in favour of the people here. Massachusetts governed without opposition the province of New-Hampshire and province of Main, and were beginning settlements even further eastward. The French were removed from their neighbourhood on the one side, and the Dutch and Swedes on the other. Their trade was as extensive as they could wish. No custom-house was established. The acts of parliament of the 12th and 15th of King Charles the Second, for regulating the plantation trade, were in force ; but the government whose business it was to carry them into execution, was annually to be elected by the people, whose interest it

was

* Dr. Joseph Burton, aged 113 years, died the 13th June, 1669. *Almanack for 1673.*

April 4th. 1670. Mr. Walloughby the deputy governor died. He was a great opposer of the persecutions against the Baptists. Elder Penn died the 30th September the same year. He was a leading man in church and town affairs. He is the same person who was chosen beadle in 1630.

was that they should not be observed. Some of the magistrates and principal merchants grew very rich,* and a spirit of industry and economy prevailed through the colony. But a change of affairs came on soon after.

Mr. Bellingham continued governor in 1671 and 1672.† Mr. Leveret was chosen deputy governor both those years; and in 1673 he succeeded Mr. Bellingham in the place of governor, when Mr. Samuel Symonds was chosen deputy governor.

The strict union, which had been from the beginning between the civil and ecclesiastical parts of the constitution, was about this time in danger of being broke, or greatly weakened. After Mr. Wilson's death, the first church in Boston invited Mr. Davenport, the minister of New-Haven, to succeed him. He was then about 70, had gone into the wilderness with persons closely attached to him, and remained with them about 30 years, and they were extremely averse to his leaving them; and besides, he was at the head of a party more strict and rigid than the body of the people of the country, for he had always opposed the admitting to baptism the children of any who were not in full communion with one or other of the churches. It is not strange that there should have been a party of Boston church which opposed his settlement. The two parties in this church, the first in rank (although the church of Salem was the oldest) in the country, produced two parties, not in the other churches only, but in the state also. A considerable part of the church, both for number and estate, formed themselves, as has been observed,

* Josielyn, p. 180.

† Mr. Bellingham died December 7th, 1672. He lived to be the only surviving patentee named in the charter. It is always mentioned as a part of his character, that he hated a bribe. He was bred a lawyer, but, like some much greater lawyers, made his last will and testament in such a manner, that after some years dispute, the general court thought it necessary to supply the defects of it, by making a disposition of his estate themselves. [Some controversies occasioned by it have lasted more than a century.] Mr. Leveret was among the junior assistants, but he had been long employed in public affairs and places of great trust. Oliver Cromwell had made him one of his commissioners in 1654, for the reduction of the Manhadoes. He was in England at the restoration, and appeared an advocate for the colony. Upon his return to New-England, soon after, he was chosen a member for Boston; in 1664 was chosen major-general, and in 1665 an assistant.

ed, into a separate society. Seventeen ministers* bore a public testimony against the proceedings of the three elders† of the first church in Boston, viz. against Mr. Davenport for leaving his church at New-Haven, contrary to his professed principles, and against all of them for communicating parcels only of letters from the church of New-Haven to the church in Boston, by which artifice the church was deceived, and made to believe the church of New-Haven consented to his dismissal, when, if the whole had been read it would have appeared they did not. This testimony was sent to the elders the day before a public fast. An answer was given, in which the elders deny that the letters concealed would have been evidence of the refusal of the church of New-Haven to consent to Mr. Davenport's leaving them and settling at Boston; the church was only unwilling to make his dismissal their immediate act. Neither the church of New-Haven nor the elders of the church of Boston can be wholly justified. There does not seem to have been that fairness and simplicity in their proceedings which the gospel requires. The first church refused the invitation of the new society to join with other churches in ordaining their officers, &c. The ministers and members of churches in the colony were engaged, some on one side, and some on the other, and the contentions were sharp;‡ at length the house of deputies espoused the cause of the first church, and having at their session in May, 1670, appointed a committee to inquire into the prevailing evils which had procured or been the cause of the

* John Allin, John Higginson, John Ward, John Wilson, Edmund Browne, Samuel Whiting, sen. Thomas Cobbet, John Sherman, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Shepard, Increase Mather, Samuel Torrey, Zephary Symmes, John Brocke, Edward Bulkley, Samuel Whiting, jun. John Hale.

† Mr. John Davenport, Mr. James Allen, and the ruling elder James Penn.

‡ Before this, viz. in July, 1669, a council had been called by Mr. Bellingham the governor; fearing, as he says in the order, "a sudden tumult, some persons attempting to set up an edifice for public worship, which was apprehended by authority to be detrimental to the public peace." Mr. Bellingham, it is evident, was warmly engaged against the seceders, but the council thought it best not to interpose, and if any person had offended against the laws, they advised to proceed against him in a due course of law. They judged it meet to declare, "that it was the duty of those who were about to erect a new meeting-house, to observe the laws and orders of the general court for regulating prudential affairs, &c. and if they did not they should have no countenance of authority in their proceedings."

the displeasure of God against the land, they reported, among other causes, these that follow, viz. "Declension from the primitive foundation work; innovation in doctrine and worship, opinion and practice; an invasion of the rights, liberties and privileges of churches; an usurpation of a lordly and prelatical power over God's heritage; a subversion of gospel order; and all this with a dangerous tendency to the utter devastation of these churches, turning the pleasant gardens of Christ into a wilderness, and the inevitable and total extirpation of the principles and pillars of the congregational way: these are the leaven, the corrupting gangrene, the infecting, spreading plague, the provoking image of jealousy set up before the Lord, the accursed thing, which hath provoked divine wrath, and doth further threaten destruction." They then take notice of the late transaction of churches and elders, in constituting the third church in Boston, as irregular, illegal and disorderly.*

Several of the ministers at the next session of the general court presented a petition or address, acknowledging the great goodness of God in favouring the land for so long a time with a godly and able magistracy; and desiring that it might also be remembered that the people were led forth into this wilderness not only "by the hands of Moses, but also of Aaron; viz. that reverend ministry which had transported the ark of the covenant, the presence of God in his ordinances settled in gospel order." This being premised, they solemnly professed that they still adhered to the safe and sober principles of the congregational way, in opposition to separation, morellian or anarchical confusion, and licentious toleration. This profession they made to vindicate their integrity and innocence from the unjust charge of innovation, and loud cry of apostacy, laid upon the generality of the ministry, heightened by the reports of the committee chosen by the house of deputies in their last

* Mr. Flint, the minister of Dorchester, in his diary, whilst this court was sitting, has this observation: "A spirit of division, persecuting and oppressing God's ministers and precious saints, is the sin which is unseen, and none bears witness against. It is a great sin, and threatens a sword of divine wrath. God's fears fear it, and their bowels and compassions are moved at it."

last session, and the votes of the major part of the house. They go on and say, that "this charge evidently appears to be the transports of a party, by inslancing the business of the third church, and so designing to hinder the consummation of that work of God, in the peaceable settlement thereof in actual and full communion with other churches, and by misrepresenting that weighty and worthy transaction, before inquiry had been made into the state of the case. These things were matters of great grievance, inasmuch as an antiministerial spirit had thereby been strengthened and emboldened, the hearts and hands of those who laboured in the ministry weakened, the spirits of many being filled with groundless jealousies and suspicions against the ministrations of the elders. They made this humble representation in hopes of redress, either by being called upon publicly to vindicate themselves, or by the court's moving for a general convention of churches, by their elders and messengers, for the decision of questions and accommodation of differences, or by such other means and measures as to the wisdom of the court should seem meet."*

The court took this address into their immediate consideration; and having first asserted their own authority, and that the acts of the court were not liable to question by any, and that free debates were the indubitable right of the court, they then acknowledged, that in an hour of temptation such acts may pass in one court, as may, according to principles of religion, prudence and state interest, be reviewed, and upon mature deliberation be rectified, in another; and in the case then under consideration, the court thought it their duty to declare, that several expressions in the votes referred to in the petition appeared exceptionable; and, that the court might remove all just grounds of grievance in the hearts of the reverend elders, and that their ministry might not be made ineffectual by that antiministerial spirit that too much ran through the country, it was ordered that all papers referring to the case should

* Signed by John Allin, Thomas Cobbet, William Hubbard, Samuel Whiting, Samuel Whiting jun. John Sherman, Samuel Phillips, Samuel Torrey, John Ward, John Higginson, Thomas Shepard, Antipas Newman, Edmund Browne, Thomas Thacher, Seaborn Cotton.

should be accounted useless, and not be improved against the reverend elders, as having been the cause of God's displeasure against the country : and whereas many had taken upon them to publish the secrets of the court in that case, the court further declared, that they knew no just cause of those scandalizing reflections indefinitely cast upon magistrates, elders and churches, either in reference to the new church in Boston, or otherwise ; and therefore, until they were further informed, they judged them to be innocent, calumniated and misrepresented. The court then profess, that they will adhere to the primitive ends of their coming over, and retain the sober principles of the congregational way, and the practice of their churches, " in their purest and most athletic constitution."*

I have been more particular in relating this transaction, because it gives us a pretty good idea of the connection between the civil and ecclesiastical power ; the churches, notwithstanding their claim to independency, being liable to controul as oft as their proceedings were disapproved by the civil magistrate ; and, on the other hand, the magistrates, who were annually elected, being sometimes liable to be displaced by the influence of the clergy in elections, when their proceedings were supposed to bear hard upon the liberties of the churches, for the clergy still retained a great proportion of the weight they had at the beginning. Indeed parishes were multiplied in the colony, many of them small, and in new settlements. The stipends to the ministers were lessened ; and soon after this time some of them complained, as many curates do in England, " that they prophesied in sackcloth." Notwithstanding this, as long as the charter continued, their influence in the affairs of government continued, as we shall have further occasion to observe.

The war with the Indians, commonly called Philip's war, endangered the very being of the colony ; and it was a question with some, whether the Indians would not prevail

* This change of sentiments in the court was owing to the change of persons in the house of deputies, there being of fifty members, the number of the house this year, twenty only who were of the house the year before ; and this is an evidence of the whole colony's being engaged in this dispute.

vail to a total extirpation of the English inhabitants. At the first arrival of the English, the Indians were treated with kindness, to obtain their friendship and favour; but they having no acquaintance with fire-arms, the English grew by degrees less apprehensive of danger, finding by means of corselets or armour that they were not much exposed to danger from bows and arrows of so simple construction as those of the Indians. The quarrels which the Indians had always been engaged in amongst themselves were a further security to the English, who on the one hand endeavoured to restrain them from an open war with one another, and on the other to keep up so much contention as to prevent a combination, and to make an appeal to the English, as umpires, necessary from time to time. The English, before their arrival, had such ideas of the sachems, that at the first meetings respect was shewn them, in some proportion to what would have been required by the prince of a petty state in Europe; but the base, sordid minds of the best of them, and the little authority they had over their own subjects, soon rendered them contemptible. At New-Plymouth, the governor in the first treaty with Massasoiet, in 1620, acquainted him that King James considered him as his good friend and ally. This was too great an honour for Massasoiet; he was content to acknowledge the King to be his sovereign. The next year the governor caused the petty sachems to sign an instrument, in which they owned themselves to be subject to King James.* Subjects, was a word of which they had no precise idea. For near forty † years together, they were under no great concern, or of no long continuance, in that colony from the

* “Sept. 13, A. D. 1621. Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal subjects of King James, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks as followeth,

| | | |
|------------|--------------|-------------|
| Ohquamehud | Nattawahunt | Quadaquina |
| Conwacomet | Caunbatant | Huttamoiden |
| Obbatinnua | Chickatawbut | Apannow.” |

† Alexander, eldest son of Massasoiet, soon after his father's death, about 1656, was suspected of plotting with the Narragansets against the English. Mr. Josias Winslow, with eight or ten stout men armed, took him by surprise at a hunting house about six miles distant from the English towns, and carried him to the governor. This raised his indignation to that degree as to bring a fever upon him which put an end to his life and plots together. Philip, his brother, a young lad, succeeded him. MS.

the neighbouring Indians, Massasoiet or Ousamequin always courting the friendship of the English. After his death* and the death of his eldest son Wamsutta or Alexander, Metacom or Philip,† his second son, a man of great spirit, by his behaviour raised suspicions of a design against the English, but appearing before the court in Plymouth in 1662 he expressed his desire to continue in friendship, and promised that he and his successors would always remain faithful subjects to the Kings of England, and that he would never alienate his lands, and never make war with any other Indians without the privity and allowance of the government of New-Plymouth.‡ The Indians within Massachusetts bounds were not under one general sachem, but divided into smaller cantons. These, one after another, were brought to acknowledge their subjection to Massachusetts government; particularly in 1643, when danger was apprehended from the Narragansets, five sachems subjected themselves by the same instrument.¶ Besides rules and orders which they were encouraged to make for their own government, for any offence against the English they were

* Massasoiet, just before his death, when he was treating for the sale of some of his lands at Swansey, insisted upon it as a condition, that the English should never attempt to draw off any of his people from their religion to christianity, and would not recede until he found the treaty would break off if he urged it any further. *Hubbard.*

† In 1662, when Massasoiet's two sons were at Plymouth, the governor gave them their English names. The Indians in general were fond of having names given to them. Their father never took an English name. Philip was charged by the English with being not only haughty, but perfidious and impious. They charged him with pride and ambition, in aspiring to the sovereignty of a country which he would have enjoyed as his inheritance if they had not prevented; with perfidy, in breaking promises made whilst under restraint and in the power of those to whom they were made; and with impiety, in refusing to receive his religion from his enemies.

‡ However it may be questioned whether this was a reasonable requisition, the terms of it were plain and well understood.

¶ We have and by these presents do voluntarily and without any constraint or persuasion, but of our own free motion, put ourselves, our subjects, lands, and estates, under the government and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, to be governed and protected by them according to their just laws and orders, so far as we shall be made capable of understanding them; and we do promise, for ourselves, and all our subjects and all our posterity, to be true and faithful to the said government, and aiding to the maintenance thereof to our best ability, and from time to time to give speedy notice of any conspiracy, attempt or evil intention of any, of which we shall know or hear of against the same; and we do promise to be willing from time to time to be instructed in the knowledge and worship of God. In witness whereof we have hereunto put our hands, the 8th of the first month, 1643-4.

Cutchamacke
Makanomiet

Nashowan
Squaw Sachem

Wossamegon

were punished by the English laws, and so likewise for any capital or heinous offence among themselves. The case of a squaw convicted of adultery was referred to the elders, for advice whether she should die or not. They were merciful to her, and she escaped with a smart whipping. Notwithstanding the laws to restrain all persons from selling guns or ammunition to the Indians, they were generally furnished with both, and were become good marksmen.

In 1670 the Pokanoket or Philip's Indians were again suspected, by their frequent assembling together, by fixing up their guns, grinding their hatchets, and other preparations, and by insults offered to the English in different places, to be meditating a general war. The government of Plymouth, in March, sent messengers to them to inquire into the reason of this behaviour, and at the same time wrote to Massachusetts, acquainting them therewith. The governor and magistrates, always averse to an open breach, immediately dispatched their own messengers* to Taunton, to prevent a war if possible, which Plymouth had intimated that they should be obliged to begin, if they could not otherwise bring the Indians to reason. They met at Taunton the 13th of April, where the governor† and two other of Plymouth gentlemen‡ met with them; and whilst they were in conference, and examining witnesses concerning the behaviour of the Indians, the governor received a message from Philip, signifying that he was at three mile river, and that he desired the governor to come thither to speak with him. The governor returned answer,|| that he was at Taunton ready for a treaty, and expected Philip to come to him, promising security. Philip refused to move until two of the governor's messengers§ offered to remain as hostages, and then he declined coming into the town, and resolved to go on as far as the mill, with all his men in arms, desiring the governor to come to him there. This return was made to the governor, with further intelligence that Philip was on the march with all his men in arms, and soon after he appeared at the mill, placing centinels round

a

* William Davis, William Hudson, and Thomas Brattle.

† Mr. Prince. ‡ Mr. Josias Winslow, and Constant Southworth.

|| By old Roger Williams and some others.

§ Mr. Williams and Mr. Brown.

a hill near to it, but sent no message into the town. Some within the town were for attacking him, but the Massachusetts commissioners were afraid of the event and would not consent to it. All agreed that the governor should not condescend to go out to him. At length the Massachusetts commissioners offered to go out and try to persuade him to come in. At first he was unwilling, and his counsellors declared he should not go, but finally he consented, provided his men might go with him, they to be on one side of the meeting-house and the English on the other. Philip denied that he had any further purpose in bringing his men together and arming them, than to defend himself from any attacks which might be made by the Narraganset Indians, some of whom had been engaged in quarrels with some of his people; but upon inquiry it appeared, that he was on better terms with the Narragansets than ever before; and plentiful evidence being produced of his preparations both of ammunition and provisions, and of parties of his men being destined for the attack of Taunton, Seaconk, and other places, he was confounded, and made a full confession. Such improvement was made of it by the commissioners, that they required of him satisfaction for past damages and security against future injuries. The first was not long insisted on; but with respect to the latter, he was prevailed on to deliver up what English arms he then had with him, being about 70 guns, and to promise to send in the remainder in a few days. A writing was also drawn up, which he consented to sign, acknowledging his past breach of faith, and promising future fidelity.*

The loss of so many guns must have been grievous to Philip

* "Taunton, 12th April, 1671. Whereas my father, my brother, and myself, have formerly submitted ourselves, our country, and our people, unto the King's Majesty of England and colony of New-Plymouth, by solemn covenant under our hands, but I having of late, through my indiscretion and the naughtiness of my heart, violated and broken this my covenant with my friends, by taking up arms with evil intent against them, and that groundlessly, and being now deeply sensible of my unfaithfulness and folly, desire at this time solemnly to renew my covenant with my ancient friends and my father's friends above-mentioned, and do desire this may testify to the world against me, if ever I shall again fail in my faithfulness towards them (that I have now and at all times found so kind to me) or any other of the English colonies. And as a real pledge of my true intention for the future to be faithful and friendly, I do freely engage to resign up to the government of New-Plymouth all my English arms, to be kept by them for their security, so long as they shall see reason. For the true performance of the premises

Philip at a time when he only waited a good opportunity of falling upon the English. His submitting to the acknowledgment in writing was of no consequence. The Indians in general will promise any thing required of them, to remove an impending danger, or to procure an immediate benefit, and they regard such promises not a minute longer than it is for their advantage to do it. When Philip was at liberty, he thought no more of his engagements; the guns were not brought in, and he himself refused to come to Plymouth, when required. Many strange Indians resorted to him. On the 23d of August Mr. Morton, secretary, in the name of the court of Plymouth, wrote to the Massachusetts governor, to be communicated to the council, acquainting him, that they had summoned Philip to appear on the 13th of September; that if he did not do it they had determined on the 20th to send out forces to reduce him to reason, unless better reason should seasonably appear to them, by the Massachusetts advice, to prevent it; that it was a common cause, and they should well accept of assistance; but it was plainly intimated, that if aid should be refused they would engage alone. Philip happened to come to Boston, with his counsellors, the same day the letter was received, and represented his case so favourably to the governor and council, that, in their answer to Plymouth, they urged that government to refer the difference between Philip and them to commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut.* Plymouth declined this proposal, and insisted on Philip's appearance at the time proposed;† but finally Massachusetts declaring

premises I have hereunto set my hand, together with the rest of my council.

In the presence of

Wm. Davis

Wm. Hudson

Tho. Brattle."

The mark of Philip, chief sachem P

The mark of Tacafoe V

The mark of Capt. Wispah T

The mark of Woukaponkanet T

The mark of Nimrod Z

* At this time there was a breach in the union between the colonies from some misunderstandings, but the next year, 1672, it was healed, and some alterations made in the articles.

† The nature of Philip's subjection to the government of Plymouth was inquired into upon this occasion by Massachusetts. They say, in their letter of the 8th of September, "We do not understand how far he hath subjected himself to you; but the treatment you have given him, and proceedings towards him, do not render him such a subject, as that if there be not a present answering to summons

declaring that there did not appear sufficient grounds for commencing hostilities, Plymouth consented to give Philip further time until the 26th, promised him safe conduct, and desired commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut to be present and give advice. Whilst Philip was at Boston he engaged that he would not enter into a quarrel with Plymouth until he had first addressed himself to Massachusetts for advice and approbation.

The mediators met at Plymouth, and matters seemed to be accommodated; Philip signed to such articles as it was thought reasonable he should do, and were as follows:

“WE, Philip, and my council, and my subjects, do acknowledge ourselves subject to his Majesty the King of England and the government of New-Plymouth, and to their laws.

“2dly. I am willing and do promise to pay unto the government of Plymouth one hundred pounds in such things as I have, but I would entreat the favour that I might have three years to pay it in, forasmuch as I cannot do it at present.

“3dly. I do promise to send unto the governor, or whom he shall appoint, five wolves heads, if I can get them,

mons there should presently be a proceeding to hostilities; and the sword once drawn and dipped in blood may make him as independent upon you as you are upon him.” Notwithstanding that in the treaties from time to time the Indians have acknowledged themselves subjects to the Kings of England, yet they still retained, in their idea of subjection, a degree of independency which English subjects have no pretence to. The six nations go no farther than to call the great King their father. They never call themselves subjects. When Philip was at Boston in 1671, and the letters which had been received from Plymouth were read to him, he expressed himself before the governor and council as follows: “That his predecessors had been friendly with Plymouth governors, and an engagement of that nature was made by his father and renewed by his brother, and (when he took the government) by himself; but they were only agreements for amity, and not for subjection, any further, as he apprehends; he desired to see a copy of the engagement they speak of, and that the governor of Massachusetts would procure it for him. He knew not that they were subjects. Praying Indians were subject to Massachusetts, and had officers and magistrates appointed; they had no such thing with them, and therefore were not subject.” (*Mass. files.*) In the several treaties between Massachusetts and the eastern Indians, from Sir William Phips's treaty in 1693 down to the last treaty of peace in 1749, the Indians have always acknowledged subjection to the crown of England; notwithstanding such agreements, they have remained as independent of the Massachusetts government as they were before any treaty was made with them. When they call the King their sovereign, perhaps they have no other idea than the Six Nations have when they call him father. It is indeed at this day of no other importance than a matter of mere speculation, the eastern Indians, the subjects of these treaties, if the remains of all their tribes were collected into one, not deserving the name of a nation, and in a few years more they will be extinct.

them, or as many as I can procure, until they come to five wolves yearly.

"4thly. If any difference fall between the English and myself and people, then I do promise to repair to the governor of Plymouth to rectify the difference amongst us.

"5thly. I do promise not to make war with any but with the governor's approbation of Plymouth.

"6thly. I promise not to dispose of any of the lands that I have at present, but by the approbation of the governor of Plymouth.

"For the true performance of the premises, I the said Sachem Philip of Pawkamauket do hereby bind myself and such of my council as are present, ourselves, our heirs, our successors, faithfully. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our hands the day and year above written.*

The mark *P* of Philip the
Sachem of Pawkamauket.

The mark ξ of Uncompan.

The mark [of Wotokom.

The mark *T* of Samkana.

"In the presence of
the court and divers
of the gentlemen of
the Massachusetts
and Connecticut."

The English have been charged by some writers with acts of injustice to the Indians, which have provoked them, and occasioned the frequent wars. There have been many instances of abuses offered to particular persons among the Indians by evil-minded Englishmen; and the inhabitants of some parts of the province which have suffered most by Indian cruelties may have been under too strong prejudices, and by this means offenders, when brought upon trial, may have been acquitted by too favourable juries. We are too apt to consider the Indians as a race of beings by nature inferior to us, and born to servitude. Philip was a man of a high spirit, and could not bear to see the English of New-Plymouth extending their settlements over the dominions of his ancestors; and although his father had, at one time or other, conveyed to them all that they were possessed

* There is no date to the printed articles in Mr. Hubbard's history of the war.

An Englishman was found dead, having been shot through the body, in Dedham woods, in the spring of the year 1671; an Indian, the supposed murderer, was taken and imprisoned, whether executed or not I do not find, but it kept the colony in an alarm for some time.

possessed of, yet he had sense enough to distinguish a free, voluntary covenant from one made under a sort of duress; and he could never rest until he brought on the war which ended in his destruction. The eastern wars have been caused by the attachment of those Indians to the French, who have taken all opportunities of exciting them to hostilities against the English.

From 1671 to 1674* we meet with no transaction of moment relative to the Indians; but it is affirmed that Philip was all this time using measures to engage the Indians in all parts of New-England to unite against the English. The Indians about Hadley confessed such a plot. The Narragansets had engaged to bring four thousand men. This could not be done immediately. The English were upon the watch. Some fire-arms had been taken from the Indians. To provide sufficient arms, ammunition and provisions, whilst under suspicion, was a work of time. They did not expect to be prepared before the spring of 1676; but Philip precipitated his own nation and his allies into

* In May 1672 the union between the three colonies, being renewed by commissioners, was ratified by the general court at Boston. They were to meet now but once in three years, unless upon extraordinary occasions. The proportion of men for any general service was settled for 15 years to come as follows, viz. Massachusetts 100, Plymouth 30, Connecticut 60.

May 28th, 1672, war was proclaimed against the Dutch in Boston, in consequence of the King's declaration of war published in England. This was the first instance of any public declaration of war in the colony. In the Dutch wars in the time of the Parliament and Cromwell, and in the former war after the restoration, until forces came to reduce the Manhadoes, correspondence and commerce continued between the colonies notwithstanding the war in Europe.

March 21st, 1673, the castle at the entrance of Boston harbour, being of timber, was burnt down by accident. A new fortress of stone was erected, said then to be a strong work.

In August the same year, advice came to Boston that the Dutch, after taking several ships at Virginia, had possessed themselves of New-York, whilst Col. Lovelace the governor was at New-Haven, and that the Dutch force was bound further northward. This intelligence caused a great alarm in the colony. The castle having been destroyed not long before, Boston was less capable of defence. The best preparations were made which could be made. The Dutch fleet returned to Europe.

This acquisition was accidental, according to the account given by the Dutch at New-York. Four Hollanders and three Zealanders met off Martinico, one side with French, the other English colours, and prepared to fight, until by hoisting their proper colours they better understood one another. They then joined together and agreed upon an expedition to Virginia and New-York. The Dutch Guinea fleet was intended for the same service, but these other ships saved them the trouble. *MS account of a message from Hartford to New-York.*

A collection was made in 1672 for rebuilding Harvard-college, amounting to 1895*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* The town of Boston gathered 800*l.* of which 100*l.* was given by Sir Thomas Temple, as true a gentleman, says Doctor Mather, as ever sat foot on the American strand.

into a war before they were prepared. This was evident from the distraction of the Indians in all parts of New-England, upon the first news of the disturbance from Philip. They were amazed, not knowing which way to turn, sometimes ready to declare for the English, as they had been used to do in the former contests with Philip; at other times inclining to join with Philip, as first or last most of them did. The war was hurried on by a piece of revenge, which Philip caused to be taken upon John Sausaman, a praying Indian. He had been bred up in the profession of the christian religion, was some time at the college, and afterwards employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, but upon some misdemeanor fled to Philip, who made him his secretary and chief counsellor and confidant. After remaining some years with Philip, Mr. Eliot, the Indian evangelist, who had been his spiritual father, prevailed with him to return to the christian Indians at Natick, where he manifested public repentance for his apostacy, and became a preacher, and conformed more to the English manners than any other Indian. In the year 1674 Sausaman upon some occasion went to Namasket (Middleborough) where he fell into company with some of Philip's Indians, and with Philip himself. There he discovered by several circumstances that the Indians were plotting against the English. He informed the governor what he had discovered, and told him that if he should be known to be the informer it would cost him his life. It was not long after, that Sausaman was met by three or four Indians upon a frozen pond; they knocked him down and put him under the ice, leaving his gun and hat upon the ice to make the world believe that he accidentally fell in and was drowned. When the body was found and taken up, the wounds appeared upon his head. An Indian happened to be upon a hill at a distance, and saw the murder committed: he concealed it for some time, but at length discovered it. The murderers were apprehended, tried upon the Indian's testimony and other circumstances, convicted and executed, two of them denying the fact to the last, the third, when he came to die, confessing he was a spectator of the murder committed by the other two. This trial was at Plymouth, in June,

1675.* Philip, enraged to see the immediate actors brought to punishment by the English laws, and expecting that it would be his own turn next, being conscious that the murderers were employed by him, took no pains to exculpate himself, but gathered what strangers he could, and together with his own men marched them up and down the country in arms. The English of Plymouth ordered a military watch in every town, but took no other notice of the Indians' behaviour, hoping that when Philip saw no measures were used for apprehending him, the threatened storm would blow over, as it had done several times before. But the Indians coming in to him from several quarters gave him fresh courage, and he behaved with insolence, first threatening the English at Swansey, then killing some of their cattle, and at length rifling their houses.† An Englishman was so provoked, that he fired upon an Indian and wounded him.‡ June 24th, in the morning, one of the inhabitants of Rehoboth was fired upon by a party of Indians, and the hilt of his sword shot off.§ The same day in the afternoon, being a fast, as Swansey people were coming from public worship, the Indians attacked them, killed one and wounded others, and killed two men who were going for a surgeon, beset a house in another part of the town and there murdered six more. Massachusetts, before this, had determined to raise 100 men for the assistance of Plymouth; but before they marched it was thought best to

* Mr. Winflow, governor of Plymouth, writes to Mr. Leveret, the Massachusetts governor, July 4, 1675—"I do solemnly profess we know not any thing from us that might put Philip upon these motions, nor have heard that he pretends to have suffered any wrong from us, save only that we had killed some Indians and intended to send for himself for the murder of John Saufaman. The last that was executed this week confessed that he saw the other two do the murder. Neither had we any thoughts to command him in about it." This action of Philip in procuring the death of Saufaman has always been pronounced to be a most heinous crime. Philip no doubt considered him as a traitor and renegade who had justly forfeited his life. The Indians left murderers to the revenge of relations and friends, but punished traitors by public execution.

† In 1671 he confessed that he intended to provoke the English to begin with him first. At this time a whimsical opinion prevailed, that the side which did the first execution, would finally be conquered.

‡ This is said to be the first gun. (*Hubbard.*)

§ Governor Winflow's letter 24th of June.

to send messengers to Philip at Mount Hope* to divert him from his design if possible ; but the messengers, seeing some of the Swanzey men lying murdered in the road, did not think it safe to go any further, and returned as fast as they could with this intelligence to Boston. On the 26th, a foot company under Capt. Henschman, and a troop under Capt. Prentice, marched from Boston towards Mount Hope, and were overtaken by another company of 110 volunteers under Capt. Mosely,† and all arrived at Swanzey the 28th, where they found Plymouth forces under Capt. Cudworth. They made the minister's house (Mr. Miles‡) near the bridge, their head quarters. About a dozen of the troop went immediately over the bridge, where they were fired upon from out of the bushes, one killed and one wounded. This action drew the body of the English forces after the enemy, whom they pursued a mile or two until they took to a swamp, killing about half a dozen of them. Philip thought it best to quit his station at Mount Hope. A day or two after, Major Savage,§ being arrived with more forces from Boston, and a general command, marched into the Indian towns,|| which they found deserted, with marks of great haste. They discovered Philip's wigwam amongst the rest. They met with none of the enemy. The next day they returned to their head quarters at Swanzey. It is not my design to enter into every minute circumstance of the war.¶ The Massachusetts

* Philip's chief seat of government was at Mount Hope, but he removed to other places for hunting and fishing, particularly to Namasket or Middleborough, and he had a hunting house in Taunton, near a swamp or pond called the fowling pond, which has been since set off from Taunton and with other lands made a town by the name of Raynham. In 1763 a jury which went to view some controverted bounds were satisfied that they had discovered the ruins of Philip's house, and the hearth where he used to cook, covered over with earth, the coals remaining entire to that time.

† Mosely had been an old privateer at Jamaica, probably of such as were called Buccaneers.

‡ This was the baptist minister mentioned page 209.

§ Mr. Joseph Dudley, then member for Roxbury, afterwards governor of the province, accompanied him.

|| They passed through many fields of corn. *Hubbard.*

¶ A letter to London mentions an instance of heroism in a maid servant of one Mr. Minot of Dorchester. She was left at home upon a Lord's day in July, when an Indian came to the door, and finding it shut, attempted the window. When he perceived it she tied two young children she had with her under two
brais

chusetts government sent Capt. Hutchinson as their commissioner to treat with the Narragansets.* It was thought convenient to do it sword in hand, therefore all the forces marched into the Narraganset country. Connecticut afterwards sent two gentlemen in behalf of that government, and on the 15th of July they came to an agreement with the Narraganset Indians, who favoured Philip in their hearts, and waited only a convenient opportunity to declare openly for him, but whilst the army was in their country were obliged to submit to terms imposed upon them.†

As

brass kettles, and ran up stairs and charged a musket, but the Indian was quicker than she was, and fired first and missed her. She fired and shot him in the shoulder. He was not so disabled as to give over his design, but she had resolution enough, as he was entering the window, to clap a shovel full of live coals to his face, which caused him to flee, and marked him so that he was known when found dead in the woods at five miles distance. The same letter takes notice of Cornellis, a Dutchman under sentence of death for piracy, but pardoned on condition of enlisting. "He pursued Philip so hard that he got his cap and now wears it. The general finding him a brave man, sent him with a command of twelve men to scout, with orders to return in three hours on pain of death: he met 60 Indians hauling their canoes ashore: he killed 13 and took 8 alive, and pursued the rest as far as he could go for swamps, and on his return burnt all the canoes. The exploit took up eight hours. A council of war was called, and Cornellis was again sentenced to die for breach of orders, but a second time received his pardon, and a short time after was sent out on the like design, and brought in 12 Indians alive and two scalps."

* "We do judge that it will be of absolute necessity to put all the Indians that are neighbouring to the English to the test of their fidelity—If they desire our friendship they must not harbour or nourish any that are our declared enemies; but in case that Philip or any of his men, women or children be fled to them, that they forthwith deliver them up, and also that they send hostages for their security, and do join with us in the pursuit and conquest of their and our enemy; this we judge to be just and equal as well as necessary. We have commissioned Capt. Hutchinson to repair to Narraganset Indians, who will bring a small party with him, and will have a view to the forces with you for his assistance." *General court's letter to Maj. Savage, July 4, 1675.*

† "Articles, covenant and agreement had, made and concluded by and between Maj. Thomas Savage, Capt. Edward Hutchinson, and Mr. Joseph Dudley, in behalf of the government of Massachusetts colony, and Maj. Wait Winthrop and Mr. Richard Smith in behalf of Connecticut colony, on the one party, and Agamaug, Wampish alias Corman, Taitson, Tawagefon, counsellors and attorneys to Canonicus, Ninigret, Mattatoag, old Queen Quaiapen, Quananthit and Pomham, the six present sachems of the whole Narraganset country, on the other party, referring to several differences and troubles lately arisen between them, and for a final conclusion of settled peace and amity between the said sachems, their heirs and successors forever, and the governors of said Massachusetts and their successors in the said government forever.

1st. That all and every of the said sachems shall from time to time carefully seize, and, living or dead, deliver unto one or other of the abovesaid governments all and every of Sachem Philip's subjects whatsoever that shall come or be found within the precinct of any of their lands, and that with greatest diligence and faithfulness.

2d. That they shall with their utmost ability use all acts of hostility against the said Philip and his subjects entering his lands or any other lands of the English, to kill

As soon as the treaty was finished, the forces left the Narraganset country, and came to Taunton the 17th in the evening. Hearing that Philip was in a swamp at Pocasset,

kill and destroy the said enemy, until a cessation from war with the said enemy be concluded by both the abovesaid colonies.

3d. That the said sachems by themselves and their agents shall carefully search out and deliver all stolen goods whatsoever taken by any of their subjects from the English, whether formerly or lately, and shall make full satisfaction for all wrongs or injuries done to the estate of any of the subjects of the several colonies according to the judgment of indifferent men in case of dissatisfaction between the offenders and the offended parties, or deliver the offenders.

4th. That all preparations for war or acts of hostility against any of the English subjects, shall forever for the future cease, together with all manner of thefts, pilferings, killing of cattle, or any manner of breach of peace whatsoever, shall with utmost care be prevented, and instead thereof, their strength to be used as a guard round about the Narraganset country for the English inhabitants' safety and security.

5th. In token of the abovesaid sachems reality in this treaty and conclusion, and for the security of the several English governments and subjects, they do freely deliver unto the abovesaid gentlemen, in behalf of the abovesaid colonies, John Wobequob, Weochin, Pewkes, Wenew, four of their near kinsmen and choice friends, to be and remain as hostages in several places of the English jurisdiction, at the appointment of the honourable governors of the abovesaid colonies, there to be civilly treated, not as prisoners, but otherwise at their honours' discretion, until the abovesaid articles are fully accomplished to the satisfaction of the several governors, the departure of any of them in the mean time to be accounted a breach of the peace of these present articles.

6th. The said gentlemen, in behalf of the governments to which they do belong, do engage to every of the said sachems and their subjects, that if they or any of them shall seize and bring into either of the abovesaid English governments, or to Mr. Smith, inhabitant of Narraganset, Philip sachem alive, he or they so delivering shall receive for their pains, forty trucking cloth coats; in case they bring his head, they shall have twenty like good coats paid them; for every living subject of said Philip, so delivered, the deliverer shall receive two coats, and for every head one coat, as a gratuity for their service herein, making it appear to satisfaction that the heads or persons are belonging to the enemy, and that they are of their seizure.

7th. The said sachems do renew and confirm unto the English inhabitants or others, all former grants, sales, bargains or conveyances of lands, meadow, timber, grass, stones, or whatever else the English may have heretofore bought, or quietly possessed and enjoyed, to be unto them and their heirs and assigns forever, as also all former articles made with the confederate colonies.

Lastly. The said counsellors and attorneys do premeditatedly, seriously, and with good advice, covenant, conclude and agree all abovesaid solemnly; and call God to witness, they are, and shall remain true friends to the English governments, and perform the abovesaid articles punctually, using their utmost endeavour, care and faithfulness therein. In witness whereof they have set their hands and seals.

Petaquamicot, July 15, 1675.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us under-written, being carefully interpreted to the said Indians before sealing,

Daniel Henchman

Thomas Prentice

Nicholas Page

Joseph Stanton interpreter

Henry Hawliaws

Peequ Buckow

Job Ness."

Tawageson his mark C

Taytson his mark O

Agamaug his mark T

Wampish alias Corman his mark X

caſſet, the Maſſachuſetts and Plymouth forces joined, and arrived at the ſwamp the 18th, which they reſolutely entered. They found about one hundred wigwams empty. The enemy had deſerted them, and retired deeper into the ſwamp. The Engliſh followed, but in diſorder, which was inevitable, penetrating a thick ſwamp. They found they were in danger one from another, every man firing at every buſh he ſaw ſhake. Night coming on, it was neceſſary to retreat. They loſt fifteen men. How many they killed of the enemy is uncertain. It was an unſucceſſful attempt, and the more unfortunate becauſe, as they were afterwards informed, Philip was in ſuch diſtreſs that if they had followed him half an hour longer he would have ſurrendered himſelf and his men, which would have put an end to the war.* This diſappointment encouraged the Indians in other parts of New-England to follow Philip's example, and begin their hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh. Some few had begun before. The Nipnet or Nipmuck Indians had killed four or five people at Mendon, in the Maſſachuſetts colony, the 14th of July. The governor and council, in hopes of reclaiming the Nipnets, ſent Capt. Hutchinson with twenty horſemen to Quabaog (Brookfield) near which place there was to be a great rendezvous of thoſe Indians. The inhabitants of Quabaog had been deluded with the promiſe of a treaty, at a place agreed upon, the 2d of Auguſt. Some of the principal of them accompanied Capt. Hutchinson thither. Not finding the Indians there, they rode forward four or five miles, towards the Nipnets' chief town. When they came to a place called Meminimiſſet, a narrow paſſage between a ſteep hill and a thick ſwamp, they were ambuſhed by two or three hundred Indians, who ſhot down eight of the company, and mortally wounded three more, Capt. Hutchinson † being one of the number. The

* Mather's hiſtory of the war.

A letter from Boſton to London, Nov. 10, 1675, ſays, that a brother of Philip's, a privy counſeller and chief captain, who had been educated at Harvard college, was killed in this fight.

† Capt. Hutchinson was carried to Quabaog, and afterwards to Marlborough, where he died the 10th of Auguſt.

“ Captain Hutchinson had a very conſiderable farm thereabouts, and had occaſion to employ ſeveral of the Nipmug ſachem's men in tilling and ploughing the ground,

The rest escaped through a by path to Quabaog. The Indians flocked into the town; but the inhabitants, being alarmed, had all gathered together in the principal house. They had the mortification to see all their dwelling houses, about twenty, with their barns and out-houses, burnt. The house where they had assembled was then surrounded, and a variety of attempts made to set fire to it. At length the Indians filled a cart with hemp and other combustible matter, which they kindled, and, whilst they were thrusting it towards the house, a violent shower of rain fell suddenly and extinguished the fire.* August 4th, Major Willard, who had been sent after some other Indians westward, heard of the distress of Brookfield when he was about four or five miles from Lancaster, which caused him, with 48 men, to alter his course, and the same night he reached Brookfield, after 30 miles march; and though the Indian scouts discovered him and fired their alarm guns, yet the main body, from their high joy, always accompanied with a horrid noise, heard nothing of them. Willard joined the besieged,† and the Indians immediately poured in all the shot they could, but without execution, and then quitted the siege, and destroyed all the horses and cattle they could find, and withdrew to their dens. They were not pursued, being much superior in numbers. The English were not yet used to fighting. A party likewise were sent from Springfield to the relief of Brookfield. Finding it effected, they returned, meeting none of the enemy. Philip and his people continued in the swamp at Pocasset until the last of July. After several skirmishes with Captain Church and other parties, they escaped from the swamp, notwithstanding the Massachusetts forces kept their guards round it,

ground, and thereby he was known by face to many of them. The sachems sent word they would speak with none but Capt. Hutchinson himself, and appointed a meeting at such a tree and such a time. The guide that conducted him and those that were with him through the woods, brought them to a swamp not far off the appointed place, out of which those Indians ran all at once and killed sixteen men and wounded several others, of which wounds Capt. Hutchinson afterwards died, whose death is the more lamented in that his mother and several others of his relations died by the hands of the Indians, now above 30 years since." *Letter to London, Nov. 10, 1675.*

* Hubbard. Mr. Mather takes no notice of the rain, but says Willard came upon the Indians and prevented the execution.

† Mr. Mather says, he set upon the Indians and caused them to turn their backs.

it, and went away to the westward, without being very closely pursued; the reason of which, Mr. Hubbard says, it is better to suspend than too critically to inquire into. The 5th of August, Philip, with about forty men, besides women and children, joined the Nipmuck Indians in a swamp ten or twelve miles from Brookfield.* The Indians upon Connecticut river, near Hadley, Hatfield and Deerfield, began their hostilities about the same time; as also those at Penicook and other places upon Merrimack river; so that before the end of August the whole Massachusetts colony was in the utmost terror. Philip having left Plymouth, and the Narragansets not having engaged, that colony was less affected. There were several skirmishes about Hatfield, viz. at Sugarloaf-hill, at Deerfield and Squakeag (Northfield) the latter end of August and beginning of September, in which the English, upon the whole, were losers. September the 1st, Hadley was attacked upon a fast day, while the people were at church, which broke up the service, and obliged them to spend the day in a very different exercise.† The commanders in that

* "Upon Friday being the 5th of this instant (August) Philip and his company came to us at this swamp, six miles from the swamp where they killed our men. Philip brought with him about forty men, but women and children many more, the number I cannot tell. Philip's men were about 30 of them armed with guns, the rest had bows and arrows. He observed there were about ten of Philip's men wounded. Philip was conducted to the swamp by two Indians, one of them Caleb of Tatumasket, beyond Mendon. The Indians told Philip, at his first coming, what they had done to the English at Quabaog; then he presented and gave to three sagamores, viz. John alias Apequinah, Quananst, and Mawtamps, to each of them about a peck of unstrung wampom, which they accepted. Philip, as I understood, told Quabaog and Nipmuck Indians, that when he first came towards the Nipmuck country and left his own, he had in his company about 250 men, besides women and children, including the squaw sachem and her company, but now they had left him, and some of them were killed, and he was reduced to 40 men, besides women and children. I heard also that Philip said, if the English had charged upon him and his people at the swamp in his own country one or two days more, they had been all taken, for their powder was almost spent; he also said, that if the English had pursued him closely, as he travelled up to them, he must needs have been taken." *MS narrative of George, a christian Indian, taken prisoner in the ambushment of Capt. Hutchinson, &c.*

"Sept. 23d an alarm was made in the town of Boston about ten in the morning, 1200 men were in arms before eleven, and all dismissed before twelve. One that was upon guard at Mendon, 30 miles off, got drunk and fired his gun, the noise of which alarmed the next neighbours, and soon spread to Boston." *Letter to London.*

"October 7th was observed as a solemn fast throughout the colony with a very great shew of outward penitence, and no question with much inward affliction by very many; the governor himself beginning the duty of the day with a most heavenly prayer." *Letter to London.* † P. 201.

that part of the country, not being able to do much service by sending out parties, determined to garrison the towns, and to collect a magazine of provisions at Hadley. There being about 3000 bushels of corn at Deerfield in stacks, Capt. Lothrop with 80 men was sent to guard it down in carts, and were set upon by seven or eight hundred Indians, and all the English but seven or eight were cut off. Capt. Lothrop and his men fought bravely, but in the Indian manner, betaking themselves to trees; which, in so great a disproportion of numbers, must be inevitable destruction, for many of the lesser party must be unguarded and exposed. Capt. Mosely, who was quartered at Deerfield, came out with his company too late to rescue Lothrop; but, keeping his men together in a body, fought the whole number of Indians for several hours, with the loss of two men only, until Major Treat with about 160 Mohegin Indians came to his aid, and put the enemy to flight. This was a heavy stroke to the county of Essex, to which most of Capt. Lothrop's company, being young men, belonged. A body of Indians, who had a fort about a mile from Springfield, had hitherto professed great friendship to the English; but Philip's Indians prevailed with them to join in a plot for the destruction of the town, and to receive in the night three hundred of those Indians into the fort. It was discovered the night before by Top, a Windsor Indian, which, although it saved the lives of many of the inhabitants, yet was no security for their dwellings, thirty odd houses, besides barns, &c. being burnt before forces came from Westfield, Hadley, and other parts, to repel the Indians.* The 19th of October, they came with all

* They burned a farm house of Mr. Pyncheon's, and another of Mr. Purchas's, the latter end of September: their loss was estimated at a thousand pounds sterl. each. *Letter to London.*

The Springfield Indians had lived in so good correspondence with the English for 40 years, that more dependence was placed upon them than upon any other Indians. This instance of perfidy seems to have increased the jealousies and suspicions which had before began of the Indians round Boston, viz. Punkapog, Natick, &c. although many of them actually went out with the English forces against the enemy.

At the sessions in October, the general court ordered, "That no person shall entertain, own or countenance any Indian, under the penalty of being a betrayer of this government." (This I suppose was capital.)

"That a guard be set at the entrance of the town of Boston, and that no Indian be suffered to enter upon any pretence without a guard of two musketeers, and not to lodge in town.

"That

all the force and fury they could raise upon Hatfield, but were repulsed, the Connecticut and Massachusetts forces being, by good providence, at hand so as to prevent any great loss. This discouraged them from continuing any longer in that part of the country, and they withdrew to the Narragansets, their general rendezvous. Some stragglers remained until the end of November, and a few lurked in the swamps all winter, doing now and then some mischief, enough to keep the inhabitants upon constant watch and guard. In November a party was sent out under Capt. Henchman to Hassanimisco (Grafton), Mendon, and the towns thereabout. They returned without any remarkable exploit.

The Narragansets,* contrary to their engagements, had received and comforted Philip's Indians and others, the enemies

"That any person may apprehend an Indian, finding him in town or approaching the town; and that none be suffered to come in by water."

The Natick Indians, and most of the other Indians who had subjected themselves to the English government (Punkapog excepted) were hurried down to Deer-island, where they remained the winter. They complained of their sufferings there. All of the colour were thought by many of the people worthy of death; and although their rage did not carry them that length, as to murder any of them without the authority of government, as some persons have lately done the Conestogoe Indians in Pennsylvania, yet their clamour seems to have prevailed on the authority to use greater severity than otherwise they would have done. "On the 10th of September, at nine o'clock at night, there gathered together about forty men, some of note, and came to the house of Capt. James Oliver; two or three of them went into his entry to desire to speak with him, which was to desire him to be their leader, and they should join together, and go and break open the prison and take one Indian out thence and hang him. Capt. Oliver, hearing their request, took his cane and cudgelled them stoutly, and so for that time dismissed the company, which had he but in the least countenanced it might have been accompanied with ill events in the end." (*Letter to London.*) In a short time after, the same poor Indian was executed, and died protesting his innocence; Mr. Eliot the minister, and some others, who had firmness enough to stem the popular current, interceding for him to no purpose. A circumstance at the execution of this Indian shews the great propriety of distinguishing them from all the rest of the human race by the name of savages. "Being half alive and half dead, there came an Indian, a friend of his, and with his knife made a hole in his breast to his heart, and sucked out his heart's blood. Being asked his reason therefor, his answer was, Umh umh nu, me be stronger as I was before, me be so strong as he and me too, he be ver strong man before he die." *Let. to Lond.*

* Before the Narraganset expedition, articles of war were agreed upon by the general court, and were as follows.

"Laws and ordinances of war passed by the general court of the Massachusetts for the better regulating their forces, and keeping their soldiers to their duty, and to prevent profaneness, that iniquity may be kept out of the land.

1st. Let no man presume to blaspheme the holy and blessed Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, upon pain to have his tongue bored with a hot Iron.

2d. Unlawful oaths and execrations, and scandalous acts in derogation of God's honour, shall be punished with loss of pay and other punishment at discretion.

3d. All

enemies of the English. It was not doubted that some of that nation had mixed with the others in their hostilities. If they should all openly engage in the spring, there would be no resisting them; scattered in every part of the country, all the forces the English could raise would not be a match for them. One company of soldiers after another had wasted away in the year past. There was no great room to hope for better success in the year to come. The commissioners of the united colonies therefore agreed to raise one thousand men, and to march in the winter into the Narraganset country. Massachusetts was to raise 527, the other

3d. All those, who often and wilfully absent themselves from the public worship of God, and prayers, shall be proceeded against at discretion.

4th. Whosoever shall be convicted to do his duty negligently, and carelessly, shall be punished at discretion.

5th. No person shall presume to quarrel with his superior officer upon pain of cashiering & arbitrary punishment; not to strike any such, upon pain of death.

6th. No commander or soldier shall depart from his charge or captain without licence, upon pain of death.

7th. Every private soldier, upon pain of imprisonment, shall keep silence when the army is to take lodging, or when it is marching, or in battle, so as the officers may be heard, and their commands executed.

8th. No man shall resist, draw, lift, offer to draw or lift, his weapon against his officer, correcting him orderly for his offence, upon pain of death.

9th. No man shall resist the provost marshal or any other officer in the executing his office, upon pain of death.

10th. No man shall utter any words of sedition or mutiny, upon pain of death.

11th. They that shall hear mutinous speeches and not acquaint their commander with them shall be punished with some grievous punishment.

12th. Drunkenness in an officer shall be punished with loss of place, and in a private foot soldier with such punishment as a court martial shall think fit.

13th. Rapes, ravishments, and unnatural abuses, and adultery, shall be punished with death.

14th. Fornication and other dissolute lasciviousness shall be punished with discretion, according to the quality of the offence.

15th. Theft or robbery shall be punished with restitution, and otherwise with discretion.

16th. Murder shall be expiated with the death of the murderer.

17th. All soldiers coming to their colours to watch or be exercised, or to service, shall come completely armed, and them fixed, upon pain of punishment.

18th. If any shall negligently lose, or sinfully play away their arms at dice or cards, or otherwise, they shall be kept as pioneers or scavengers till they furnish themselves with as good arms.

19th. None shall presume to spoil, sell, or carry away, any ammunition committed unto him, upon pain of death.

20th. No soldier shall outstay his pass, without a certificate of the occasion under the hand of a magistrate, upon pain of losing his pay.

By grievous punishment is meant disgracingly cashiering, the strapado, or riding the wooden horse to fetch blood.

Arbitrary punishment, or punishment at discretion, is meant not to extend to life or limb.

other two colonies the remainder. Mr. Winslow,* the governor of Plymouth, was pitched upon for the general. The 8th of December, the Massachusetts forces marched from Boston, and were soon after joined by Plymouth men. Connecticut men joined them, the 18th, at Pettyquamscot. The evening and night were stormy, and the men had no covering. At break of day, the 19th, they marched thro' the snow fourteen or fifteen miles, until one o'clock afternoon, when they came to the edge of the swamp where the enemy lay. They had met with an Indian who was disgusted with the rest, and offered himself as a pilot. The Indians knew of the armament coming against them, and had fortified themselves with all the art and strength they were capable of. The English fell in suddenly and unexpectedly upon this seat of the enemy, and neither drew up in any order of battle, nor consulted where or how to assault. Some Indians appearing at the edge of the swamp, they that were in front of the army, in the march, fired upon them. The Indians returned the fire, and fled. The whole army entered the swamp, following the Indians to their fortress, which was upon a piece of upland in the midst of the swamp, pallisadoed all round, and within a hedge of near a rod thick. At one corner only, was a gap the length of one log, where the breastwork was not above four or five feet high; but they had placed a blockhouse over against this passage. At this passage, and no where else, the English must enter. As it pleased God to order it, they fell in upon that part of the fort where the passage was. The captains entered at the head of their companies. The two first, Johnson and Davenport, were shot dead at the entrance, as were many of their men. Four other captains (Gardner, Gallop, Siely and Marshall) also lost their lives. As soon as the forces were entered, they attacked the Indians in their places of shelter, who fought desperately, and beat the Indians out of the fort; but after two or three hours,

* Mr. Winslow had always shewn great readiness to expose himself in the service. "Some resolute attempt for Philip's surprisal must be put in execution. Would to God I was with our men, so as I might not in the mean time be missed at home. I should hope, by the blessing of God, to give a good account in a short time." *Winslow to Leveret, July 26, 1675.* "My person, I hear, has been much threatened. I have about 20 men at my house; have sent away my wife and children to Salem, that I may be less incumbered; have flanked my house, and resolve to maintain it as long as a man will stand by me." *Id. July 4.*

hours, the advantage of the English was such that they began to fire the wigwams, which were five or six hundred ; and in many of them the Indian women and children perished : the men which were left alive fled into a cedar swamp at some small distance, without any necessities of life, or any shelter from the cold and storms, except the boughs of trees. The day being near spent, the English thought it high time to retire to their quarters, fifteen or sixteen miles distant, carrying dead as well as wounded men with them. Many of the wounded men perished, by being exposed to this long march in a cold night, who might otherwise have been saved. The number of killed and wounded amounted to 170.* Some of the enemy confessed they lost 700 fighting men that day, besides 300 more who died of their wounds and the hardships to which they were exposed. The number of old men, women and children, which perished by the fire, cold and famine, they could not tell.† The Indians took possession of the fort the next day.‡ The English made no further attack.§ They

* "Happy it was for them that Capt. Andrew Beleher (father of the late Gov. Belcher) arrived that very evening at Mr. Smith's with a vessel load of provisions, otherwise many must have perished for want." *Church.*

† This is Mr. Hubbard's account. Mr. Mather supposes 1000 to have perished in the whole ; that of the English 85 were killed, and 145 wounded. When the Narraganset Indians came to the Quabaog Indians and gave them an account of the fight, they said they had lost but 40 fighting men ; and about 300 old men, women and children, burnt in the wigwams. *MS letter.*

‡ Mather.

§ The following letter, dated Narraganset, 26th 11th month, 1675, which, though not signed, I take to be from Maj. Bradford of the Plymouth forces, has never been published. It is less favourable than the printed accounts.

"After a tedious march in a bitter cold night that followed Dec. 10th, we hoped our pilot would have led us to Pomham by break of day, but so it came to pass we were misled, and so missed a good opportunity. Dec. 13th we came to Mr. Smith's, and that day took 35 prisoners. Dec. 14th our general went out with horse and foot, I with my company was left to keep garrison. I sent out 50 of my men to scout abroad, who killed two Indians and brought in 4 prisoners, one of which was beheaded. Our army came home at night, killed 7 and brought in 9 more, young and old. Dec. 15th came in John, a rogue, with pretence of peace, and was dismissed with this errand, that we might speak with sachems. That evening, he not being gone a quarter of an hour, his company that lay hid behind a hill killed two Salem men within a mile of our quarters, and wounded a third that he is dead. And at a house three miles off where I had 10 men, they killed 2 of them. Instantly, Capt. Mosely, myself and Capt. Gardner were sent to fetch in Major Appleton's company that kept 3 miles and an half off, and coming, they lay behind a stone wall and fired on us in sight of the garrison. We killed the captain that killed one of the Salem men, and had his cap on. That night they burned Jerry Bull's house, and killed 17. Dec. 16th

They were scant of provisions, the weather being extreme cold delayed the vessels which had it on board. Some weeks were spent doing nothing, except that some proposals of peace were made on both sides, which came to nothing. February the 5th the army returned to Boston. There was a remarkable thaw in January, which melted the snow and opened the earth, so that the Indians could come at the

16th came that news. Dec. 17th came news that Connecticut forces were at Petaquamscot, and had killed 4 Indians and took 6 prisoners. That day, we sold Capt. Davenport 47 Indians, young and old, for 2^l. in money. Dec. 18th we marched to Petaquamscot with all our forces, only a garrison left; that night was very stormy; we lay, one thousand, in the open field that long night. In the morning, Dec. 19th, Lord's day, at 5 o'clock we marched. Between 12 and 1 we came up with the enemy, and had a sore fight three hours. We lost, that are now dead, about 68, and had 150 wounded, many of which are recovered. That long snowy cold night we had about 18 miles to our quarters, with about 210 dead and wounded. We left 8 dead in the fort. We had but 12 dead when we came from the swamp, besides the 8 we left. Many died by the way, and as soon as they were brought in, so that Dec. 20th we buried in a grave 34, next day 4, next day 2, and none since here. Eight died at Rhode-Island, 1 at Petaquamscot, 2 lost in the woods and killed, Dec. 20, as we heard since; some say two more died. By the best intelligence, we killed 300 fighting men; prisoners we took, say 350, and above 300 women and children. We burnt above 500 houses, left but 9, burnt all their corn, that was in baskets, great store. One signal mercy that night not to be forgotten, viz. that when we drew off, with so many dead and wounded, they did not pursue us, which the young men would have done, but the sachems would not consent; they had but 10 pounds of powder left. Our general, with about 40, lost our way, and wandered till 7 o'clock in the morning, before we came to our quarters. We thought we were within 2 miles of the enemy again, but God kept us; to him be the glory. We have killed now and then 1 since and burnt 200 wigwams more; we killed 9 last Tuesday. We fetch in their corn daily, and that undoes them. This is, as near as I can, a true relation. I read the narrative to my officers in my tent, who all assent to the truth of it. Manhegins and Pequods proved very false, fired into the air, and sent word before they came they would do so, but got much plunder, guns and kettles. A great part of what is written was attested by Joshua Tefse, who married an Indian woman, a Wampanoag. He shot 20 times at us in the swamp, was taken at Providence, Jan. 14, brought to us the 16th, executed the 18th. A sad wretch, he never heard a sermon but once these 14 years. His father, going to recall him, lost his head, and lies unburied."

This being so important an expedition, I will add another letter, from Mr. Dudley, afterwards governor, to Gov. Leveret.

"Mr. Smith's, 21. 10. 1675.

"May it please your honour,

"The coming in of Connecticut force to Petaquamscot, and surprisal of 6 and slaughter of 5 on Friday night, Saturday we marched towards Petaquamscot, though in the snow, and in conjunction, about midnight or later, we advanced; Capt. Mosely in the van, after him Massachusetts, and Plymouth and Connecticut in the rear; a tedious march in the snow, without intermission, brought us, about two of the clock afternoon, to the entrance of the swamp, by the help of Indian Peter, who dealt faithfully with us; our men, with great courage, entered the swamp about 20 rods; within the cedar swamp we found some hundreds of wigwams, fortified in with a breastwork and flanked, and many small blockhouses up and down, round about; they entertained us with a fierce fight, and many thousand shot, for about an hour, when our men valiantly scaled the fort, beat them thence, and from the blockhouses. In which action we lost Capt. Johnson,

Capt.

the ground-nuts, which seems to have been all their provisions, some from among themselves reporting that corn was sold for two shillings the pint. They took this opportunity to leave the Narraganset country. A general junction of the Indians was thereupon expected, and every part of the English colonies was in terror. The 10th of February several hundred of the enemy assaulted Lancaster, burnt the houses,

Capt. Danforth, and Capt. Gardiner, and their lieutenants disabled; Capt. Marshall also slain; Capt. Seely, Capt. Mason, disabled, and many other of our officers, inasmuch that, by a fresh assault and recruit of powder from their store, the Indians fell on again, recarried, and beat us out of the fort; but by the great resolution and courage of the general and major, we reinforced, and very hardily entered the fort again, and fired the wigwams, with many living and dead persons in them; great piles of meal and heaps of corn (the ground not admitting burial of their store) were consumed; the number of their dead, we generally suppose the enemy lost at least two hundred men; Capt. Mosely counted in one corner of the fort 64 men, Capt. Goram reckoned 150 at least. But, O! Sir, mine heart bleeds to give your honour an account of our lost men, but especially our resolute captains, as by account inclosed; and yet not so many, but we admire there remained any to return, a captive woman, well known to Mr. Smith, informing that there were three thousand five hundred men engaging us, and about a mile distant 1000 in reserve, to whom, if God had so pleased, we had been but a morsel, after so much disablement: she informeth, that one of their sagamores was slain and their powder spent, causing their retreat, and that they are in a distressed condition for food and houses; that one Joshua Tist, an Englishman, is their encourager and conductor. Philip was seen by one, credibly informing us, under a strong guard. After our wounds dressed, we drew up for a march, not able to abide the field in the storm, and weary; about two of the clock, obtained our quarters, with our dead and wounded, only the general, ministers, and some other persons of the guard, going to head a small swamp, lost our way, and returned again to the enemy's quarters; a wonder we were not a prey to them; and, after at least thirty miles marching up and down, in the morning recovered our quarters; and had it not been for the arrival of Goodale next morning, the whole camp had perished. The whole army, especially Connecticut, is much disabled, and unwilling to march with tedious storms, and no lodgings, and frozen and swollen limbs, Major Treat importunate to return at least to Stonington. Our dead and wounded are about 200, disabled as many; the want of officers, the consideration whereof the general commends to your honour, forbids any action at present; and we fear whether Connecticut will comply, at last, to any action. We are endeavouring, by good keeping and billeting our men at several quarters, and, if possible, removal of our wounded to Rhode-Island, to recover the spirit of our soldiers, and shall be diligent to find and understand the removals or other action of the enemy, if God please to give us advantage against them.

As we complete the account of our dead, now in doing, the council is of the mind, without recruit of men, we shall not be able to engage the main body.

I give your honour hearty thanks

I am Sir, your honour's

for your kind lines, of which

humble servant,

I am not worthy.

Joseph Dudley.

Since the writing of these lines, the general and council have jointly concluded to abide on the place, notwithstanding the desire of Connecticut; only entreat that a supply of 200 may be sent us with a supply of commanders; and, whereas we are forced to garrison our quarters with at least one hundred, three hundred men, upon joint account of the colonies, will serve, and no less, to effect the design. This is by order of the council.

Blunderbuffes, and hand granadoes, and armour, if it may be, and at least two armourers to mend arms."

houses, and killed and captivated forty persons, the minister's wife and children among the rest, he himself (Mr. Rowlandson) being absent. Mischief was done about the same time at Marlborough, Sudbury and Chelmsford. The 21st they fell upon Medfield, where there were two or three hundred soldiers; and yet they burned half the town down, and killed eighteen of the inhabitants. The 25th they burned seven or eight houses at Weymouth. This seems to be their nearest approach to Boston, between fifteen and twenty miles distant; at least they did no mischief nearer.*

March was a troublesome month, the Indians attacking Northampton and Springfield upon Connecticut river, Groton, Sudbury and Marlborough in Massachusetts, Warwick and Providence in Rhode-Island colony, burning their houses and barns, and destroying the cattle and many of the inhabitants. They killed also eleven persons of one family in Plymouth (Mr. Clark's); and on the 26th of March Capt. Peirce of Scituate in that colony, with 50 English, and 20 Indians of Cape-Cod, being drawn into an ambushment by a small number of the enemy, found themselves surrounded by a great body of Indians, who killed every Englishman and great part of the friend Indians.† The 28th of the month, they burned 40 houses, besides barns, at Rehoboth. Where Philip spent the winter was never certainly known. Some conjectured that he went to the Mohawks; others, that he went to Canada, which his friends said was his intention in the fall. He knew the premium set upon his head, disguised and concealed himself, so that we hear but little of him until he was killed.‡ His affairs were now at the highest flow, and those of the English never at so low an ebb. But presently after, a sudden turn came on. The beginning of April, the Connecticut men under George Denison of Stonington,

* The 23d of February, being a fast day with the first church in Boston, they were disturbed by an alarm from a report that the Indians were within ten miles of Boston.

† The captives afterwards reported that the English fought so valiantly that they slew 140 of the enemy. *MS.*

‡ The first account of him I have met with, is in a MS letter of Mr. Cotton of Plymouth, upon the return of an Indian spy, who reported that Philip was with the Hadley Indians, &c. within half a day's march of Albany.

ington, with some friend Indians, killed and took prisoners forty-four of the enemy ; and before the end of the month, the same commander, with sixty-six volunteers English, and one hundred and twelve Pequod Indians, took and slew seventy-six more of the enemy, without the loss of one man in either of these exploits. Between these two successful actions, happened a very unfortunate one for Massachusetts. April 20th, news came to Boston of the loss of Capt. Wadsworth and 50 of his men, going to relieve Sudbury, attacked by the enemy. In May and June, the enemy appeared in various parts of the colonies ; but their vigour abated ; their distresses, for want of provisions and ammunition, increased ; and at the same time the Mohawks fell upon them and killed 50 of them. It was commonly said, that Philip fell upon a party of Mohawks and killed them, and reported that they were killed by the English, expecting by this means to engage that nation in the war ; but one that was left for dead revived and escaped to his countrymen, and informed that not the English, but Philip and his Indians, had been the murderers, which brought that revenge upon the guilty, which, without this discovery, would have been taken of those who were innocent. The beginning of July the Connecticut forces met with a party of Indians in the Narraganset country, pursued them into a swamp, and killed and took eighty of them, without any loss, except one or two friend Indians ; and in their march back sixty more of the enemy fell into their hands.* The Massachusetts and Plymouth men, in several parts of the country, were likewise very successful from time to time, killing and taking small parties of Indians scattered about the country ; and no commander was more fortunate than Captain (afterwards Colonel) Church, of Plymouth colony. He has published an account of his exploits. But Philip was the object : upon his life or death war or peace depended. News was brought, that, after a year's

* The brave actions of the Connecticut volunteers have not been enough applauded. Denison's name ought to be perpetuated. The Narraganset fight had enraged the Indians, and made them desperate ; and the English plantations after that, were in greater terror than before ; but this successful hunting them, and ferreting them out of their boroughs, sunk and broke their spirits, and seems to have determined the fate of the English and Indians, which until then was doubtful and uncertain.

year's absence, he had returned to Mount Hope, his old quarters; and that great numbers of Indians were flocking to him, with intent to fall upon the neighbouring towns. Massachusetts and Plymouth both ordered their forces after Philip. The former returned to Boston, having missed Philip; but they killed and took 150 of the enemy, who were now so reduced that they were continually coming in and surrendering themselves upon promise of mercy. Two hundred in one week came in to Plymouth. Philip fled from one swamp to another; divers times very narrowly escaping; losing one chief counsellor after another; his uncle and sister, and at last his wife and son, were taken prisoners. Being reduced to this miserable condition, he was killed the 12th of August, as he was flying from a party under Capt. Church, out of a swamp near Mount Hope. One of his own men, whom he had offended, and who had deserted to the English, shot him through the heart. Instead of his scalp, he cut off his right hand, which had a remarkable scar, well known to the English; and it produced a handsome penny, many having the curiosity to see it. This was a finishing stroke, the parties of Indians that remained being drove from one hole or swamp to another, so that before winter they were all killed, captivated, or forced to surrender themselves, except some few who were supposed to have fled to the French, and others to nations of foreign Indians. The cruelties which had been exercised upon the English were urged in excuse for the treatment which the Indians received who were made prisoners or surrendered themselves. In all the promises of mercy, those who had been principal actors in any murders of the English were excepted, and none had any promise made of any thing more than their lives. A great many, therefore, of the chiefs were executed at Boston and Plymouth; and most of the rest were sold, and shipped off for slaves to Bermudas and other parts. Every person, almost, in the two colonies, had lost a relation or near friend, and the people in general were exasperated:* but all does not sufficiently excuse this great severity.

The

* Mr. Increase Mather, in a letter to Mr. Cotton, 23d 5 mo. 1677, mentions an instance of rage against two prisoners of the eastern Indians, then at Marblehead, a fishing town, which goes beyond any other I have heard of. "Sabbath day

The same time that Philip began his hostilities in Plymouth colony, the Tarenteens, or Eastern Indians, were insulting the English settled in New-Hampshire and the province of Main. They began with robbing the English, as they passed in their boats and canoes, and plundering their houses of liquors, ammunition, and such moveables as they could easily carry off. In September (1675) they came to the house of one Wakely, an old man, in Calco-bay, and murdered him, his wife, and four children and grand-children, and carried four more of his grand-children away captives. They then fell upon Saco, and killed thirteen men, and burned the houses, killed six men and a woman at Black-point (Scarborough) and burned twenty houses. They next fell upon Kittery, and killed two men.* Mr. Plaisted, lieutenant of the town, with twenty English, went out to bury the dead, and was set upon by the Indians. He fought bravely, with seven of his men (the rest flying) until he and his son, and one more, were killed. The other four escaped to the garrison. They then came towards Piscataqua, making spoil upon the inhabitants on the branches of that river, viz. at Oyster-river, Salmon-falls, Dover, Exeter, &c. burning their houses and barns, and a mill belonging to Mr. Hutchinson, a merchant in Boston, and killing more or less of the people in every place, to the number of about fifty in the whole. The government's hands were full, from the attempts of Philip and his accomplices; and during the summer nothing more was done than to commit the care of the eastern plantations to the chief officers of the respective regiments, to defend them against the enemy; but in the fall, forces were drawn from the other counties in order to have marched into the eastern country, but were prevented by the severity of the weather, which set in sooner than usual. The Indians in those parts at the same time sued for peace, and there was a good prospect of its being settled; but the endeavours of Major Waldron to effect it were next year frustrated. How-

ever,

day was so'night, the women at Marblehead, as they came out of the meeting-house, fell upon two Indians that were brought in as captives, and in a momentary way, very barbarously murdered them. Doubtless, if the Indians heard of the savages among them will be treated accordingly. The Indians had murdered some of the soldiers in the eastern part of the province.

* [This was at Berwick, where Plaisted lived.]

ever, during the winter, and the next spring, and the greatest part of the summer, those plantations were at rest.

The accounts which were transmitted to England of the distresses of the colony, during the war, although they might excite compassion in the breasts of some, yet they were improved, by others, to render the colony more obnoxious. A fine country, it was said, was in danger of being lost to England, by the penuriousness of those who were at the head of affairs, in not raising monies for the defence of it, and by their obstinacy in refusing to apply to the King for relief. This appears as well by other letters, as by one from Lord Anglesey to Mr. Leveret,* between whom there was a friendly correspondence kept up. In Cromwell's court Mr. Leveret had been, perhaps, upon a level with Mr. Annesly.† There seems to have been no ground for the charge; neither men nor money were wanting for the service. An application to England, for men, was unnecessary, and I meet with no papers which intimate that there was any thought of it in any persons in the colony. Fighting made soldiers. As soon as the inhabitants had a little experience of the Indian way of fighting, they became a match for them. An addition to their numbers they did not want.

Be

*

" London, May 16, 1676.

" Sir,

" I received your letter, intimating the troubles of that country, unexpectedly brought upon you by the Indians, and as I thank you for it, so I wish the continuance of your correspondence and informations, as often as occasion offers, having as great a sympathy as any for your sufferings, and as warm inclinations, both to advise and assist you, to my power, against your barbarous and ungrateful enemies. But when I have said this (as the best proof of it) I must chide you and that whole people of New-England, that (as if you were independent of our master's crown, needed not his protection, or had deserved ill of him, as some have not been wanting to suggest and urge testimony thereof) from the first hour of God's stretching out his hand against you to this time (though we have successive and frequent tidings (like Job's messengers) of the great devastations and spoils that are made by fire and sword upon those plantations, which God hath so signally blessed and made to flourish till now) you have not yet (as certainly became you) made your addresses to the King's Majesty, or some of his ministers, for his perusal, that he might be authentically informed both of your enemies and your condition, by what means you are brought low, and what are the most proper and hopeful remedies for your recovery.

" I can write but by guess: yet it is not altogether groundlessly reported, that the French do underhand assist and supply your enemies; that you are divided among yourselves; that you have not used ordinary providence; that you are too tenacious of what is necessary for your preservation, as if you kept your goods for your enemies, and wanted hearts to make use of them yourselves; that you are poor and yet proud. This was not the spirit that carried you into that wilderness

† Afterwards Earl of Anglesey.

Be that as it may, this is certain, that as the colony was at first settled, so it was now preserved from ruin, without any charge to the mother country. Nay, as far as I can judge from the materials I have, the collections made in the colony, after the fire of London, for the relief of the sufferers there, and, upon other occasions, for the relief of divers of the plantations, with other public donations, from the first settlement until the charter was vacated, will not fall much, if any thing, short of the whole sum that was bestowed upon the colony from abroad, during that time.

In the height of the distress of the war, and whilst the authority of the colony was contending with the natives for the possession of the soil, complaints were making in England, which struck at the powers of government; and an inquiry was set on foot, which was continued from time to time, until it finally issued in a quo warranto, and judgment thereupon against the charter. In the summer of 1676,* Edward Randolph was sent to Massachusetts with his Majesty's letter of March 10th, 1675-6, and copies of the petitions and complaints of Mason and Gorges.† The King commanded that agents should be sent over, to ap-
pear

derness and led you on there ever since, building and planting for yourselves and God. But these calamities may come upon you to bring you to your first post, and to do your first works, though I would not willingly judge you therein.

"It may not be fit for me to advise you what to do, till better informed, but I know his Majesty hath a tender and compassionate heart for all his subjects that are industrious and orderly, and hath power sufficient, as well as will, to help his colonies in distress, as others have experienced, and you may, in good time. He knows how to deal with the French, either by the interposition of their own King, or by authorizing and assisting you to fight yourselves against them. He can send ships or men to help you, or furnish you with ammunition, as the case requires, or by a general collection open the bowels and purses of his people here towards you, where there are many that mourn for your distress, and will not only be intercessors to the throne of grace, but to God's viceroy also, for your relief, if you are not wanting to yourselves, and failing in that dutiful application which subjects ought to make to their sovereigns in such cases.

"If these hints may work any thoughts of heart in you that may produce speedy and effectual councils for your re-establishment, I shall rejoice that I have been your remembrancer, and shall promote, in the best manner I can, your requests to that end, being to you, and the good people of that colony, an affectionate friend and hearty well-wisher,

To my most esteemed friend

ANGLESEY.

John Leveret, Esq. governor, &c."

* In the spring of the year 1676, the Dutch took the fort at Penobscot from the French. Some vessels from New-England went and drove off the Dutch, but kept no possession.

† The letter was directed, "To the governor and magistrates of the town of Boston." Randolph was, besides, directed by the Lords committee for trade, &c. to inquire into the state of the colony. The several queries and his answers may be seen in the appendix.

pear before him, in six months after the receipt of the letter, fully instructed and empowered to answer. The governor summoned a special court, to meet the 9th of August. The elders which were then in town were desired to attend, and to consider of this question proposed to them by the court, viz.

“ Whether the most expedient manner of making answer to the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason, about the extent of our patent line, be, by sending agents or attornies to answer the same; or, to answer by writing only?”

They soon agreed upon the following answer:—“ It seems unto us the most expedient way of making answer unto the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason, about the extent of our patent line, to do it by appointment of agents, to appear and make answer for us, by way of information, at this time, and in this case, provided they be with utmost care and caution qualified as to their instructions, by and according to which they may negotiate that affair, with safety unto the country, and with all duty and loyalty unto his Majesty, in the preservation of our patent liberties.”—The reasons for their opinion were subjoined. The court determined according to this advice. William Stoughton* and Peter Bulkley† were chosen for the purpose. Soon after their arrival in England, a hearing was had before the Lords of the committee of the council, upon the principal points of their agency, the claims of Gorges and Mason, in both which they were unsuccessful. The province of Main was confirmed to Gorges and his heirs, both as to soil and government. To put an end to all future disputes, as well as to gratify many of the inhabitants of that province, John Usher was employed by Massachusetts to purchase the right and interest of Gorges's heirs, which he did for twelve hundred pounds sterling, and assigned it over to the governor and company.

This,

* Mr. Stoughton was second son of Mr Israel Stoughton, one of the first magistrates of the colony. He was educated at Harvard college, some years a preacher, but never settled in any parish. A sermon of his at the election is in print. He came early into the magistracy (in 1671.)

† Mr. Bulkley was speaker of the house of deputies, son, I suppose, of the celebrated minister of Concord, of the same name. They sailed Oct. 30, 1676.

This, instead of conciliating matters, gave further offence to the crown.* With respect to Mason's claim, it was determined, that Massachusetts had a right to three miles north of Merrimack river, to follow the course of the river, so far as it extended, and that the expressions in the charter do not warrant the over-reaching those bounds by imaginary lines or bounds.†

The controversy between Massachusetts and Mr. Mason having subsisted so many years, it may not be amiss to set his claim or pretence in its true light. A copy of a grant, made by the council of Plymouth to Capt. John Mason, of all the lands between Naumkeag and Merrimack, dated March 9th, 1621, is the first, in order of time, that has been produced. This grant was said to be only sealed, unwitnessed, no feizin endorsed, nor possession ever given with the grant, and no entry upon any record.

Another copy of a grant, August 10th, 1622, of all the lands from Merrimack to Sagadahoc; which, it was said, did not appear to have been signed, sealed, or witnessed, by any order of the council. Another

* The colony supposed they acquired, by the purchase, a right to the jurisdiction, and considered themselves, in their corporate capacity, lords proprietors of the province of Main, as Lord Baltimore and the Penns do of Maryland and Pennsylvania. It was made a question by some, whether the right of jurisdiction, in the heirs of Gorges, was such an interest as could legally be sold or devised. Since the incorporation, by the new charter, it is of no great consequence which way it be determined.

† Massachusetts thought themselves aggrieved by the determination of his late Majesty in council, settling the boundary less favourably for them than they ever expected. The river Merrimack, which runs upon a western course as far as Dunstable, afterwards turns to the northward. It is not certain, that at the time of the grant to the Massachusetts colony, in 1628, this alteration of the course was known to the grantors, or to any European. It is certain, that a few years after our ancestors came over, evidence was taken and preserved, that this river retained the same name among the natives from the mouth to the crotch, and there seemed to be no intention in 1677, that Massachusetts line should cross the river. However, it was thought an equitable construction of the province charter, in 1738, that so far as the river kept a western course, and no farther, the province line should run the same course, keeping the distance of three miles north of the river, but after that to run due west. There was, besides, a mistake made to the prejudice of the province; for, instead of running as far as the river kept a western course (the real intention of the royal determination) it stops several miles short, at Patucket, where the river inclines to the south. Whereas if the line had been continued to the bend, and then crossed the river, or if the due west line had begun a few miles short of Patucket, in either case, several miles in breadth, the whole length of the line would have belonged to Massachusetts, which now falls to New-Hampshire. This, my Lord Wilmington, who was then president of the council, assured me, in the year 1741, proceeded from a misapprehension of the course of the river. He did not conceive that at Patucket the river inclined to the southward, or that any loss was occasioned to Massachusetts. The New-Hampshire agent was better able to manage the controversy than the agents for Massachusetts.

.. Another grant, or copy of a grant, of part of the same lands, viz. all between the rivers Merrimack and Piscataqua, to Captain John Mason alone, dated Nov. 7, 1629.

Another grant, in 1635, April 22d, of all the lands between Naumkeag and Piscataqua river.*

In all this confusion of grants, or copies of grants, the greatest stress is laid upon that of November 7th, 1629. It is a strange thing, that the council of Plymouth, unless all those grants prior to the Massachusetts grant had been either deemed imperfect and invalid from the beginning, or else resigned and thrown up, should grant the same lands to Massachusetts, Mason and Gorges both being members, and the most active members, of the council. It is not easy to account for a grant of all the lands between Merrimack and Piscataqua to Mason in 1629, when three miles between those two rivers had been granted the year before to Massachusetts. The grants which were made, or pretended to be made, in 1635, were the efforts of a number of the members of the council, to secure some part of the dying interest to themselves and posterity, in which they all failed.†

Sir William Jones, the attorney general, gave his opinion upon the whole case, which was transmitted to Massachusetts, and is as follows.

“ The

* Douglass says, v. 2. p. 26. That Mason in 1635, and Gorges in 1639, obtained royal patents, with powers of jurisdiction; but Douglass was under a mistake as to Mason. About that time, as has been before observed, it was intended a general governor should be sent over, and Mason was appointed, and received a commission as governor over that part of the continent from Naumkeag to Piscataqua, but subject to the general governor. The design of a general governor was laid aside, and we hear no more of the commission to Mason, which he never came to America to publish. *Ancient MS.*

† An action was brought in Feb. 1682, at Portsmouth, against one Wadley of Exeter, in which this grant of 1635 was principally relied on; and Mr. Chamberlayne, secretary of the province, and one Mr. Reynes, made oath that they had compared the copy with the original, which did not appear to have been either signed, sealed or witnessed. The lands in question had been many years occupied, and the plaintiff failed in his suit. It was observed, on the trial, that the council of Plymouth was to consist of forty persons, who had power of granting lands in New-England, provided it was done by the major part of them, or the major part of a lawful assembly of the said council, and under their common seal. Nothing of this appeared. The original grant could not be found in 1691, when Allen entered a caveat against the Massachusetts charter. He pretended it was in New-England. *Hulbard MS.*

“ The case of the governor and company of Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, in America.

“ 3d Nov. 14 Jac. The whole tract of New-England was granted to 40 persons, Lords and others, by the name of the council of New-England, established at Plymouth, whereby power is given them to set out lands and hereditaments to adventurers and planters, as should, by a commission of survey, and distribution executed, be named.

“ 19 Mar. 1628. The said council grant the Massachusetts colony to Roswell and others.

“ 4 Mar. 4 Car. I. The grant to Roswell, &c. was, by letters patents, confirmed to the said proprietors and others, their associates, who were then incorporated, with power of government granted to them, and of making laws, not repugnant to the laws of England.

“ The company, in pursuance of this grant of the council of Plymouth and charter from the King, transport themselves, and make a settlement upon the said lands; distributing the same, from time to time, freely to adventurers and planters, without any rent reserved to the company; yet so that, where the said lands were possessed by the natives, the planters did also purchase from them.

“ May, 1637. It is enacted by the laws of the place, That any person, who had, by himself, his grantees or assigns, before the law about inheritance, 14 Octo. 1652, possessed and occupied, as his or their proper right in fee simple, any houses or lands there, and should so continue without disturbance, let, suits, or denial, legally made by having the claims of any person thereto entered with the recorder of the county and such claim prosecuted to effect within 5 years next after the 20th of that present May 1657, every such proprietor, their heirs and assigns, shall forever hereafter enjoy the same, without any lawful let, suit, disturbance, or denial, by any other claim of any person or persons whatsoever, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ No claims made of the lands in question, within the time limited.

“ In 1635 the patent of 30 Nov. 14 Jac. surrendered.

“ Mr.

“ Mr. Mason’s title.

“ 2 Mar. 1621. Mr. Mason, by grant from the council at Plymouth, under their common seal, to his ancestor John Mason, claims some ten towns’ within the Massachusetts bounds of their patent, to be called Mariana, to hold to him and his heirs, in fee and common socage, &c. subject to the exceptions in the grant to the grand council, yielding a fifth part of all ore found to his Majesty, and another fifth part to the council, with a letter of attorney to the chief officer there, for the time being, for delivery of possession and seizin to the grantee Mason, or his attorney.

“ Note, the grant only sealed with the council seal, unwitnessed, no seizin endorsed, nor possession ever given with the grant.

“ 10 Aug. 1622. The said council grant, aliene, sell and confirm to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason, their heirs and assigns, all the lands lying between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadahoc.

“ Note, as in the grant of 1621.

“ 7 Nov. 1629. The said council grant part of the premises to Capt. John Mason, single, and his heirs, extending between the rivers of Merrimack and Piscataqua.

“ Note as above.

“ 1631. The same council did again grant a small parcel of the premises granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason, unto the said Sir Ferdinando and Capt. Mason, with about six or seven others, their associates, lying on both sides the river Piscataqua, upon which lands some settlements were made, and some part thereof divided between the said grantees and adventurers after 1631.*

“ April, 1635. Capt. John Mason obtains a new grant, from the said great council, of all the lands from Naumkeag river to Piscataqua river, by the name of New-Hampshire, at which time all that part of the lands, so granted, which are now contained within the bounds of the Massachusetts, were actually distributed to and planted by the inhabitants of that colony, by virtue of their grant from the said council.

“ The

* If Mason supposed any of the preceding grants to be in any force, why should he take a grant of part of the lands only contained in those former grants, and take in associates, and come to a division with them?

“ The whole matter in difference was referred to the two Lord Chief Justices, by his Majesty in council.

“ They, after a solemn hearing of council on both sides, reported unto his Majesty :

“ That as to the right of the soil of the province of New-Hampshire and Main, they could give no opinion, not having proper parties before them, it appearing, that not the Massachusetts, but the ter-tenants, had the right of soil and whole benefit thereof, and yet were not summoned to defend their titles.

“ As to Mr. Mason’s right of government within the soil he claimed, their Lordships, and indeed his own counsel, agreed he had none,* the great council of Plymouth, under whom he claimed, having no power to transfer government to any.

“ As to the bounds of the Massachusetts colony, their Lordships have, by their said report, excluded thereout the four towns of Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton, parcel of Mr. Mason’s claim, ‘ but determined the remainder of his claim to be within their bounds.’ Which report was confirmed by his Majesty in council.

“ 1st Query. Whether Mr. Mason’s grants, being only under the council of Plymouth’s seal, unwitnessed, and without any entry or record of them any where, without seizin endorsed, and no possession having ever gone along with them, be valid in law to oust about 50 years possession, a title under the government of the Massachusetts, and a purchase from the natives ?

“ I think it not good according to the law of England ; and New-England having no particular law of their own (to my knowledge) which differs from the law of England, as to the manner of passing lands, I do not see how any of these grants can be good.

“ Or, admitting they be good in law,

“ 2d Quer. Whether Mr. Mason be not stopped by the law of the place, as above, having not made his claim thereto within the time prescribed ? “ If

* Although Douglass, as has been observed, goes further, and says, that “ Aug. 19, 1635, King Charles, by patent, confirms the grant called New-Hampshire, with power of government and jurisdiction (as in the palatinate or bishoprick of Durham) with power of conferring honours,” yet this is not probable. His heirs were certainly unacquainted with it, or they would have made mention of it before the King and council in 1691.

" If Mr. Mason's estate do lie within the jurisdiction of the assembly which made this law, and that this assembly were rightly constituted according to the powers given by charter, I think Mr. Mason was bound by this law, which I look upon to be a reasonable law, and agreeing in reason with the law of England.

" And, if Mr. Mason have right thereto,

" 3d Quer. Whether ought not that right to be tried on the place, ten of the towns claimed by him remaining within the Massachusetts by the chief justice's report ?

" I think his right ought to be tried upon the place, for so much thereof as lies within the Massachusetts jurisdiction, liable to such appeal as the charter allows, if it allows any.

" 4th Quer. Or, if triable here, by what court can it properly be so ; whether in one of the four courts at Westminster, or upon a special commission ; and how, in your judgment, whether by jury or otherwise ?

" It cannot properly be tried here by any of the four courts, but according to the law of the place, if it lie within any jurisdiction ; and if within none, the King may erect courts, to proceed according to the law of England, unless altered by the legislative power of the place.*

" 18 Sept. 1679.

W. JONES."

A commission was issued by the crown for the government of New-Hampshire. Massachusetts thereupon forbore any further exercise of jurisdiction. The towns of Salisbury, Amesbury and Haverhill, by their original grants from the Massachusetts colony, extending more than three miles from Merrimack, Massachusetts continued to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of those towns, although,

* Before 1691, Mason's heirs had sold their title to Samuel Allen, and nothing more was heard of it until 1637, after the determination of the controversy between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. A large tract of country, which always before was supposed to be within the Massachusetts province, being left out of it, John Tuston, now a lieutenant colonel in the army, a descendant from Mason, and who then took the name of Tuston Mason, agreeable to the last will of his ancestor, laid claim to it, as heir in tail to the first grantee, and having suffered a recovery, sold his interest to divers persons, who now call themselves proprietors, &c. Capt. Mason was a generous adventurer in a noble design, the peopling a new country, which has a tendency to multiply the human race. Many of the first adventurers failed. Those who came after saw their errors, avoided them, and succeeded. This has often been the case with other great undertakings. The first undertakers ought not to be forgotten.

though, according to the determination, part of them lay without the patent.

Besides this controversy about bounds, the agents had other complaints to answer. Randolph, who, the people of New-England said, "went up and down seeking to devour them," returned to England, and represented the colony as refusing any obedience to the acts for regulating the trade of the plantations. A ship, belonging to Mr. Usher, put the owner ashore at some English port, and went over to Holland. Mr. Stoughton writes (1st Dec. 1677) "Randolph upon this news was full of business, "being employed, as he said, by my Lord Treasurer, to "make inquiry about it, in order to further proceedings; "but now we have intelligence as if that vessel were again "put into Plymouth, and had not been in Holland. If she "either make her market here, or pay her duties before "she go elsewhere, it may help to allay matters. The "country's not taking notice of these acts of navigation to "observe them, hath been the most unhappy neglect that "we could have fallen into; for, more and more every day, "we find it most certain, that without a fair compliance "in that matter there can be nothing expected but a total "breach, and all the storms of displeasure that may be."

The Quakers also renewed their complaints against the colony. In the distress of the colony by the Indian war, among other sins, which were the cause of it, the toleration shewn to quakers was thought to be one: the court therefore made a law, "That every person found at a quakers' "meeting should be apprehended, ex officio, by the constable, and, by warrant from a magistrate or commissioner, shall be committed to the house of correction, and "there have the discipline of the house applied to them, "and be kept to work, with bread and water, for three "days, and then released, or else shall pay five pounds in "money, as a fine to the country, for such offence; and "all constables neglecting their duty, in not faithfully "executing this order, shall incur the penalty of five "pounds, upon conviction, one third whereof to the informer." I know of nothing which can be urged, in any wise tending to excuse the severity of this law, unless
it

it be human infirmity, and the many instances in history of persons of every religion being fully persuaded that the indulgence of any other was a toleration of impiety, and brought down the judgments of heaven, and therefore justified persecution.* This law lost the colony many friends.

Several addressees were made to the King, from the general court, whilst the agents were in England; and the court made several laws to remove some of the exceptions which were taken in England, particularly an act to punish high treason with death; another requiring all persons above 16 years of age to take the oaths of allegiance, on pain of fine and imprisonment; "the governor, deputy governor and magistrates having first taken the same, without any reservation,

* At the same time that this punishment was provided for quakers, other provoking evils were enumerated in the order following, viz.

1. Neglect of care of the children of church members. A reformation recommended to the elders and brethren.

2. Pride, in men's wearing long hair, like women's hair; others wearing borders of hair, and cutting, curling and immodest laying out their hair, principally in the younger sort. Grand-jurors to present, and the court to punish, all offenders, by admonition, fine or correction, at discretion.

3. Excess in apparel, strange new fashions, naked breasts and arms, and pinioned, superfluous ribbands on hair and apparel. The court to fine offenders at discretion.

4. Quaker meetings.

5. Profaneness, in persons turning their backs upon the public worship before the blessing is pronounced. Officers of churches and selectmen to appoint persons so that the meeting house doors, or to take any other meet way to attain the end.

6. Profane cursing and swearing. If any person heard another curse or swear, and did not inform, he was made liable to the same penalty with the profane person.

7. Tippling houses. Inspectors to be appointed, and if they did not do their duty, they were to incur the penalty of the law against tippling houses.

8. Breach of the fifth commandment. All inferiors in families, absent at night, in corrupt company, without leave, admonished, and fined not exceeding 10s for the first offence, whipped not exceeding five stripes for all after offences.

9. Idleness. All idle persons to be taken notice of by the constable; their names to be returned to the selectmen, who had power, in case of obstinacy, to send them to the house of correction.

10. Oppression in shopkeepers and merchants, by taking too much for their goods; and in mechanics, who required too much for their labour. Every person, who had been oppressed in this way, might apply to the grand-jury, or to the county court, who had power to cause the offender to make twofold restitution, and to fine at discretion.

11. A loose and sinful custom of riding from town to town, men and women together, under pretence of going to lectures, but really to drink and revel in taverns, tending to debauchery and unchastity. All single persons, being offenders, to be bound to their good behaviour, with sureties in 20s. fine, or suttler fine and imprisonment.

For most of these offences I have not seen any instances of prosecution. Excessive penalties, or penalties not adapted to the nature of the offence, prevent prosecutions. The multiplying laws, with such penalties, in any government, tends to lessen the weight and authority of the penal laws in general,

ation, in the words sent to them by his Majesty's order."* The King's arms were ordered to be carved and put up in the court-house. But it was a more difficult thing to conform to the acts of trade. They acknowledge in their letter to the agents they had not done it. They "apprehended them to be an invasion of the rights, liberties and "properties of the subjects of his Majesty in the colony, "they not being represented in parliament, and accord- "ing to the usual sayings of the learned in the law; the "laws of England were bounded within the four seas, and "did not reach America; however, as his Majesty had "signified his pleasure that those acts should be observed "in the Massachusetts, they had made provision, by a law "of the colony, that they should be strictly attended from "time to time, although it greatly discouraged trade, and "was a great damage to his Majesty's plantation." *The passing this law plainly shews the wrong sense they had of the relation they stood in to England.*† The people of Ireland, about the same time, were under the same mistake. Perhaps they had not greater colour for an exemption from English acts of parliament than a colony of natural born subjects, departing the kingdom with the leave of their prince. Particular persons in Ireland did penance for advancing and adhering to these principles. The whole colony of Massachusetts suffered the loss of their charter, this being one great article of charge against it. I am glad I have this instance of Ireland, and that so sensible a gentleman as Mr. Molineux, the friend of Mr. Locke, engaged in the cause; for it may serve as some excuse for our ancestors, that they were not alone in their *mistaken apprehensions*

* Mass. Records.

† "This court being informed, by letters received this day from our messengers, of his majesty's expectation that the acts of trade and navigation be exactly and punctually observed by this his Majesty's colony, his pleasure therein not having been before now signified unto us, either by express from his Majesty, or any of his ministers of state: it is therefore hereby ordered, and by the authority of this court enacted, that henceforth, all masters of ships, ketches, or other vessels of greater or lesser burthen, arriving in, or sailing from any of the ports in this jurisdiction, do, without coven or fraud, yield faithful and constant obedience unto, and observation of, all the said acts of navigation and trade, on penalty of suffering such forfeitures, loss and damage as in the said acts are particularly exprest; and the governor and council, and all officers commissioned and authorized by them, are hereby ordered and required to see to the strict observation of the said acts."

prehensions of the nature of their subjection. No prejudice can be caused, by this mistake, against their posterity. They have indeed as high notions of English liberties as their ancestors had; and, as a British colony, they humbly hope for all that tenderness and indulgence from a British parliament; which the Roman senate, while Rome remained free, shewed to Roman colonies: but they are sensible that they are colonists, and therefore subject to the controul of the parent state.

Mr. Leveret continued governor, by annual election, from his being first chosen in 1673, until his death, March 16th, 1678. The weighty affairs of the war, and the agency, during his administration, conducted with prudence and steadiness, caused him to be greatly respected.* He was succeeded by Simon Bradstreet (May 1679) who was one of the first assistants, and had continued to be annually chosen an assistant fifty years together, being about seventy-six years of age when he first entered upon the office of governor. A few months before, upon the death of Mr. Symonds, Mr. Bradstreet succeeded him as deputy governor. Upon Mr. Bradstreet's being chosen governor, Thomas Danforth came into the deputy governor's place, and they were continued in their respective places, from year to year, until the dissolution of the government.

Whilst the agents were in England, days of fasting and prayer, some by the court, some by the whole people, were repeatedly appointed by authority, to implore the divine blessing upon their endeavours for obtaining favour with the King, and the continuance of charter privileges; and November 21st, 1678, was observed as a fast by all the churches in the three colonies. A council or synod of the churches in the colony of Massachusetts being convened by order of court in May 1679, these two questions were referred for their consideration and answer:

Quest. 1st. What are the reasons that have provoked the
Lord

* He died of the stone. His only son maintained but an indifferent character. His grandson, John Leveret, after sustaining, in the civil order, several honourable posts, speaker of the assembly, justice of the superior court, member of the council, one of the three commissioners with power of controuling the army sent against Port-Royal, was, in 1707, chosen president of Harvard college, in which post he continued until his death, having the character of a gentleman and scholar, and also of a man of virtue and religion.

Lord to bring his judgments upon New-England?

Quest 2d. What is to be done, that so those evils may be removed?

I do not censure the authority of the colony for their great anxiety on this occasion, or for using every proper measure to obtain the smiles of Heaven, as well as the favour of their earthly sovereign; and only remark, that we have no evidence of any extraordinary degeneracy.* At this time, Great-Britain, Scotland especially, was suffering under a prince inimical to civil and religious liberty: New-England, therefore, without a miraculous interposition, must have expected to share the same judgments, and perhaps had not greater reason to make the two inquiries than either of the two kingdoms.

The complaint of Gorges and Mason, and the uncertainty of the event, restrained the general court from any attempt to hold possession of the country eastward of Main. Upon the exchange of Surinam for New-York, that country, and the islands and countries contained in the former grant to the Duke of York, were granted anew; and Major Andros, governor under the Duke, erected a fort, and established a custom-house, at Pemaquid, part of the territory between Kennebeck and St. Croix. Whilst the Dutch were in possession of New-York, this territory had been neglected; and the inhabitants being without any powers of government, Massachusetts, in 1672, had sent their commissioners, who appointed and held courts, and established civil and military officers, from Pemaquid to Georges, the seacoast being well inhabited, and the fishery in a flourishing state; but upon the Duke's taking possession, by his governor, they laid aside their pretences to jurisdiction.

The agents were detained in England until the fall of 1679. They thought themselves not at liberty to return without the King's express leave. The popish plot prevented an attention to plantation affairs, and it was thought
too

* Mr. Neale says, "the people began to grow intolerably licentious in their morals; that devout people observed the judgments of God seemed to follow them; blasting epidemical diseases, uncommon losses by sea, &c." The small-pox, which is always travelling about the world, then prevailed. There had been wars with French and Dutch, and captures by the enemy might well have been expected.

too great a hardship to detain them any longer. Upon their repeated application they were dismissed, and arrived at Boston December 23d. They had obtained nothing but time, a further opportunity for the colony to comply with the requisitions made by the crown. Assurances seem to have been given by the agents, that other persons should be sent over to supply their places; and although, upon their return, no mark of disapprobation of their conduct was shewn by the general court, but a vote passed thanking them for their pains, yet many were dissatisfied, especially with Mr. Stoughton, whom they thought to have been too compliant.* They brought with them the King's letter of July 24, 1679, containing the following requisitions.

1. That agents be sent over in six months, fully instructed to answer and transact what was undetermined at that time.

2. That freedom and liberty of conscience be given to such persons as desire to serve God in the way of the church of England, so as not to be thereby made obnoxious, or discountenanced from their sharing in the government; much less that they, or any other his Majesty's subjects (not being papists) who do not agree in the congregational way, be by law subjected to fines or forfeitures, or other incapacities.

3. That no other distinction be observed in making of freemen, than that they be men of competent estates, rateable at 10*s*. according to the rules of the place, and that such, in their turns, be capable of the magistracy, and all laws made void that obstruct the same.

4. That the ancient number of eighteen assistants be henceforth observed, as by charter.†

5. That

* Mr. Stoughton, perhaps, ever had the interest of his country at heart, but in the pursuit of it governed himself by the rules which Cicero, in one of his epistles, prescribes for a wise magistrate. "Nunquam enim prestantibus in republica gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permanſio; sed ut in navigando tempeſtati obſequi artis eſt, etiamſi portum tenere non queas: cum vero id poſſis mutata velificatione aſſequi, ſtultum eſt eum tenere, cum periculo, curſum, quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire." *Ad Lentul.*

† They continued to limit themselves to eight or ten assistants. At first, as has been observed, it was done to leave room for persons of quality expected from England. Those expectations had long ceased. In a popular government, and where the magistrates were annually chosen, increasing the number would give a better

5. That all persons coming to any privilege, trust or office, take the oath of allegiance.

6. That all military commissions, as well as the proceedings of justice, run in his Majesty's name.

7. That all laws repugnant to, and inconsistent with, the laws of England for trade, be abolished.

8. While Mr. Gorges's complaint was before the council, the agents, without his Majesty's permission, who was some time in treaty for the same, bought Mr. Gorges's interest in the province of Main, for 1200*l*. His Majesty had heard of some effects of a severe hand upon his subjects there, and therefore required an assignment of the said province, on repayment of the said 1200*l*.

9. That, as for that part of New-Hampshire province three miles north of Merrimack river, granted to Mr. Mason, the government whereof remained vested in his Majesty, designing to settle the same to the satisfaction of his subjects there, the Massachusetts recall all commissions granted by them for governing there.

A compliance with the first of these instructions was delayed. The reasons assigned were, the danger of the seas (Connecticut agent having been taken by the Algerines) and the heavy debt of the colony,* which made it almost incapable of the expense.

As to the second and third, they had no laws to restrain the inhabitants from choosing church of England men into the magistracy, or other office, that law, confining the privilege to church members, being long since repealed, and all protestants of 10*l*. rateable estate were capable of being made freemen.

The fourth, they complied with at the next election, in 1680.

And also with the fifth, sixth and seventh, in manner as has been mentioned.

They justified their purchase of the province of Main, at the desire of the inhabitants, and in favour to them; and

better chance to aspiring men. On the other hand, the greater the number of assistants, the less the weight of the house of deputies, the election of all officers depending upon the major vote of the whole court. This last reason might cause the deputies to refuse their consent to an increase.

* Caused by the late war.

and denied their having ever used any acts of severity, and were silent as to the re-conveying it.

The 9th and last they had complied with, as we have just mentioned.

The first commission for the government of New-Hampshire, was to Mr. Cutt, as president of the province. The following letter was voted, by the new assembly, at their first meeting, and sent to the governor of Massachusetts, to be communicated to the assembly there.

“ Portsmouth, in the province of New-Hampshire,

“ March 25th, 1680.

“ Much honoured——

“ The late turn of providence made amongst us by the
“ all-ordering hand, hath given occasion for this present
“ application, wherein we crave leave, as we are in duty
“ bound, first thankfully to acknowledge your great care
“ of us, and kindness towards us, while we dwelt under
“ your shadow; owning ourselves deeply obliged, that you
“ were pleased, upon our earnest request and supplication,
“ to take us under your government, and ruled us well,
“ while we so remained, so that we cannot give the least
“ countenance to those reflections that have been cast upon
“ you, as if you had dealt injuriously with us. Secondly,
“ that no dissatisfaction with your government, but merely
“ our submission to Divine Providence, to his Majesty’s
“ commands, to whom we owe allegiance, without any
“ seeking of our own, or desires of change, was the only
“ cause of our complying with that present separation from
“ you that we are now under; but should have heartily
“ rejoiced, if it had seemed good to the Lord and his
“ Majesty to have settled us in the same capacity as
“ formerly. Thirdly, and withal we hold ourselves bound
“ to signify, that it is our most unfeigned desire, that such
“ a mutual correspondence betwixt us may be settled, as
“ may tend to the glory of God, the honour of his Maj-
“ esty, whose subjects we all are, and the promoting the
“ common interest, and defence against the common ene-
“ my, that thereby our hands may be strengthened, being
“ of ourselves weak, and few in number, and that if there
“ be opportunity to be any ways serviceable unto you, we
“ may

“ may shew how ready we are thankfully to embrace the
 “ same. Thus wishing the presence of God to be with
 “ you in all administrations, and craving the benefit of
 “ your prayers and endeavours for a blessing upon the
 “ heads and hearts of us who are separated from our bre-
 “ thren, we subscribe

JOHN CUTT, President, at
 the consent of the council
 and general assembly.”

Directed to the honorable governor and council of the
 Massachusetts-Bay, to be communicated to the general
 court in Boston.

This letter was read in general court, May 22d, 1680;
 and ordered to be recorded.

The province of Main continued to be protected by Mas-
 sachusetts. After the purchase from Gorges the major
 part of the court were of opinion that it should be sold a-
 gain to the highest bidder towards reimbursing the expense
 of defending it, which they computed at eight thousand
 pounds; and a committee was appointed for this purpose;
 but this vote was reconsidered. However, there was a neces-
 sity of a different administration from what there had been
 formerly. Whilst the province was supposed to be includ-
 ed in the bounds of the Massachusetts charter, the towns
 were represented in the general court, and it was to all in-
 tents and purposes considered as a county; but the deter-
 mination of 1677 had confined Massachusetts to three
 miles north or north-east of Merrimack river. The colo-
 ny must consider itself therefore in the place of Gorges,
 invested with the powers granted to him by charter or pa-
 tent. Accordingly, they appointed their deputy governor
 Thomas Danforth, president of the province of Main, to gov-
 ern under Massachusetts, the lords proprietaries, and to be
 accountable to them; and thither he repaired towards the
 end of 1679, together with Mr. Nowell, &c. and there ap-
 pointed officers, held courts and made provision for admin-
 istering government in the form prescribed by the patent
 to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.*

Randolph

* The people of the province of Main were well contented, whilst they enjoyed
 the privileges of the Massachusetts colony. To become a province of that colony
 was disagreeable, and they never cordially submitted. Although Massachusetts
 accounted

Randolph kept a continual watch upon the colony, and went divers times to England with complaints, and returned with fresh orders and powers.* In 1676 he brought over the complaint of Mafon and Gorges. In 1678 he came over, with power from the commissioners of the customs, as an inspector, and to make seizures and bring informations for breaches of the acts of trade; but he was generally if not always condemned in costs; and it appears, by a representation he afterwards made to the commissioners, that he had been a great sufferer. He brought with him also a commission to divers persons, himself at the head of them, to administer an oath to the governor faithfully to execute the duty required by the act of trade.† The governor, Mr. Leveret, did not take the oath in consequence of that commission. Randolph was in England again in 1679,‡ and returned the latter part of the same year.

The governor, at the first session after the receipt of new orders from the King, took the oath, which was administered by the deputy governor in open court, not as one of the commissioners. Randolph went home again the next winter to renew his complaints; and, upon his return to Boston, in 1681, brought with him a commission from the crown for collector and surveyor and searcher of the customs in New-England.|| He laid his commission before

the

accounted themselves a free state, yet this was no security to the others that they should be less arbitrarily governed than when a single person was the proprietor. "In August 1682, the deputy governor, Mr. Saltonstall, Nowell, &c. sailed from Boston, with 60 soldiers, in a ship and sloop, to still the people at Casco-bay, and prevent governor Andros's usurpation." *MS. Letter.*

* In a representation of his services to the committee of council, he says, he had made eight voyages to New-England in nine years.

† Edward Randolph, Thomas Savage, William Taylor, George Curwin the elder, Thomas Brattle, Thomas Deane, James Whetcomb, Richard Wharton, John Richards, Humphrey Warren, Thomas Kellond, John Hubbard, Humphrey Davy, and Samuel Mollay, together with the members of the council for the time being, were the commissioners.

‡ "Mr. Randolph yet waits to get the country better qualified for his reception. By a letter which he wrote to one of Boston, in the west, who was so ingenious as to send the very original to us, we perceive great things are upon the wheel, relating to us, in his airy fancy. They were such as not to be committed to paper, but to be communicated in the safer way of private discourse." *Bulfinch's letter to Bradford, 1679.*

|| William Dyre, at the same time, called himself surveyor and searcher general. I suppose this was the beginning of the office of surveyor general, his commission

the general court, and desired he might be aided in the execution of his office with their countenance and authority ; but no notice being taken of his application, he set up an advertisement in the town house, to acquaint all persons concerned that an office was erected, &c. This, he said, was taken down by the marshal, by order of the general court or some of the members ; he therefore in a letter to the governor demands the final resolution of the court, whether they will admit the said patent to be in force or not, that he might know how to govern himself. There is no record of any resolution of the court herein. During these distresses of the colony there were two parties subsisting in the government, both of them agreed in the importance of the charter privileges, but differing in opinion upon the extent of them, and upon the proper measures to preserve them. The governor (Mr. Bradstreet) was at the head of the moderate party. Randolph in all his letters takes notice of it. The governor's son in a letter from New-London, April 1681, writes, " As to what you say
 " about the change some people expect this election, so
 " far as it concerns yourself it may be an advantage. Bet-
 " ter the ruin, if it must be so, under other hands than yours.
 " Time will make it appear who have been the faithful
 " and wise conservators of New-England's liberties ; and
 " that the adored saviours of our interests, many of them,
 " have consulted very ill the interest espoused by them." Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Dudley, and William Brown of Salem, these fell in with the governor. The deputy governor (Mr. Danforth) was at the head of the other party : the principal members of the court with him were Major Gookins of Cambridge, Peter Tilton of Hadley, Elisha Cooke and Elisha Hutchinson of Boston. This party opposed the sending over agents, the submitting to acts of trade, &c. and were for adhering to their charter according to their construction of it, and leaving the event. Gookins, being aged, desired a paper he drew up as his dying testimony might be lodged with the court, containing the reasons of his opinion. He was a very zealous, but an up-
 right,

mission extending to New-York ; but the powers and duties of these offices were not then fully settled. Randolph did not choose to acknowledge himself Dyre's inferior, or subject to his controul.

right, man, and acted from principle. He seems to have been the only magistrate who a few years before opposed the people in their rage against the Indians, friends and enemies without distinction ; and exposed himself to the reproaches of his brethren in the magistracy upon the bench, as well as to hootings and offensive language from the populace as he passed the streets. Tilton was one of the most rigid, and was concerned in a paper, published about that time, representing the great apostacy both of magistrates and ministers.

In 1680* a letter had been received, under the King's sign manual, charging the colony with neglecting to send over other agents in the room of those who had obtained leave to return, and requiring that they be sent in three months after the receipt of the letter, and that they come prepared to answer the claim which Mason had made to the lands between Naumkeag and Merrimack. Immediately upon the receipt of this letter, the court chose two agents, Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Nowell ; and instructions were

* Lord Culpeper, governor of Virginia, came to Boston the 24th of August this year, in his return to England.

It appears by the records, that the hon. George Russell (I suppose a younger brother to the celebrated Lord Russell) was in New-England in 1680, and presented with the freedom of the colony. Mr. Richard Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, returned this year, after many years absence, and was again chosen first assistant, and so the two succeeding years. He went back to England before 1683, and died at Hulme, April 29th, 1694. *MS. letter.* He left an estate in Yorkshire. Mr. Saltonstall was related to Mr. Hamden, who, like his ancestors, was a true friend to New-England. In a letter from Mr. Saltonstall's daughter, dated May, 1694, I find this little piece of English history : " The court is altered as well as other places ; Mr. H——n was to wait on master, and all looked very smooth. He asked him concerning the report he heard (this was a second time, not that mentioned in my other letter) ; he said, no, no, there was nothing in it, he did not intend to remove him. He kissed hands, and that night a new commission was granted to a young person under 30 years of age, who they say must go before all the grave judges. His virtues may be wrote in a little room, but not his vices. A few days after, the archbishop was sent to tell him how well he was esteemed ; but he growing into years might like his ease. If he would be Lord or Earl he should be either, or have any pension. To the first he answered, that he would die a country gentleman of an ancient family, as his was, and honour enough for him. For the second, he said, he should not take the King's money, and the King's servants want bread ; he always spake against giving pensions to others, and at such a time as this it was a great oppression. While he had a roll and can of beer, he would not take the King's money. It is wondered at by many, considering how useful he was in the year 88 and following—but enough of this."

I hope the friendship shewn by the family of Hamden to New-England will excuse my inserting this anecdote, although it has no relation to the affairs of the colony.

were drawn up, but both of them peremptorily refused to engage in the affair; Mr. Stoughton, notwithstanding the exceptions some had taken to his former conduct, being strongly urged to it. As for Mason's claim, it was looked upon as groundless and extravagant, and the court gave themselves but little concern about it, further than to observe, that if he had any pretence to the lands, his title would be fairly tried upon the spot, where by law and according to the opinion of the attorney and solicitor general, in 1677, it ought to be tried. After this, Randolph* brought to Boston the King's letter of October the 21st, 1681,† complaining, "that the collector had not been able to execute his office to any effect; that attachments had been brought against him and his officers for doing their duty; that he had been obliged to deposit money before he could bring an action against offenders; that appeals, in matters relating to the revenue, had been refused; and that they had seized into their hands the moiety of forfeitures belonging to his Majesty by law." It was therefore required, "that fit persons be sent over, without delay, to answer these complaints, with powers to submit to such regulations of government as his Majesty should think fit; that restitution be made of all monies levied from the officers; that they be encouraged in putting the acts of trade in execution, without charge, as in England; that an account be given of forfeitures received; and that appeals be allowed." The court denied the charge, and said, in their answer, "that Mr. Randolph was acknowledged collector, and his commission enrolled; that no suits had been countenanced against any officers, except where the subject had been unjustly vexed; that they knew of no forfeitures, except

* In April, 1681, Randolph set up a protest, on the exchange in Boston, against the acts of the court.

† "As for the large and particular account you are pleased to give me of the concerns of the country in general, yours was sent hither to me to my house by Mr. Randolph, where I have been for some weeks, and do intend to stay some weeks longer, so that I doubt Mr. Randolph, by whom I send this, will be gone ere I come to London; but, when I shall be there, I shall endeavour to inform myself the best I can, how matters do stand as to your colony, and shall do them the best service and friendly offices I can; and it will be very proper and advisable, that, upon Mr. Randolph's arrival, matters relating to the colony be settled, as that there be no further just complaints upon that account." *Sir George Downing's letter to Governor Bradstreet, East-Hadley, April 20, 1681.*

cept a fine upon a master of a ship for abusing the government; that they would encourage his officers, and require no deposit for the future; but as to admitting appeals, they hoped it would be further considered." However, the sending over agents could be no longer delayed. At a court called in Feb. 1681, when his majesty's letter by Mr. Randolph was read, they determined to come to the choice of agents. Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Dudley were chosen, the court being much divided. Mr. Stoughton again utterly refused, and Mr. Richards* was chosen in his stead. The design of taking away the charter became every day more and more evident. Agents empowered to submit to regulations of government, were, in other words, agents empowered to surrender their charter. However, the general court would have been glad to put a more favourable construction upon it, it being inconsistent with his Majesty's repeated declarations; and therefore they directed their agents not to do, or consent to, any thing that should violate or infringe the liberties and privileges granted by charter, or the government established thereby. A new matter of charge had been brought against them in England, viz. the coining money. This they excused, "it having began in the times of the late confusions, to prevent frauds in the pieces of eight, current among them; and if they had trespassed upon his Majesty's prerogative, it was through ignorance, and they humbly begged his pardon." The other points of exception were answered as before mentioned. The agents sailed May 31st. A public fast was appointed to be observed June 22d, through the colony, to pray for the preservation of their charter, and success to the agency. Randolph was in England not long after them, ready to disclose every thing the agents desired to conceal. The governor had desired him to do nothing to the prejudice of the colony. He promised, in his answer, that if they would make a full submission to his Majesty, he would endeavour to procure his Majesty's royal pardon, and the continuance of their privileges, so far as that they should have liberty of conscience and the free exercise

* Mr. Richards was a wealthy merchant, of a fair character, and one of the assistants.

exercise of their religion; and that no money should be raised without the consent of the people: for other matters, their agents were most proper to solicit.* The agents, in their first letters to the general court, acquainted them, "that his Majesty was greatly provoked by their so long neglecting to send agents, and they desired the court to consider whether it was best to hazard all, rather than satisfy his Majesty as to the mode of submission to the laws for regulating trade, since they seriously intended to submit to the substance." They had not then been heard before the council; but soon after, upon presenting the court's address, they were commanded to shew their powers and all their instructions, not publicly, but to Sir Lionel Jenkins, secretary of state; and it appearing, upon perusal, that they did not contain such powers as had been required, they were informed by Lord Radnor, that the council, nem. con. had agreed to report to his Majesty, that unless the agents speedily obtained such powers as might make them capable to satisfy in all points, a quo warranto should proceed. The agents represented the case of the colony as desperate, and left it to the court to determine whether it was most advisable to submit to his Majesty's pleasure, or to suffer a quo warranto to issue. Many cities had submitted. Bermudas† in the plantations, and the city of London, had refused; and quo warrantos had gone out, the determination of which might enable Massachusetts

* In Feb. 1681, Randolph exhibited to the Lords of the council articles of high misdemeanor against a faction of the general court sitting in Boston. viz. Thomas Dantorth, Daniel Cookins, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Samuel Nowell, Richards, Davy, Gedney, and Appleton, magistrates, and Fisher, Cooke, Brattle, Stoddard, Bathurst, Hathorne, Wait, Johnson, Hutchinson, Sprague, Oakes, Holbrook, Cushing, Hammond, and Pike, deputies.

† Bermudas was the second colony, for many years scarce deserving the name, Virginia being the first. The charter bears date the "29th June, in the 13th year of King James, 1614, by the name of the governor and company of the city of London for the plantation of the Somer Islands." This charter never was removed to the colony, as that of Massachusetts had been. The company continued to meet as a propriety in London. A governor, deputed by the company, with a council and assembly, exercised some degree of legislative power in the islands; but the governor and company in London had the power of making laws, not repugnant, &c. In 1663 a law was made by the company, that every vessel above five tons, built in the island without express leave of the company first had and obtained, should be forfeited and sold for the use of the company. The inhabitants made complaint of great oppression, and prayed for a dissolution of their charter; that a governor might be appointed by the crown, and the subjects governed as they were in Virginia and Barbados. *True relation of the illegal proceedings of the Somer islands company, &c.* 1678.

Massachusetts to judge what would be prudent for them to do.*

Upon receipt of these advices, it was made a question, not in the general court only, but amongst all the inhabitants, whether to surrender or not. The opinions of many of the ministers, and their arguments in support of them, were given in writing; and, in general, it was thought better to die by the hands of others, than by their own.† An address was agreed upon by the general court; another was prepared and sent through the colony, to be signed by the several inhabitants, which the agents were to present or not, as they thought proper; and they were instructed to deliver up the deeds for the province of Main, if required, and it would tend to preserve their charter, otherwise not; and they were to make no concessions of any privileges conferred upon the colony by the charter.

Cranfield, governor of New-Hampshire, being on a visit at Boston, advised to the agents waiting upon Lord Hide, and tendering him an acknowledgment of two thousand guineas for his Majesty's private service; and, at the same time, promised to represent the colony in a favourable light. The court agreed to the proposal, and shewed him the letter they wrote to the agents thereupon; but he, infamously, represented the colony as rogues and rebels, and made his game of them for making such an offer; and the agents complained of their being ridiculed for the sham put upon the country.‡ Upon the agents receiving this final resolution of the court, their business was at an end. It was immediately determined a quo warranto should go against the

* Randolph was incessant. June 14th, 1682, he writes to the Earl of Clarendon: "His Majesty's quo warranto against their charter, and sending for Thomas Danforth, and for Samuel Nowell, a late fanatic preacher and now a magistrate, and Daniel Fisher, Elisha Cooke, deputies, to attend and answer the articles of high misdemeanors, I have now exhibited against them in my papers sent Mr. Blaithwait, will make the whole faction tremble. If the party were considerable enough to revolt upon his Majesty's resolution to settle the plantation, their first work would be to call me to account for endeavouring openly the alteration of their constitution, which by their law is death."

† The clergy turned the scale for the last time. The balance which they had held from the beginning they were allowed to retain no longer.

‡ "Truly, sir, if you was here to see how we are ridiculed by our best friends at court for the sham Cranfield hath put upon you, it would grieve you. I will assure you, whatever letters he hath shewn you, his Majesty last night told my friend that he had represented us as disloyal rogues." *Dudley to Bradstreet, Feb. 1682.*

the charter, and that Randolph should be the messenger of death. The agents arrived at Boston the 23d of October, 1683; and the same week Randolph arrived * with the quo warranto, and a declaration from the King, that if the colony, before prosecution, would make full submission and entire resignation to his pleasure, he would regulate their charter for his service and their good, and with no further alterations than should be necessary for the support of his government there. Two hundred copies of the proceedings against the charter of London were sent at the same time, by advice of the privy council, to be dispersed through the province. The governor, and major part of the assistants, despairing of any success from a defence, passed the following vote: "The magistrates have voted, that
 "an humble address be sent to his Majesty by this ship,
 "declaring that, upon a serious consideration of his Majesty's gracious intimations in his former letters, and more
 "particularly in his late declaration that his pleasure and
 "purpose is only to regulate our charter in such a manner as
 "shall be for his service and the good of this his colony, and
 "without any other alteration than what is necessary for the
 "support of his government here, we will not presume to
 "contend with his Majesty in a course of law, but humbly
 "lay ourselves at his Majesty's feet, in a submission to his
 "pleasure so declared; and that we have resolved, by the
 "next opportunity, to send our agents, empowered to receive his Majesty's commands accordingly. And, for
 "saving a default for non-appearance upon the return of
 "the writ of quo warranto, that some meet person or persons be appointed and empowered, by letter of attorney,
 "to appear and make defence, until our agents may make
 "their appearance and submission, as above. The magistrates have passed this with reference to the consent of
 "their brethren the deputies hereto.

"15th Nov. 1683. EDWARD RAWSON, sec'ry."

This lay in the house, under consideration, a fortnight, and was then passed upon as follows: "Nov.

* The next day after Randolph arrived, a terrible fire happened in Boston, in the richest part of the town. Some of the people in their rage and jealousy supposed the town to be set on fire by his procurement. I find this insinuated in an interleaved almanack, and other manuscripts.

“ Nov. 30, 1683. The deputies consent not, but adhere to their former bills. WM. TORREY, Cler.”

Had this been made an act of the general court, it is doubtful whether the consequent administration of government would have been less arbitrary than it was upon the judgment against the charter; but, upon the revolution, they might have reassumed their charter, as Rhode-Island* and Connecticut did their respective charters, there having been no judgment against them.†

A letter of attorney was sent to Mr. Humphrys, to appear and answer for the province. Addressees were sent, one after another, but to no purpose. In September, a scire facias was received by Mr. Dudley, and communicated to the governor, who called a special court. The time for their appearance at Westminster was past before it was received in Boston.‡ No other answer, than another humble

* Rhode-Island made a full surrender of their charter, as appears by the following advertisement in the London gazette, Windsor, Sept. 13, 1674: “ His Majesty has graciously received the address of the colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations in New-England, humbly representing, that upon the signification of a writ of quo warranto against their charter, they had resolved in a general assembly not to stand suit with his Majesty, but wholly to submit to his royal pleasure themselves and their charter, whereof his Majesty has thought fit to accept the surrender.” The order in council to the attorney general to bring writs of quo warranto against Connecticut and Rhode-Island was dated July 15, 1685.

Connecticut had the offer of being annexed to Massachusetts or New-York. They prayed the continuance of their privileges; but if they must lose their charter, they chose to be annexed to Massachusetts. This was construed a surrender.

† However agreeable to law this distinction might be, yet equity does not seem to favour it. The charter of London was adjudged forfeited, upon a long argument of the greatest lawyers in the nation. The Massachusetts was decreed forfeited, upon default of appearance. Not only the charter of London, but all the charters in the King's dominions I suppose (unless Bermudas is an exception) whether surrendered or whether there had been judgment against them, were reassumed, except that of Massachusetts.

‡ The proceedings were in this form and order.

The first scire facias directed to the sheriff of Middlesex bore test 16th Ap. 36 Car. 2d. whereon a nihil returned.

Trin. 36 Car. 2d. an al. scir. fac. directed to the same sheriff, returned 2d June, 1683, whereon another nihil returned.

12th June, 36 Car. 2d. the agent for the company moved by his counsel for time to send to New-England for a letter of attorney under the corporation seal, to appear and plead to those scire facias's until Michaelmas term then next, when the court ordered Mr. Attorney should be attended therein to shew cause the last day of that term why the defendants should not have time to appear.

Mr. Attorney moved against that order, and had it in some part set aside, but waved it, and on hearing counsel of both sides it was ordered,

18th June 84. That judgment be entered up for his Majesty as of this term; but if defendants appear first day of next term, and plead to issue, so as to take notice

humble address, was attempted. The case was desperate, and judgment was entered up; copy of which was received by Mr. Rawson, July 2d, 1685.

Before any new government was settled, King Charles died. Mr. Blaithwait wrote to the governor,* and recommended the proclaiming King James, without delay. This was done, with great ceremony, in the high street in Boston (April 20th.)

There were all the symptoms, notwithstanding, of an expiring constitution. Several of the towns neglected to send their deputies in the year 1684. Little business was done at the court. The people, indeed, shewed some resentment against the magistrates, who had been forward for surrendering. Mr. Dudley, Richards and Brown were dropped; Cooke, Johnson and Hutchinson chose in their stead. Mr. Bradstreet, the governor,† Mr. Stoughton, Bulkley, Saltonstall and Gidney had fewer votes than usual. There seems to have been as much indifference in the legislature about public affairs in 1685, expecting every day to be superseded.

The election for 1686 was the 12th of May. Mr. Dudley being left out, Mr. Stoughton, from complaisance to him, refused to serve.‡

The 15th, the *Rose* frigate arrived from England, with a commission to Mr. Dudley, || as president, and divers others,

notice of a trial to be had the same term, then the said judgment by Mr. Attorney's consent to be set aside, otherwise the same to stand recorded.

On the first day of Michaelmas term following, the company's agent retained counsel to move, and brought several merchants to testify in the court of chancery, that in the time given it was impossible to have a letter of attorney returned from New-England; so, as they had not given time long enough to perform a matter, it was in effect giving no time at all, for a time not sufficient was equally fatal to no time given.

To which the then Lord Keeper replied, that no time ought at all to have been given, in regard that all corporations ought to have attorneys in court at all times to appear for them upon all occasions. And so set aside the order for time to appear and plead, and judgment was entered as in the copy.

* He said he did not write as to a government, the charter being vacated.

† The governor had 690 votes, Danforth had 631, for governor. MS.

‡ One Joseph Redknap died at Boston at the age of 110. He came over at 60, had been a wine cooper in London.

|| Mr. Dudley, when he found he could do his country no service in his agency, that he might not wholly lose his labour, took measures to serve himself, and had recommended himself to the court when he was in London. After his return, he kept up a friendly correspondence with Randolph, who warmly espoused his interest, and writes, July 18th, 84, to Col. Shrimpton—"No better
news

others, gentlemen of the council, to take upon them the administration of government. A copy of the commission was presented, and the following answer resolved upon by the court, nemine contradicente.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ We have perused what you left with us, as a true copy
 “ of his Majesty’s commission, shewed to us the 17th inst.
 “ empowering you for the governing of his Majesty’s sub-
 “ jects inhabiting this colony, and other places therein
 “ mentioned. You then applied to us, not as a governor
 “ and company, but (as you were pleased to term us) some
 “ of the principal gentlemen and chief inhabitants of the
 “ several towns of the Massachusetts, amongst other dis-
 “ course saying, it concerned us to consider what therein
 “ might be thought hard and uneasy ; upon perusal where-
 “ of, we find, as we conceive, First, That there is no cer-
 “ tain determinate rule for your administration of justice ;
 “ and that which is, seems to be too arbitrary. Secondly,
 “ That the subjects are abridged of their liberty, as Eng-
 “ lishmen, both in the matters of legislation and in laying
 “ of taxes ; and indeed the whole unquestioned privilege
 “ of the subject transferred upon yourselves, there not being
 “ the least mention of an assembly in the commission, and
 “ therefore we think it highly concerns you to consider
 “ whether such a commission be safe for you or us ; but if
 “ you are so satisfied therein, as that you hold yourselves
 “ obliged thereby, and do take upon you the government
 “ of this people, although we cannot give our assent thereto,
 “ yet

news could have come to me, than to hear Mr. Dudley, principally, was left out of the election ; the fitter man to serve his King and country in an honourable station, for they have declared him so.”—And again the 26th. “ I am extremely solicitous that Mr. Dudley might have the sole government of New-England, for no man better understands the constitution of your country, and hath more loyalty and respect to his Majesty’s affairs ; but I dare not openly appear in it, lest it be thought there is some private design in it ; but I am, upon all occasions, hinting his merit to his friends.”—But, however obnoxious Mr. Dudley had rendered himself, yet he was, with less reluctance, received as their chief ruler, at this time, from a general expectation, which had obtained, of Kirk’s being sent over to take the government. Their agent (Humphries) had advised them of the danger of it, and they expected something of the same tragedy he had been acting in the west of England. Mr. Rawson, in a letter to Hinkley, July 1685, writes, that “ Col. Kirke, whom his late Majesty appointed and designed to be our governor, is confirmed by his present Majesty, and is preparing to sail with two frigates, and may be expected in four or five weeks.” This was before his and Jeffries’s campaign, as King James called it, in the west ; but after the news of the tragedies there, Rawson writes—“ Our condition is awful.”

“ yet we hope we shall demean ourselves as true and loyal
 “ subjects to his Majesty, and humbly make our addresses
 “ unto God, and in due time to our gracious prince, for
 “ our relief. May 20th, 1686.

“ By order, EDW. RAWSON, Sec'ry.

“ These for Joseph Dudley, Esq. and the rest of the
 “ gentlemen named in his Majesty's commission.”

The court appointed a committee to take into their custody such papers as referred to the charter, and titles of land, by purchase from the Indians or otherwise, and ordered the secretary to deliver the same, and adjourned to the second Wednesday in October.

The 25th of May the president and council met, and his Majesty's commission was published.

New-Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, who were less obnoxious, and had been more pliant than Massachusetts, were all to be in like degree sufferers; although not included in Mr. Dudley's commission,* the execution was only respited a few months.

We have taken no notice of the affairs of New-Plymouth since the year 1676. Having conquered Philip's country of Mount-Hope, now Bristol, it was confirmed to that colony by King Charles. Massachusetts had applied for it. Mr. Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, died in 1680, Dec. 18th, and was succeeded by Thomas Hinkley, who continued until that colony was included in the same commission with Massachusetts, &c. It was agreed, that the grand council of Plymouth could confer no powers of government. They had nothing therefore to support them at New-Plymouth, but the King's approbation, from time to time, of their proceedings. It might then well be expected that they should act with great caution, to avoid giving offence. They had been amused from year to year, with assurances that the King would grant them a charter. Such an one as Connecticut had received they prayed for. The name of Massachusetts was odious. The governor kept upon good terms with Randolph,

* I find the following passage in a letter from Ireland, March 26th, 1684.
 “ Our last packet from England brings us news of two very loyal addresses to his Majesty, one from New-Plymouth and the other from Connecticut, which were both very graciously received; by which I suspect you, of the Massachusetts, are more whiggish, and your neighbours more torwigh, to express it in the

dolph, who engaged to do every thing in his power to obtain the charter.* They had orders to send over a copy of their patent, in order to form a new one, in which the Narraganset country was to be included; but, upon the quo warranto coming over to Massachusetts, Mr. Blaithwait wrote to the governor, Sept. 27th, 1683—"I must deal plainly with you. It is not probable any thing will be determined, in that behalf, until his Majesty do see an issue of proceedings in relation to the Massachusetts colony, and that upon regulating their charter, that colony be brought under such an actual dependence upon the crown as becomes his Majesty's subjects. From hence it will be, that your patent will receive its model; and although you may be assured of all you desire, yet it will be expected that, in acknowledgment of so great favours, such provisions may be inserted as are necessary for the maintenance of his Majesty's authority." After this, they could have no great reason to hope for success. However, they continued their pursuit, and in November, 1683, they forwarded another address, wherein they congratulated his Majesty upon his deliverance, in answer to their prayers they hoped, from the late horrid conspiracy;† and they had appointed the 15th instant for a day of solemn thanksgiving, for the salvation of his Majesty's royal person from that and other hellish conspiracies. They go on to pray his Majesty's favour in granting them a charter, having sent over a true copy of their patent from the council of Plymouth. Randolph writes to the governor of Plymouth, the fourth of March following, that he had presented the address, with the necessary amendments, to his Majesty in council; that it would be printed, was graciously received, and that they would find the benefit of it, in dispatch and settlement of their colony. Upon the death of King Charles they were distinguished by King James from the other colonies, by a letter under his sign manual,‡ acquainting them with his accession to the throne, the great things the parliament had done, the defeat of Argyle, and the landing at Monmouth, and the care taken to pre-

vent

* They sent over Mr. James Cudworth, as their agent, in 1681, to solicit their patent; but he died soon after his arrival.

† This must be the protestant plot.

‡ June 26th, 1685.

vent his success, all to prevent any false and malicious rumours that might be spread among his Majesty's subjects at that distance. An address was sent to the King, upon his accession, taking notice of the assurances they had received from his royal brother, and praying that his Majesty would fulfil them. This was the last effort. * Connecticut kept more silent, inactive and reserved, submitting when compelled to it, and reassuming their rights as soon as they had an opportunity for it. †

To avoid any interruption in relating the several steps taken for vacating the charter, we have passed over some events, the remembrance of which should be preserved.

The Indians at the eastward continued their hostilities after

* King Charles's grant, under his sign manual, of Philip's country, is in these words: "We have taken into our royal consideration, how that, by your loyalty and good conduct in that war, you have been the happy instruments to enlarge our dominions, and to bring that new territory of Mount-Hope into a more immediate dependence upon us: We are therefore graciously pleased to give and grant, and do hereby give and grant, unto you, the full and entire property of the said territory, or scope of land, commonly called Mount-Hope, containing, by common estimation, seven thousand acres, be the same more or less, for the sole and proper use and behoof of yourselves and the rest of our said colony of New-Plymouth, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our castle of Windsor in the county of Berks, yielding and paying, &c. seven beaver skins each and every year, &c."

This country of Mount-Hope, with several townships and parts of townships, always reputed part of the colony of New-Plymouth, by a new line, never until then conceived by any person whatsoever, was, in the year 1741, by commissioners from New-York, &c. determined to be within the bounds of Rhode-Island charter; and this determination, perhaps, for want of proper evidence, which might have been produced on the part of Massachusetts, was afterwards confirmed by his late Majesty in council.

In this and other controversies about boundaries, it has been the misfortune of the Massachusetts province to have been represented as too great and powerful a province; that his Majesty's small province of New-Hampshire, the small colony of Rhode-Island, were oppressed and borne down, &c.

† The condition of the dissenters in England, in the latter part of the reign of King Charles the second, had caused many of them to turn their thoughts again towards New-England. "Divers persons in England and Ireland, gentlemen, citizens and others, being inclined to remove themselves into foreign parts, where they may enjoy, without interruption, the public exercise of christian religion, according to what they apprehend of divine institution, have prevailed with Mr. Blackwell to make your country a visit, and inquire whether they may be there welcome, and whether they may reasonably expect that liberty they promise themselves, and others, who will attend their motion." *Letter from Dan. Cox to Gov. Bradstreet, London, Oct. 10, 1684.* The alteration which happened presently after, in the public affairs of the colony, was alone sufficient to discourage this emigration. At the same time, some of the protestants in France, after a relation of their miserable state in France, conclude a letter from Rochel, 1st October, 1684—"New-England, the country where you live, is in great esteem: I, and a great many other protestants, intend to go there. Tell us, if you please, what advantage we can have, and particularly the peasants, who are used to the plough. If somebody at your country would send a ship here to fetch over French protestants, he would make great gain."

after those at the westward were subdued and dispersed. In August, 1676, they surprised the house of Mr. Hammond, an ancient trader at Kennebeck, and from thence crossed over to Arowlick island, where there was a large house, with, what was there esteemed, a strong fort built round it, belonging to Major Clark and Capt. Lake,* two merchants of Boston, who owned the island and great part of the main land near to it. The Indians hid themselves in the night under the walls of the fort. When the centinel left his station at day-light, some of the Indians followed him in at the fort gate, whilst the rest ran to the port holes, and shot down every person they saw. Captain Lake, finding the Indians had possessed themselves of the fort, escaped, with Capt. Davis† and two others, at a back door, to the water side, intending to pass to another island near to Arowlick. Capt. Lake was killed just as he landed. His bones were, after some time, found and brought to Boston. Davis was wounded, but made his escape, as did the other two. At these two houses, fifty-three English were killed and taken. The news of this stroke broke up all the plantations at and near Kennebeck, the inhabitants transporting themselves to Piscataqua and Boston, or some other place of security. This brought the Indians further westward, to Casco, Spurwinck, Black-point, Wells, and Cape Nidduck, within the bounds of York ; at all which places they did more or less mischief. Mugg, a noted Indian, well known to the English,‡ was at the head of the enemy. The prisoners, by his means, were treated with more humanity and courtesy than had been known ; and he sent one or two of them to Piscataqua, in order to ransom their friends ; but the goods sent for their ransom were seized by other Indians. Mugg himself came to Piscataqua, and afterwards to Boston ; where, in behalf of Madockawando and Cheberrina, sachems of Penobscot, he entered into treaty with the governor and council, Nov. 13th, 1676. This was the first treaty with any of the Tarrateens, or eastern Indians. “ They promised to cease all acts of hostility ; to return the captives ; to do their

utmost

* Capt. Lake was the ancestor of the late Sir Bibie Lake.

† Davis was afterwards of the council for Massachusetts province.

‡ He had lived, from a child, in English families.

utmost to repair the damages sustained by the English ; to buy no powder or ammunition of any other than persons deputed by the governor, provided they could have a supply in that way ; and to account all other eastern Indians in the number of their enemies, who did not assent to the same covenant and agreement." No mention is made of any subjection to the government of the colony, or to the King of England ; but they are considered as a free, independent people. The treaty is at large in Mr. Hubbard's history of the war. The Indians continued, notwithstanding, to do mischief on the eastern frontier in 1677 ; when Major Andros, by virtue of his commission from the Duke of York, having placed forces at Pemaquid, the Indians made overtures of peace and friendship ; and, as a proof of their sincerity, brought in 15 English captives, and they continued for some time quiet. An attack was made upon the western frontiers, by 40 or 50 Indians, said to be river Indians,* but whether Connecticut or Hudson's river is not mentioned. This was the 19th of September, 1677. They surprised many of Hatfield, as they were raising a house, and unarmed, and killed and carried away about twenty, and the next day took three or four more from Deerfield.

By the advice of the governor of New-York, commissioners were sent, about this time, from Massachusetts and Connecticut, to the Maquas, to secure their friendship to the English interest in general, and to engage them against the Tarrateens, or eastern Indians, who had been their ancient enemies. I suppose this was the first treaty † between the Mohawks, or Five Nations, and the Massachusetts colony.‡

In

* The Indians which originally belonged to Connecticut river, after Philip's war, removed to a place called Scatacook, and were known by the name of Scatacook Indians ; and when there have been treaties with the Six Nations, more or less of these Indians have generally been present. They proved a heavy scourge to the county of Hamphshire, joining with the French and Canada Indians, and sufficiently revenged themselves of the English. Being well acquainted with most of the houses upon Connecticut river for 40 years before their removal, they served as pilots in the frequent invasions during King William's and Queen Ann's wars.

† Pyncheon and Richards were sent to Albany in 1677, in order to demand the delivery of some eastern Indians among the Mohawks ; but governor Andros persuaded them to desist.

‡ In 1680, the people were greatly surprised with the appearance of a comet first discovered the 18th of November, and visible the 10th of February ; after which, for

In the year 1685, Mr. Hinkley, governor of Plymouth, sent to the corporation in England an account of the praying Indians then in that colony. They amounted to 1439, besides boys and girls under 12 years old, which were supposed to be more than three times that number.*

a few days it could be discerned by telescopes. "Dec. 16th, its appearance is very terrible; for, though the head be small, yet the tail is near 30 deg. in length, and ascends almost to our zenith, growing continually broader, and is brightest on the sides, especially the fourth, the middle being considerably darker than the sides." *Interleaved Almanack.*

Aug. 17th, 1682, another comet appeared, and continued until the 15th of September: "The head or star much bigger than that of 1680, and of a dim colour, though the coma, or blaze, was much smaller, not even above 15 deg. in length." *Idem.* It was the general opinion, that any unusual appearances in the heavens were prefaces of calamities coming upon the world.

Nov. 27, 1676, A fire broke out in Boston about 5 in the morning, at one Wakefield's house, by the Red Lion, by a candle carelessly set, which so prevailed, that it burnt down about 45 dwelling houses, the north meeting-house, and several warehouses; the wind was at south-east when it began, and blew hard; soon after, it veered south, and brought so much rain as much prevented further mischief, without which, all that end of the town had probably been laid in ashes, and Charlestown also endangered, by the flakes of fire which were carried over the river." *Id.*

"Aug. 8, 1679, about midnight, a terrible fire began at one Gross's house, the sign of the three mariners, near the dock, in Boston. All the warehouses, and a great number of dwelling houses, with vessels then in the dock, were consumed. It continued till near noon the next day; the most woful desolation that Boston ever saw; eighty odd dwelling-houses and seventy odd warehouses, with several vessels and their lading, consumed to ashes. The whole loss computed to be two hundred thousand pounds." *Id.*

* The particular places where these Indians then lived, were,

| | |
|--|------|
| At Pawmet, Billingsgate and Latham or Naufet | 264 |
| At Manamoyet | 115 |
| At Sackatucket and Nobscusset | 121 |
| At Matakeesee | 70 |
| At Skarnton or Scanton | 51 |
| At Malthpee | 141 |
| At Sucanesset | 72 |
| At Monamet | 110 |
| At Saltwater pond | 90 |
| At Namasket and Titicut | 70 |
| At Namatakeeset | 40 |
| At Moxisset | 85 |
| At Cookit | 120 |
| At Seconet | 90 |
| | 1439 |

C H A P. III.

*From the Dissolution of the Charter of the Colony, in 1686,
until the Arrival of the Province Charter in 1692.*

MR. Dudley's short administration was not very grievous.* The house of deputies, indeed, was entirely laid aside; but the people, the time being short, felt little or no effect from the change.

Mr. Dudley, having made Randolph trumpeter of his attachment to the prerogative, and answered his ends, soon after

* "I have forbore writing to your grace, until I have been some time in the place, to see how the people here would demean themselves under this new government. At my first arrival, I met with outward expressions of joy and satisfaction, and many seemed well pleased at the change, having been struck with a panic fear, upon the apprehensions of Col. Kirk's coming hither to be their governor; but finding a commission directed to a gentleman among themselves, the then governor and company, growing hardy, began, by their ministers, to tempt Mr. Dudley not to accept of his Majesty's commission to be president, hoping thereby to continue the government amongst themselves; but that failing them, they adjourned the meeting of their general assembly to the 2d of October next, and broke up with hopes, that, either by some unhappy accidents in the affairs of state at home, or some dissention raised by their artifices among the members in this new government, they might prevail so far as to dissolve this constitution, and reassume the government, which to accomplish, they are very solicitous.—Of a president and 18 members of the council, there is only myself, since Mr. Mason's departure for England, that is of the church of England. It was never intended that the charge should be supported by myself and some few others of our communion. I humbly represent to your Grace, that the three meeting-houses in Boston might pay twenty shillings a week each out of their contributions, towards defraying of our church charges, that sum being less per annum than each of their ministers receive. Thus much relating to the affairs of our church. That of our state little differs. Most part of our chief officers, as justices of peace, &c. are congregational men; not above three church of England men are officers in the militia; so that, in the main, I can only assure your grace, that the persons only, and not the government, is changed." *Rand. letter to Abp. of Cant.*

Mr. Dudley's commission made him president of the council for Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire and Main, and the Narraganset country, or King's province; William Stoughton was named deputy president; Simon Bradstreet, Robert Mason, John Fitz Winthrop, John Pyncheon, Peter Bulkley, Edward Randolph, Wait Winthrop, Richard Wharton, John Usher, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Bartholomew Gidney, Jonathan Tyng, Dudley Bradstreet, John Hinks and Edward Tyng, were named of the council, not by separate warrants or by mandamus, but all in one commission.

Besides the president, Stoughton, Bulkley, Pyncheon, Gidney and Tyng had been of the assistants before. N. Saltonstall, who was also in the commission, appeared once to excuse himself, having a few days before taken the oath of assistant. The governor, Mr. Bradstreet, was also named; and the president, with the council, waited upon him at his house, the 14th of May, immediately upon opening the commission; but he made several excuses, and did not accept. His son, Dudley Bradstreet, also refused.

after grew cool towards him. Randolph in return vilified Dudley, in a great number of letters he wrote to London about a month after his arrival, which letters, or the copies, are preserved.* Mr. Stoughton was Mr. Dudley's chief confidant. He was not suspected by the body of the people of being unfriendly, or of want of strong attachment to the religious principles and to the ecclesiastical constitution of the country; and his compliance, in taking a share in the administration, was charitably supposed to be, at least in part, for the sake of keeping out oppressors and tyrants. Mr. Dudley professed as great an attachment to the interest of the colony as Mr. Stoughton, and was very desirous of retaining their favour. A letter, the day he demanded the government, to Mr. Mather, then the minister of the greatest influence in the colony, is a proof of it.† The people were not so charitable as to believe him sincere. However, there was no molestation to the churches of the colony, but they continued both worship and discipline as before. The affairs of the towns were likewise managed in the same manner as formerly.

Their courts of justice were continued upon the former plan, Mr. Stoughton being at the head of them. Trials were by juries, as usual. Even in the court of admiralty, the trials were by juries; but, as the jurors were returned by

* Randolph writes to one of the nobility, by Mr. Dudley; when he went to England agent for the colony, "Major Dudley is a great opposer of the faction against which I have now articulated to his Majesty." October 27, 1686, he writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "I have taken care to inform myself how the money sent over here for evangelizing the Indians is disposed of. Here are seven persons, called commissioners, or trustees, who have the sole management of it; the chief of which are, Mr. Dudley, our president, a man of a base, servile, and antimonarchical principle; Mr. Stoughton, of the old leaven; Mr. Richards, a man not to be trusted in public business; Mr. Hinkley, a rigid independant; and others like to these," &c.

† "Reverend and dear Sir,

"I rose this morning with full intention to wait on you by eight of the clock, before I had your letter to put me forward, and am sorry to find you from home. I am very solicitous, whatsoever be the issue of the present hurry, for my dear mother at Cambridge, and cannot be happy if it do not flourish. I never wanted your favour and advice so much as now, and would pray an opportunity with you this evening if possible. Sir, for the things of my soul I have these many years hung upon your lips, and ever shall, and in civil things am desirous you may know with all plainness my reasons of procedure, and that they may be satisfactory to you.

I am,

"From your own house,

Sir, your servant,

"May 17th, 86.

J. DUDLEY."

by the marshal, very different verdicts were given from what would have been given under the former administration. The president, as ordinary, took all matters of wills and administrations into his own hand. In general, the former laws and established customs, so far as related to judicial proceedings, seem to have been their rule, although the government which framed them was dissolved. Mr. Dudley considered himself as appointed to preserve the affairs of the colony from confusion until a governor arrived, and a rule of administration should be more fully settled. The necessity of the thing justified the former magistrates in continuing, so long as they did, to exercise authority, although the judgment against the charter had been declared in form; otherwise, under the same administration in England, which had caused their charter to be vacated, they would undoubtedly have been called to answer. But their authority was weak. Mr. Dudley writes to his friend Randolph, Sept. 1685, "I suppose it cannot be thought expedient or safe to let the government here be at such strange uncertainties, as it must needs be, until his Majesty's pleasure be known."

Connecticut, Plymouth and Rhode-Island continued their former administration. Mr. Dudley had some dispute with Plymouth governor concerning the admiralty jurisdiction, which he claimed as vice-admiral of New-England, but it remained undetermined.

December 19, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros arrived at Nantasket, in the *Kingfisher*, a fifty gun ship, with commissions from King James for the government of New-England. He was less dreaded than Kirk, but he was known to be of an arbitrary disposition. He kept a correspondence with the colony, whilst he was governor of New-York. His letters, then, discovered much of the dictator. The depressed state of the colony prevented a proper return. He landed at Boston the 20th, and his commission was published the same day.

The beginning of his administration gave great encouragement. He made high professions of regard to the public good and the welfare of the people, both of merchants and planters; directed the judges to administer justice according

cording to the custom of the place ; ordered the former established rules to be observed as to rates and taxes, and that all the colony laws not inconsistent with his commission should be in force.

The major part of his council were men, who, although they had been of the moderate party, yet they wished the public interest, and would have been glad to have continued under the old form of government. With a good share of firmness of mind they might have been serviceable so long as they were permitted to hold their places in council. But their behaviour under the old charter discovered they had more of the willow than of the oak in their constitutions. Perhaps if they had been less pliable they would have soon been displaced, and others more inclined to oppression appointed in their stead.* Sir Edmund had no affection for them. Palmer, Brockholt, Mason, Usher, and Randolph, of the council, together with West, Bullivant, Graham † and others, who were not of the council, were his confidants and advisers. Soon after his arrival, there appears, by some loose minutes, to have been a pretty full meeting of the council. Many of them returned home, and a few only who lived at or near Boston attended constantly, and some of those complained that the governor had always three or four of his creatures to say yes to every thing he proposed, after which no opposition was allowed.

* There are no public records from the dissolution of the old charter government in 1686, until the restoration of it in 1689. If there was any book of records, it was secreted or destroyed. I cannot find, upon any of the files, a list of Sir Edmund's council. By accident, I met with a list of their names upon a defensive leaf of an old colony law book, which list I suppose to be genuine, viz.

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|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Mas. Joseph Dudley | M. Richard Wharton | P. Nath. Clark |
| M. Will. Stoughton | N. Y. Henry Courtland | John Cothill |
| N. Ham. Robert Mason | M. John Usher | R. Walter Newberry |
| N. Y. Anth. Brockholt | M. Barth. Gidney | R. John Greene |
| Plym. Tho. Hinkley | M. Jon. Tyng | R. Richard Arnold |
| R. I. Walter Clark | N. H. John Hinks | R. John Alborow |
| Con. Robert Treat | M. Edward Tyng | M. Sam. Shrimpton |
| C. John Fitz Winthrop | P. Barnabas Lothrop | N. Y. John Young |
| N. Y. Francis Nicholson | P. Wm. Bradford | N. Y. Nich. Bayard |
| N. Y. Frederick Philipse | P. Daniel Smith | N. Y. John Palmer |
| N. Y. Anthony Baxter | Edwd. Randolph | M. Wm. Brown |
| M. John Pinchon | P. John Sprague | R. Richd. Smith |
| C. Wait Winthrop | P. John Walley | C. John Allin. |

† Jacob Leisler writes to Mr. Bradstreet, after the revolution, that " Col. Dongan, in his time, had erected a Jesuit's college at New-York, under colour of a grammar school, and that Palmer and Graham sent their sons thither for education." Douglass says that " Sir Edmund Andros was a bigotted papist." I have met with no evidence of it.

allowed.* Nero concealed his tyrannical disposition more years than Sir Edmund and his creatures did months. It was not long before the case of some who apprehended themselves oppressed came under consideration; one of the council [Dudley] told them that they must not think the privileges of Englishmen would follow them to the end of the world. This gave an alarm through the government, and it was never forgotten.

One of the first acts of power, after the change of government, was the restraint of the press, Randolph was the licenser. There was not so much room to complain of this proceeding as if the press had been at liberty before. It only changed its keeper, having been long under restraint during the former administration. A restraint upon marriages was more grievous. None were allowed to marry except they entered into bonds with sureties to the governor, to be forfeited in case there should afterwards appear to have been any lawful impediment. Magistrates still continued to join people in matrimony. Other provision could not immediately be made. There was but one episcopal minister in the country; his name was Ratcliffe. Sir Edmund considered the congregational ministers as mere laymen. Randolph wrote to the bishop of London, "I press for able and sober ministers, and we
" will contribute largely to their maintenance; but one
" thing will mainly help, when no marriages shall hereafter
" be allowed lawful but such as are made by the ministers
" of the church of England,"

There had been very few instances of even occasional assemblies for religious worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England for more than fifty years. When the commissioners from King Charles were at Boston, in 1665, they had a chaplain with them, but there was no house for public worship. Most of the inhabitants who were upon the stage in 1686 had never seen a church of England assembly. About that time, a small number of persons formed themselves into a society, which
had

* Randolph to Blithwait, May 21, 1687. "His Excellency has to do with a
" perverse people. Here is none of the council at hand, except Mr Mason and
" myself, Mr. Brockholt and Mr. Usher, who appear lively for his Majesty's in-
" terest."

had increased, if we may give credit to Randolph, in 1686, to near 400 persons.* The agents in England, and the general court, in their answers to the complaints against them in 1677, had declared that no persons should be hindered from performing divine service according to the church of England.† This was enough to prevent any open discouragement, even whilst the charter government continued. When the governor and many of the council were members of the church of England, it might well be expected that they would countenance and encourage the establishment and growth of that church. They did not stop there. The people were menaced that their meeting-houses should be taken from them, and that public worship in the congregational way should not be tolerated.‡ Randolph had the insolence to reprove and threaten the governor of Plymouth for exacting taxes from the quakers for the support of the ministry in that colony before the authority was superseded.§ But it was not long before the people

* "I have some time since humbly represented unto your Grace a necessity of having a church built in Boston, to receive those of the church of England. We have at present near 400 persons who are daily frequenters of our church, and as many more would come over to us, but some being tradesmen, and others of mechanic professions, are threatened by the congregational men to be arrested by their creditors, or to be turned out of their work, if they offer to come to our church." *Rand. letter to Abp. of Cant. Oct. 27, 1686.*

+ "A dispute happened at the grave of one Lilly. He left the ordering of his funeral to his executors. They forbid Mr. Ratcliffe, the episcopal minister, performing the service for burial. Nevertheless he began. Deacon Frairey interrupted him, and a stop was put to his proceeding. Frairey was complained of, and besides being bound to his good behaviour for twelve months, it was thought the process would cost him 100 marks." *J. Moody's letter to Mather. 8. Feb. 88.*

‡ Among other complaints against Sir Edmund, this was one, "That the service of the church of England had been forced into their meeting-houses." This was an equivocal expression. Sir Edmund had made use of a meeting-house for the church service, against the wills of the proprietors, but after their service was over, and compelled no congregationalist to join with him. Indeed, he threatened to shut up the doors if he was refused, and to punish any man who gave two pence towards the support of a nonconformist minister. *Narrative, &c.*

§ "Perhaps it will be as reasonable to move that your colony should be rated to pay our minister of the church of England, who now preaches in Boston, and you hear him not, as to make the quakers pay in your colony." *Rand. letter to Hinkley, June 22d, 1686.* The late governor of Plymouth, Mr. Hinkley, complained of this, as one great grievance, that not being allowed to make rates for the support of the ministry, the people would sink into barbarism. Sir Edmund writes to him, March 5, 1687: "I am very much surprised you should issue forth so extraordinary a warrant as is now brought to me, under your hand and seal, dated the 12th of December past, so much mistaken and assuming (for payment of your minister) extrajudicially to command distress to be made on the goods of his Majesty's subjects. Out of regard to you, I have put a stop to the execution thereof, that neither the constable nor you may be exposed.

" Hoping

people were freed from their fears of persecution, by King James's proclamation for a general toleration. The design was seen by some, but the greater part swallowed the bait. Several churches had agreed to set apart days of thanksgiving for his Majesty's gracious declaration for liberty of conscience. The governor forbade them. The reason is not mentioned. It must be supposed to have been this, that he looked upon it to be the royal prerogative to appoint such days. He told them they should meet at their peril, and that he would send soldiers to guard their meeting-houses. Many congregations agreed to address the King. Some persons, who supposed popery to be at the bottom, strongly opposed the addresses. The late deputy governor was at the head of them.*

Swearing by the book, which had never been practised, was now introduced; and such as scrupled it were fined and imprisoned.

The fees to all officers under the charter had been very low. They are generally so where they are established by the people. Under the new administration they were exorbitant. Fifty shillings was the common fee for probate of a will. The governor was supreme ordinary, and acted by himself,† except a few months whilst he was at New-York and in the eastern country, when Mr. Dudley was his

"Hoping you will be mindful of the station you are in, for his Majesty's service, and the quiet of his subjects, that they be not amused or troubled by mistaken notions, or clandestine illegal practices," &c. Mr. Willard writes to Mr. Mather, July 10, 1688. "Discouragements upon the hearts of the ministers increase, by reason that a licentious people take the advantage of a liberty to withhold maintenance from them."

* "Referring to an address to his Majesty, I do humbly propound and desire, that no mention be made of the proclamation for a general toleration. There will be no need of touching upon it in the least, and I am assured many dangerous rocks will be shunned thereby. For my own part, I do more dread the consequences thereof than the execution of those penal laws, the only wall against popery. We may, without breach of charity, conclude the popish counsels are laid deep. Time will show more. God Almighty bring them to nought." *Danforth to Mather*, 3. Nov. 87.

Douglass says, "They were not politicians sufficient to penetrate into the wicked and pernicious contrivance of that toleration." V. I. p. 410.

† He introduced the forms used in the spiritual courts, in proving wills, granting administrations, &c. which forms have been retained in the several counties ever since. Before his time, both probates of wills and granting administrations, in point of form, were very loose and uncertain.

his deputy.* It was a great burthen upon widows and children, who lived remote, to be obliged to come to Boston for every part of business relative to the settlements of estates. The fees of all other officers were complained of as oppressive. The harpies themselves quarrelled about their share of the prey. Randolph, who, from his commission of secretary, expected all the clerkships in the country, complains that West, who seems at first to have been a deputy only, ran away with a thousand a year of his dues.†

But the greatest profit arose from patents for lands. The charter being vacated, the people were told that their titles to their estates were of no value. The expression in vogue was, that "the calf died in the cow's belly." Besides, the general court had not made their grants under the seal of the colony. This was represented as a notable defect, which possession and improvement could not heal. However, it was made public, that all who would acknowledge the insufficiency of their title derived from the former government, by petitioning for new patents should be quieted upon reasonable terms. The fees for the patents varied according to circumstances both of persons and estates. In the complaint to King James it is alledged, that the fees of some amounted to fifty pounds. Prudence was used. Men's titles were not questioned all at once. Had this been the case, according to the computation then

made,

* There was a commission or deputation to Mr. Hinkley, to be judge of the prerogative court for Plymouth colony, and I suppose others to Connecticut, Rhode-Island and New-Hampshire; but wills were sent to Boston for final probate, and in like manner administrations, if the estate exceeded 50*l*. *Hinkley to Blaikwait.*

† Randolph farmed his office to West, which caused the last mentioned to exact much greater fees than the former had done. *Hinkley's letter to Blaikwait, June 23, 1687.*

Randolph's own letters shew this to have been the case. "West extorts what fees he pleases, to the great oppression of the people, and renders the present government grievous. I have wrote you the want we have of two or three honest attornies, if any such thing in nature. We have but two, one is Mr. West's creature, came with him from New-York, and drives all before him; he also takes extravagant fees, and for want of more the country cannot avoid coming to him. I have wrote Mr. Blaikwait the great necessity of judges from England. I know there are some loyal gentlemen and able lawyers who have not practice. The judges with us, being now three, have three hundred and ninety pounds a year between them all, besides their fees, which they make very considerable to them. Now two will serve our occasions. They ought to be of the council, and their salaries made up four hundred pounds a year apiece; they well deserve it." *Randolph to Povey, Jan. 24, 1687.*

made, all the personal estate in the colony would not have paid the charge of the new patents. Some that had been most attached to the old administration were among the first who were threatened. I find a petition of Samuel Sewall, who had been a magistrate (afterwards chief justice) for confirmation of his title to a valuable island in Boston harbour (Hog-island.) In a letter to a friend, a short time after, he laments his compliance. There are many hundred petitions of the same kind upon the files. Some favourites looked with an envious eye upon some of the best estates, especially where the property was in a town or company. A petition of Capt. Hutchinson and others laboured, although their title was originally derived from the Indian sachems and proprietors, and the lands had been long possessed and improved. One of the best islands in New-England, in Plymouth harbour, called Clark's island, from the name of the person who first landed there, had been appropriated for the benefit of the poor of the town. This was granted to Nathaniel Clark, who had been secretary of that colony, and was afterwards of Sir Edmund's council, and one of his greatest tools.* Randolph petitioned for half an acre of land, to be taken out of the common in Boston, for a house lot. The answer given to it does not appear. In the latter part of the administration petitions multiplied greatly, and property became every day more and more precarious.† This was not the only

invasion

* "Awful and considerable changes have attended poor Plymouth since your departure from the Gurnet, by reason of the motions about Clark's island. The committee chosen about that affair, were at so much charge as necessitated our people to engage, by free and voluntary subscriptions, to reimburse them, and to vote the securing some lands till the money was paid to them. For this, Lorkin tetches the committee with a writ, charging that they had resolved and raised money upon his Majesty's subjects, contrary to law; and the town clerk, godly deacon Fance, for calling for the vote, and Mr. Wiswall, for writing the paper, paid three pounds seven shillings each, besides expenses, and all nine are bound over to the superior court at Boston, where they are like to be considerably fined, besides all costs of court, &c." *J. Cotton's letter to Mather, Plymouth, July 9, 1688.*

† I find the following letter on this subject, from the late governor to a person of note.

"Honoured Sir,

"I have been so interrupted since you was here, that I have not begun any matter of argument to prove our right and title to our lands, nor can it well be done, until all their objections be known, nor do I think I can add any thing which is not in your own thoughts. The brief heads that are in my present thoughts are as followeth. 1st. The grant of the council of Plymouth to the six gentlemen

invasion of their property. The governor, with four or five of his council, laid what taxes they thought proper. This the people complained of as their greatest grievance. They thought themselves entitled to the liberties and immunities of free and natural born English subjects, and that consequently no monies ought to be raised from them but by their representatives. They had no hopes of a restitution of their charter privileges in general, but they hoped that even under so arbitrary a Prince they should be allowed a house of representatives.* This was among the first things they applied for. King James assured their agent, he would take as much care of New as of Old England; and no doubt he intended to bring his subjects in both under the same regulation. The charges of government, over and above the fees of the several officers, were not excessive.

gentlemen and their associates. 2dly. The King's confirmation to them and twenty more, and their assigns, empowering them in general court, to dispose of the lands to the best advantage of the people and plantation; which we have done, and know not how to do it better if it was to be done again. A second right and title is our purchase from the Indians of their right, which certainly was something. 3dly. Our possession and improvement for almost sixty years. If this will not give right to land in a wilderness where neither the King nor any christian had ever any property, I know not what will. The only objection insisted upon that I hear of, is, that our lands were not granted under the seal of the company. Ans. Nor was it necessary that so it should be. 1st. Our patent doth not require it, but leaves the manner of disposing to our liberty; nor is there any law of England that requires us here, in this case, to grant lands under the seal of the company, nor is it necessary for proprietors of lands in England so to do. It is true, where land is conveyed by deed, a seal is essential; but it may be done as well by livery and seizure, without the deed or other writing, as the law book tells us: And copyholders in England have no other evidence for their lands but the court roll, or a copy of it. When William the conqueror made himself master of the land, he gave a great part of it to his nobles and followers, but without any seal, for there was none used in England many scores if not hundreds of years after, which shews it is no strange thing to convey land without seal. And if there should have been an error or omission, yet seeing the grantor and grantees judged it good and rested satisfied therein, who shall question it, or hath any thing to do with it? I am,

Sir, your willing servant in what may, S. B.'s

"In point of equity—Our great sufferings, first and last, and loss of so many lives to maintain our own right and the King's interest, and the vast charge we have been at in private and public buildings and improvements, ought to have a just consideration. Would it not seem a strange thing, that a piece of ground in the wilderness, not worth five shillings, but by buildings, &c. worth five hundred pounds, should become the King's, I know not how? We may be sure so just a prince will never allow it."

* "Let me advise not to represent any thing by way of complaint to his Majesty, for that, I fear, will do us more hurt than good. My letter by Belcher may be of use, to shew our friends why we supplicate his Majesty to confirm us in our possessions, and to grant us the same privileges which other of his plantations are not denied, viz. a general assembly, without which our condition is little inferior to absolute slavery." *Danforth to Nowell, 22d Octo. 88.*

five. Under the charter the salaries were below the dignity of the offices, the highest allowance to the governor not exceeding one hundred pounds per annum. What salary Sir Edmund received does not appear. The second year of his administration the public charge was greatly increased by a war with the Indians. There was a general submission to the taxes, and the assessments were proportioned upon the inhabitants of the towns by officers chosen by themselves. It is probable this was the reason of continuing to the towns some of their privileges. Every town was suffered to meet once a year to choose their officers, but all meetings at other times or for other purposes were strictly forbidden. An entire new model of government was intended, but there was not time to perfect it. There are minutes of a great number of bills passed the council and approved by the governor, but the bills themselves are lost. The old laws of the colony seem to have continued the rule for the administration of justice, except where they were superseded by any new edicts. Mr. Dudley and Mr. Stoughton were two of the judges of the superior court, and neither of them disposed to go to the extremes which some others of the council wished for.* The law proceedings were more formal than they had been.

The monies applied for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians amounted to six or seven hundred pounds sterling per annum, which continued to be entrusted with some of the old magistrates and ministers. Mr. Boyle, † who had been long governor of the corporation in England, was a very moderate churchman; and most of the members were dissenters or favourers of the cause. The archbishop of Canterbury promised Randolph‡ that

* "His excellency tries all ways to bring the people to quit rents.——A little time will try what our new judges, Dudley and Stoughton, will say, when either Indian purchases or grants from the general court are questioned before them." *Randolph's letter to Povey, May 21, 1687.*

† Mr. Boyle died in 1692, and was succeeded by Mr. Thompson.

‡ "The poor Indians (these who are called ministers) come and complain to Mr. Ratcliffe, our minister, that they have nothing allowed them. We have spoken to the commissioners to have some allowance for them. All we can get is the promise of a coarse coat against winter; and they would not suffer Aaron, an Indian preacher, who can read English very well, to have a bible with the common prayer in it, but took it away from him. I humbly presume to remind
your

a commission should be directed to some persons to audit and report the accounts of that money. The legality of such a commission, it being contrary to the charter of the corporation, might have been questioned perhaps with as good reason as the legality of the royal order, which his grace and the six bishops soon after very justly refused to obey. One would think that merely a difference of place should not make the same measure towards English subjects appear reasonable in the one case, and arbitrary and oppressive in the other. The archbishop either altered his sentiments, or was diverted by greater affairs from pursuing his design.

The Indians upon the frontiers, in the summer of 1688, renewed their hostilities. A garrison had been kept at Pemaquid, but it was no security to the scattered settlements upon the frontiers. The governor, from a prejudice against the late administration, by whom, without sufficient grounds for it, he supposed the Indians had been treated with too great severity, if not injustice, resolved to try mild measures, and endeavour to win them by good words and small courtesies. Randolph writes to William Penn, Nov. 9, 1688, "This barbarous people, the Indians, were never civilly treated by the late government, who made it their business to encroach upon their lands, and by degrees to drive them out of all. That was the grounds and the beginning of the last war. His excellency has all along taken other measures with them. I hope the proclamation, and the Indians' confidence in the governor's favour to such as shall submit, may put a stop to their present rage." Castine, a Frenchman who lived among the Indians at Penobscot, made profession of friendship to the English; but was suspected to be a false friend, and to stir up the Indians against them. His trading house was plundered this year whilst he was absent from it, which he rightly charged upon the English. The
Indians

your Grace of your promise to me, when in England, that a commission should be directed to some persons here, unconcerned, to audit and report their accounts of that money. We want good schoolmasters, none here being allowed of but of ill principles. The money now converted unto private, or worse uses, will be sufficient to set up good and public schools, and provide a maintenance for our minister, who now lives upon a small contribution. We are yet forced to meet in his own house." *Rand. Oct. 28, 1686, to Abp. of Canterbury.*

Indians informed some of their captives, that Castine furnished every Indian who engaged against the English with a pound of powder, two pounds of lead, and a quantity of tobacco. Some cattle belonging to the inhabitants of North-Yarmouth having been killed by the Indians, a justice of peace, — Blackman, seized a party of 18 or 20 Indians at or near Saco. Reprisals were made the 5th Sept. and one Henry Smith and his family taken at New-Dartmouth; and the next day Edward Taylor and his family were taken from the same place, and all carried to Taconnett, up Kennebeck river, where they found nine captives taken from the lower parts of the river. The Indians killed divers of these captives in their frolics, as appears by Smith's examination, who made his escape from them.* Sir Edmund was then at New-York.† Upon his return to Boston he ordered the Indians which Blackman had seized to be released. The Indians returned several English captives in exchange. The 20th October, he published a proclamation, commanding the Indians to set at liberty his Majesty's subjects lately taken by them; and that such Indians, as had been actually concerned in the murder of any of his Majesty's subjects, should surrender themselves by the 11th of November, to answer for their crimes, or otherwise be pursued and proceeded against with the utmost severity; and all that were innocent were allowed to live near the English towns if they desired it, and all persons were to take notice and conform themselves accordingly. The Indians treated the proclamation with contempt. The English, being laid under restraint, were more unsafe than if war had been publicly declared.

The people in general, as has been observed, were patient under the new government. There are a few instances of prosecution for contempt of, or opposition to, the authority. One John Gold of Topsfield was tried, and convicted, by verdict of a jury, of treasonable words (what they were is not mentioned) and fined fifty pounds, &c. Mr. Appleton of Ipswich, who had been an assistant, and
Mr.

* Mr. Neale supposes the first blood to be shed afterwards at North-Yarmouth.

† Mason, one of his council, died in the journey to York with Sir Edmund at Esopus.

Mr. Wise, the minister of that town, were imprisoned.* Mr. Wise, after the revolution, brought an action against Mr. Dudley, chief judge, for denying him the benefit of the habeas corpus act. Mr. Mather, one of the ministers of Boston, had been a very active person in dissuading from the surrender of the charter, and published reasons against it. Randolph frequently mentions him in his letters, as a factious person. He behaved with so much prudence as to give no room to take hold of any part of his conduct. A forged letter was therefore forwarded, in his name, by way of Barbados, directed to a person in Amsterdam, but intercepted and shewn by Randolph to Sir Lionel Jenkins, who was reflected upon in the letter. There were many passages in favour of Fergunson, Lord Shaftsbury, Oates, &c. all which must have made the writer obnoxious to the King and his ministers, and raised a prejudice against the country. Sir Lionel either suspected the forgery, or treated the thing with contempt, asking whether it was the stargazer † wrote it; so that Randolph missed his aim. Mr. Mather, two or three years after, being informed of the danger he had been in, exculpated himself in a letter to a friend, and charged the forgery upon Randolph or his brother. This letter coming to Randolph's knowledge, he brought an action of defamation against Mr. Mather, and laid his damage at five hundred pounds. The jury gave the defendant costs. But Randolph, I know not how, was bringing a new action for the same defamation. Mr. Mather's friends advising him of it, he kept concealed to avoid the service of the writ. About this time some of the principal men of the colony flattered themselves that they might obtain a partial relief by a representation of their grievances to the King, and Mr. Mather was thought a proper person to be their agent or messenger, and he embarked

* This was the punishment for remonstrating in an address against the taxes as a heavy grievance, such an address being preferred about this time. The selectmen of Ipswich voted, "That inasmuch as it is against the privilege of English subjects to have money raised without their own consent in an assembly or parliament, therefore they will petition the King for liberty of an assembly before they make any rates." Sir Edmund caused them to be imprisoned and fined, some 20, some 30, and some 50l. as the judges by him instructed should see meet to determine. *Narrative of New-England miseries, &c.*

† Mr. Mather had just before published a discourse upon comets.

embarked in the night and in disguise. The service of Randolph's writ would have prevented his voyage.*

There seems to have been but little room to hope for success. King James was making daily advances towards despotism in England. It was not likely that he should consent to any degree of liberty in the colonies. Sir Edmund knew too well the disposition of his master to give himself any concern about the complaints preferred against him. There were two persons in London at that time who had been assistants under the charter, Samuel Nowell and Elisha Hutchinson. They joined with Mr Mather in a remonstrance to the King. One of the new council, Richard Wharton, sensible of the distresses of the country, concurred with the others also, as appears by his letters; but all was to no purpose. At first, indeed, a report was agreed upon by the committee for foreign plantations, in which an assembly was mentioned; but Lord Sunderland struck out that clause with his own hand, before the report was presented.† The inhabitants of Cambridge made a particular application;‡ and Mr. Hinkley, the late governor

* Mr. Mather sailed in April, 1688. Some of his church carried him aboard in the night in disguise. † Narrative of miseries, &c.

‡ Cambridge address was in the following words:

“To the King's most excellent Majesty,

“The petition and address of John Gibson, aged about 87, and George Willow, aged 86 years, as also on behalf of their neighbours the inhabitants of Cambridge in New-England, in most humble wise sheweth,

“That your Majesty's good subjects with much hard labour and great disbursements have subdued a wilderness, built our houses, and planted orchards; being encouraged by our indubitable right to the soil, by the royal charter granted unto the first planters, together with our first purchase of the natives; as also by sundry letters and declarations sent to the late governor and company from his late Majesty your royal brother, assuring us of the full enjoyment of our properties and possessions, as is more especially contained in the declaration sent, when the quo warranto was issued out against our charter. But we are necessitated to make this our moan and complaint to your excellent Majesty, for that our title is now questioned to our lands by us quietly possessed for near 60 years, and without which we cannot subsist. Our humble address to our governor, Sir Edmund Andros, shewing our just title, long and peaceable possession, together with our claim of the benefit of your Majesty's letters and declarations, assuring all your good subjects that they shall not be molested in their properties and possessions, not availing.

“Royal Sir, We are a poor people, and have no way to procure money to defend our cause in the law, nor know we of friends at court; and therefore unto your royal Majesty, as the public father of all your subjects, do we make this our humble address for relief; beseeching your Majesty graciously to pass your royal act for the confirmation of your Majesty's subjects here in our possessions to us, derived from our late governor and company of this your Majesty's colony. We now humbly cast ourselves and the distressed condition of our wives and children at your Majesty's feet, and conclude with that saying of Queen Esther, If we perish, we perish.” *Narrative of N. E. Miseries.*

governor of Plymouth, petitioned in behalf of that colony. The sum of the application made by the agents was contained in the following heads, viz:

“ That his Majesty’s subjects in New-England may be quieted in the possession of all property, both in houses and lands, as they enjoyed them before the government was changed on the 24th May, 1686; and that the ancient records there settled for title of lands may be confirmed.

“ That there be liberty of conscience in matters of religion; that their former methods of swearing in giving evidence may be allowed; and that all their meeting-houses may be left free to them, according to the intention of the builders thereof.

“ That no laws may be made nor monies raised there, without the consent of a general assembly, as it is in the other plantations.

“ That all townships may have liberty to assemble and manage the business of their several precincts as under the former government, and have power to receive and dispose of all voluntary contributions.

“ That the college at Cambridge in New-England, the revenues thereunto belonging, be confirmed in the hands of a president and fellows as formerly.”

This application meeting with no success, the agents preferred the following petition.

“ To the right honourable the Lords Committee for trade and plantations.

“ The humble petition of Increase Mather, Samuel Nowell, and Elisha Hutchinson, sheweth,

“ That since your Lordships seem to be of opinion that his Majesty will not at present grant an assembly to be held within his dominion of New-England for the making of laws or raising of money, the petitioners humbly conceive that it will be much for his Majesty’s service and the peaceable government of his subjects there, that, until his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to grant an assembly, the council should consist of such persons as shall be considerable proprietors of lands within his Majesty’s dominions; and that, the counties being continued as

“ at present, each county may have one at least of such
 “ of the inhabitants of the same to be members thereof.
 “ And that no acts may pass for law but such as have or
 “ shall be voted by the manifest consent of the major part
 “ of the council. And that all laws so made may, by
 “ printing, be published for the general instruction of all
 “ the inhabitants.

“ Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray, that
 “ your Lordships would be pleased favourably to report
 “ the same to his Majesty for his gracious direction and
 “ order therein ; and your petitioners as in duty bound
 “ shall pray, &c.”

However modest these desires may appear to us at this day, who are in the possession of such ample privileges, yet they could not prevail in the reign of King James. The solicitations in England had not the least influence upon measures in New-England.*

Writs of intrusion were brought against some of the principal persons in the colony, who refused to petition for patents. Col. Shrimpton hired Deer-island of the town of Boston ; the rent was appropriated to the support of a school. An action was commenced for recovering possession.† Besides the real oppressions from this arbitrary administration, many groundless jealousies were raised, which increased the terror of the people. Castine, it was intimated, was robbed with the privy of the authority, in order to incense the French and Indians.‡ Upon the first insurrection of the Indians, the inhabitants began to fortify and garrison their houses. Sir Edmund ordered them to desist.

An

* June 21, 1688, Randolph writes, with an air of triumph, that they were as arbitrary as the great Turk. [This is not a fair representation. The words were spoken of Dongan's agents at Pemaquid, and by way of *disapprobation* of their proceedings. See Hutchinson's collection of papers, p. 565.]

† Besides the general exception to all titles, that they were derived from a grantor which had no title, in the case of towns there was this further, that they were not capable of taking any estate.

‡ Sir Edmund had given orders to Pipon, commander of the fort at Pemaquid, to range the coast as far as St. Croix. This appears by a letter from Pipon to the governor, and the whole was included in Sir Edmund's commission. But Dr. Mather gives this reason for doing it at this time: “A parcel of French wines had been seized at the eastward ; and, at the instance of the French ambassador, an order had been obtained to restore them. A new line was supposed to be then made for the province, to evade the order. This line took in Castine's country. He thereupon fled, and his arms and goods were brought to Pemaquid. And this brought on the war.”

An Indian who came in to Sudbury affirmed to the people there, that the Indians understood from the governor that the French and Irish would take possession of Boston in the spring. A Penicook Indian affirmed, that the Maquas or Mohawks had sent a messenger to inform the Penicook tribe that Sir Edmund had hired them to fight against the English. These idle stories were spread about the country. The Mohawks, it is true, made peace with the French, under the influence of Sir Edmund. The close connection between the courts of England and France at this time well accounts for it.

The Indians neglected to comply with the governor's order to deliver up the murderers. They continued their hostilities. He thereupon raised a small army of seven or eight hundred men,* and, in the beginning of November, marched at the head of them, through frost and snow, into the eastern country. This measure was universally condemned: the men being exposed to extreme hardships, without any prospect of service; the Indians taking care to keep out of their reach. Some of his enemies charged him with a design to starve or freeze the men; but other persons, who were more candid, acknowledged that he readily took to himself his full share of the hardships of the campaign, and that he was a kind and good general to the men under his command. Notwithstanding his care, many died with hardships; more, it was thought, than the whole number of Indians at that time in hostility. Not one Indian was killed. They all fled into their more remote dens, where they remained the whole winter. Besides the fort at Pemaquid, Sir Edmund built a fort at Pejypscot falls, and another at Sheepscote, and placed garrisons in them, and, upon his return to Boston, left the command of the country with Anthony Brockholt, one of his council and favourites.

In the summer of 1688,† the governor received a new commission,

* These men were impressed into the service. Under the charter, this had been the usual way of raising men. This is the reason we do not meet with it among the grievances.

† Several letters mention the arrival from England, about this time, of John Palmer, who had been of Sir Edmund's council, both in New-England and New-York, with a commission or appointment for chief judge of the supreme court.

commission, which was published, with great parade, from the balcony of the town-house.* And soon after, he received the joyful news of the birth of a prince, and ordered a general thanksgiving through his government. The suspicions concerning this birth were transmitted with the news, and very easily received by the people in general.†

During the winter of 88, there was no account received in New-England of the landing of the Prince of Orange. Something transpired by way of Virginia as the spring opened. The rumour brought the governor from Pemaquid to Boston. Soon after his arrival, viz. April 16th, he writes to Brockholt, "There's a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their old charter," or

* New-York was included in this commission. He went thither soon after. Mr. Smith supposes Dongan to have continued until the revolution. His commission was undoubtedly superseded by this new commission to Andros; who took the administration upon him in the summer of 1688. Mr. Blaithwait writes to Randolph, March 11, 1687-8: "Sir, I am to thank you for yours of the 23d of November, and would not fail to answer the chief particulars. If the union of all New-England under one governor be acceptable on your side the water, what will the joining and annexing to the same government be of all the English territories in America, from Delaware bay to Nova-Scotia? This is already determined by his Majesty; and a commission is in hand, constituting Sir Edmund Andros governor also of New-York, as united to New-England. And for the two Jerseys, *scire facias's* are expediting towards their union. This, besides other advantages, will be terrible to the French, and make them proceed with more caution than they have lately done."

† There was special command given to the ministers. The proclamation and order were as follows.

"By his Excellency,

"A proclamation for a general thanksgiving for her Majesty's being safely delivered of a Prince.

"Whereas I have received certain information of her Majesty's being safely delivered of a prince, which being a great blessing bestowed on their Majesties and all his Majesty's dominions, I have therefore thought fit, and do, with the advice of the council, order, that there be a general thanksgiving for the same, to be observed within the city of New-York and dependencies, on Sunday the second day of September next coming, and fourteen days after in all other parts of this dominion. Of which all ministers, officers and persons are to take notice and conform themselves accordingly. Given at New-York, the four and twentieth day of August, in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, annoq; Dom. 1688.

"By his Excellency's command,

E. ANDROS.

John West, D. fecit.

God save the King.

"Vera copia, Benj. Bullivant."

"Suffolk, fs. }
N.England. } To Mr. Cotton Mather, minister in Boston.

"In his Majesty's name you are hereby required to cause the above-written proclamation to be publicly read in the congregation, on the next Lord's day after you shall receive it, and that you do then and there publicly stir up your hearers to the solemn work of the day, as is required by the same, and hereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand and seal at Boston, the first day of September, in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, King James the second, of England, &c. and in the year of our Lord 1688. BENJA. BULLIVANT."

“ or they know not what ; hope, that all magistrates and
“ officers will be careful not to be wanting in their duty ;
“ and particularly trust, that the soldiers be in good order,
“ and diligent to avoid surprise, and see they have provi-
“ sions fitting duly served out, and, if occasion, more than
“ the ordinary allowance,” &c.—A few days before, one
Mr. Winslow came from Virginia, and brought a printed
copy of the Prince of Orange’s declaration. Upon his ar-
rival, he was imprisoned by justice Foxcroft and others, for
bringing a traitorous and treasonable libel into the country,
as the mittimus expressed it. Winslow offered two thou-
sand pounds bail, but it could not be accepted. A pro-
clamation was issued, charging all officers and people to be
in readiness to hinder the landing of any forces which the
Prince of Orange might send into those parts of the world.
The old magistrates and heads of the people silently wished,
and secretly prayed, for success to the glorious undertaking,
and determined quietly to wait the event. The body of
the people were more impatient. The flame, which had
been long smothered in their breasts, burst forth with
violence, Thursday the 18th of April ; when the governor,
and such of the council as had been most active, and other
obnoxious persons, about fifty in the whole, were seized
and confined, and the old magistrates were reinstated.
This was certainly a rash, precipitate proceeding. Little
or no inconvenience could arise from a few days delay.
The revolution in England could not, at any time, have
been effected without risk to all persons there who moved
in it. Their lives depended on the success of the attempt.
But the fate of New-England depended upon that of Old.
If the Prince succeeded, they might have assumed the gov-
ernment without any hazard. If he failed, had they re-
mained quiet, they would have been in no worse state
than before ; but the consequence of an insurrection would
have been death to the principal actors, and a still harder
slavery than before to all the rest of the inhabitants. An
anonymous letter, directed to the governor of Plymouth,
gives a more circumstantial account of this revolution than
any that has yet been printed.

“ Boston, April 22d, 89.

“ Hon’d Sir,

“ The consideration of my sending you a blank, wherein
 “ only the declaration was enclosed, seems to deserve a
 “ check, and constrains me to an apology, not having so
 “ much as liberty granted me by the messenger to write
 “ two or three lines, whereby you might have understood
 “ the present state of things, which by this time you are
 “ doubtless acquainted with; but lest it should prove
 “ otherwise, I have taken the pains to give a brief account.
 “ —I knew not any thing of what was intended, until it
 “ was began; yet being at the north end of the town,
 “ where I saw boys running along the streets, with clubs
 “ in their hands, encouraging one another to fight, I be-
 “ gan to mistrust what was intended, and, hastening to-
 “ wards the town-dock, I soon saw men running for their
 “ arms; but before I got to the red lion, I was told that
 “ Capt. George and the master of the frigate* were seized
 “ and secured in Mr. Colman’s house, at the north end;
 “ and when I came to the town-dock, I understood that
 “ Bullivant and some others of them were laid hold of;
 “ and then, immediately, the drums began to beat, and
 “ the people hastened and ran, some with and some for
 “ arms. Young Dudley† and Colonel Lidget with some
 “ difficulty attained to the fort. The governor immedi-
 “ ately sent Dudley on an errand, to request the four min-
 “ isters,‡ Mr. Joyliffe,|| and one or two more, to come to
 “ him at the fort, pretending that, by them, he might
 “ still the people, not thinking it safe for him to go to
 “ them. They returned for answer, that they did not
 “ think it safe for them to go to him. Now, by this time,
 “ all the persons whom they concluded not to be for their
 “ side, were seized and secured, except some few who had
 “ hid themselves, who afterwards were found, and dealt by
 “ as the rest. The governor, with Palmer, Randolph,
 “ Lidget,

* The Rose.

† Mr. Dudley, his father, was absent, holding court in the Narraganset country. Some of Providence went out and seized him. He was brought to Roxbury, and a guard placed round his house, to secure him, as the order expresses it, against violence. He was afterwards committed to prison.

‡ Mr. Allen, Moody, Willard, and Cotton Mather.

|| A person who had been many years a leading man in town affairs in Boston,

“ Lidget, West, and one or two more, were in the fort.
“ All the companies were soon rallied together at the town-
“ house ; where assembled Capt. Winthrop,* Shrimpton,*
“ Page,† and many other substantial men, to consult mat-
“ ters ; in which time the old governor‡ came among them,
“ at whose appearance there was a great shout by the sol-
“ diers. Soon after, the jack was let up at the fort, and
“ a pair of colours at beacon-hill, which gave notice to
“ some thousand soldiers on Charlestown side that the
“ controversy was now to be ended ; and multitudes would
“ have been there, but that there was no need. The frig-
“ ate, upon the news, put out all her flags and pendants,
“ and opened all her ports, and with all speed made ready
“ for fight, under the command of the lieutenant, he
“ swearing that he would die before she should be taken ;
“ although the captain sent to him, that if he fired one
“ shot, or did any hurt, they would kill him, whom they
“ had seized already ; but the lieutenant, not regarding,
“ kept those resolutions all that day. Now, about four
“ of the clock in the afternoon, orders were given to go
“ and demand the fort ; which hour the soldiers longed
“ for ; and had it not been just at the nick, the governor
“ and ail the crew had made their escape on board the
“ frigate, a barge being sent for them ; but the soldiers,
“ being so near, got the barge. The army divided, and
“ part came up on the back side of the fort, part went un-
“ derneath the hill to the lower battery or sconce, where
“ the red coats were, who immediately upon their approach
“ retired up to the fort to their master, who rebuked them
“ for not firing on our soldiers, and, as I am informed,
“ beat some of them. When the soldiers came to the batte-
“ ry or sconce, they presently turned the great guns about,
“ and pointed them against the fort, which did much
“ daunt those within ; and the soldiers were so void of
“ fear, that, I presume, had those within the fort been res-
“ olute to have lost their lives in fight, they might have
“ killed an hundred of us at once, being so thick together
“ before

* * They were both of them of Sir Edmund's council.

† He married president Dudley's sister.

‡ Other accounts say, that he and the old magistrates were guarded by the militia with great formality.

“ before the mouths of the cannon of the fort, all loaden
 “ with small shot ; but God prevented it. Then they de-
 “ manded a surrender, which was denied, until Mr. West
 “ and another should first go to the council, and after
 “ their return, we should have an answer, whether to fight
 “ or no. Upon their return, they came forth from the fort,*
 “ and went disarmed to the town-house, and from thence,
 “ some to the close jail, and the governor, under a guard,
 “ to Mr. Usher’s house. The next day, they sent the two
 “ colonels to demand of him the surrender of the castle,
 “ which he resolved not to give ; but they told him, if he
 “ would not give it presently, under his hand and seal, he
 “ would be exposed to the rage of the people, and so left
 “ him ; but he sent and told them that he would, and did
 “ so ; and they went down, and it was surrendered to them
 “ with curfings ; and they brought the men away, and
 “ made Captain Fairweather commander in it. Now, by
 “ the time that the men came back from the castle, all the
 “ guns, both in ships and batteries, were brought to bear
 “ against the frigate, which were enough to have shattered
 “ her in pieces at once, resolving to have her. It is inci-
 “ dent to corrupt nature to lay the blame of our evil deeds
 “ any where rather than on ourselves ; so Captain George
 “ cast all the blame now upon that devil Randolph ; for
 “ had it not been for him he had never troubled this good
 “ people, earnestly soliciting that he might not be con-
 “ strained to surrender the ship, for by so doing both him-
 “ self and all his men would lose their wages, which other-
 “ wise would be recovered in England, giving leave to go
 “ on board and strike the topmasts and bring the sails on
 “ shore ; and so he did. The country people came armed
 “ into the town, in the afternoon, in such rage and heat,
 “ that it made us all tremble to think what would follow ;
 “ for nothing would satisfy them, but that the governor
 “ must be bound in chains or cords, and put in a more
 “ secure place, and that they would see done before they
 “ went away ; and, to satisfy them, he was guarded by
 “ them to the fort.”——

The

* Mr. John Nelson, a young gentleman of Boston, at the head of the soldiers, demanded the fort the second time ; and then the governor came down, and surrendered himself and the fort. *Neale.*

The former governor, Mr. Bradstreet,* with several of the magistrates chosen in 1686, and some of the principal merchants and other principal inhabitants, being convened at the town-house, signed the following message to Sir Edmund Andros, which was the first public act done by them.

“ At the town-house in Boston, April 18, 1689.

“ Sir, Ourselves and many others, the inhabitants of this town and places adjacent, being surprised with the people’s sudden taking arms, in the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant, being driven to it by the present accident, are necessitated to acquaint your excellency, that, for the quieting and securing the people inhabiting this country from the imminent danger they many ways lie open and exposed to, and tendering your own safety, we judge it necessary that you forthwith deliver up the government and fortifications, to be preserved and disposed according to order and direction of the crown of England, which suddenly is expected may arrive;† promising all security from violence to yourself, or any of your gentlemen or soldiers, in person and estate: otherwise, we are assured, they will endeavour the taking of the fortifications by storm, if any opposition be made.

To Sir Edmund Andros, Knight,

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------|----------------|
| William Stoughton | S. Bradstreet | Wait Winthrop |
| Thomas Danforth | John Richards | Sam. Shrimpton |
| | Elisha Cooke | Wm. Browne |
| | If. Addington | Barth. Gedney |
| | John Foster | |
| | Peter Sergeant | |
| | David Waterhouse | |
| | Adam Winthrop | |

‡ J. Nelson.”

However

* Mr. Bradstreet was eighty-seven years of age, had been sixty years a magistrate. His venerable presence was necessary, but his time for business was over. Mr. Foster, a wealthy merchant, who had not been many years from London, was among the most active, and there are more original papers of his handwriting than of any other person’s.

† A circular letter was drawn up, to have been sent, in the name of the Prince of Orange, to confirm all governors in their places. That to New-England was stopped by a representation from Mr. Mather, the agent, to Mr. Jephson, secretary to the Prince.

‡ Mr. Nelson was a gentleman of good family, and a near relation to Sir Thomas Temple, an enemy to the tyrannical government of Andros, but an episcopalian

However exceptionable the first rising of the people might be, yet this measure of the magistrates and other gentlemen seems to have been necessary. It is difficult to conceive in what other way the people could have been quieted. Had they been left to themselves, the consequences must have been terrible. Some who had been the most firm in support

episcopalian in principle, and of a gay, free temper, which prevented his being allowed any share in the administration after it was settled, although he was at the head of the party that demanded the surrender of the fort. He went, not long after, upon a trading voyage to Nova-Scotia, where he was taken by a party of French or Indians, and carried to Quebec. Notwithstanding the slight put upon him, yet such was his regard for his country, that he ran very great risk of his life in an attempt to give intelligence of the designs of the French. The following letter, remaining upon the Massachusetts files, ought to be made public to do honour to his memory.

“ August 26, 1692.

“ About 14 days ago arrived two men of war and six merchant ships from France, which came furnished with recruits of provision, ammunition, 30 more great guns, 24 pateraroes, one mortar and 30 shells. A little before the arrival of these ships, Madockawando, the Penobscot sachem, came here; who made and received divers compliments, presented the governor with five English captives, and received from him presents encouraging him and the rest to continue the war; but all gave but little satisfaction to the Indians, who expected greater recompence. They would often discourse their discontent to some of us who understand their language. I was in hopes to make some improvement of their discontent, by proposing the settlement of a trading house up Penobscot river at Negas. They were glad of the proposal, and it is the only means of recovering our interest with these eastern Indians. I promised to send my thoughts thereon to yourselves, of which I would have you to consider, &c.— Madockawando gave daily advice of all their results, he is certainly well affected towards us. Two days ago he was dispatched from hence, with orders to get together all the Indians he can; they make account of two or three hundred; they are to remain at Penobscot until the two men of war join them, who are preparing themselves as well as they can, adding to their number 200 Canadians, so that, in all, they will have above 400, who, with the Indians, are to assault Wells, Isles of Shoals and Piscataqua. The design is dangerous, if you should be unprovided; I have therefore improved my utmost endeavours to give you this intelligence. By money, and a promise of good reward from yourselves, I have corrupted two Frenchmen, viz. Arnaud Du Vignon and Francis Albert, to be bearers of this letter, and also to be guides to two Dutchmen and two Englishmen, who promise to be with you in 22 days. I pray that they may be contented. I have furnished them with 13 French crowns, which it is just should be allowed to my wife. My charge is otherwise great here, there being so many of my poor countrymen to relieve, &c. The two men of war, which come from hence, are the one a great Dutch square stern ship of about 500 tons, takes in six guns from hence, so that she will have in all 38 guns, &c. the other is a French frigate of 34 guns, who is the admiral. They take at Port-Royal and along the coast all the small vessels, shallops, boats, &c. to land their men. You will do well to prepare for their reception a good fire ship, and other means necessary, according as your prudence shall direct.—I recommend myself unto your prayers, and remain, gentlemen, your humble servant,
J. NELSON.

“ August 27th. The ships of war go from hence in 12 or 15 days; their voyage probably to St. John's and Penobscot will cost them a month's time more, so that you may expect them in about 6 or 7 weeks hence. After their attempt upon your coast, they are to cruise for about a month, &c. so that all concerned in shipping must take care to their affairs. Let no public talk be made of this letter, for by the escape of some prisoners the report will come hither greatly to my

my

support of the charter were afraid, however, of being called to account for their concern in this action.*

A long declaration was read from the balcony or gallery of the town-house. This is printed at large in Neale and other writers. There would be room to doubt, whether this declaration was not a work of time, and prepared beforehand, if it did not appear, by the style and language, to have been the performance of one of the ministers of the town of Boston, † who had a remarkable talent for very quick and sudden compositions; besides, it was not printed until

my damage — Excuse my broken manner of writing. I am forced to do it as I can get opportunity, and that is in my bed, because of the often coming in and out of the man that attends me, who once surpris'd me and took from me my inkhorn, but in all things else I am well treated: so are all the rest, according as the country affords, &c."

The letters came to Springfield the 23d of September, and a day or two after to Boston. The Frenchmen, not long after, by some means or other were retaken and carried to Canada, where they were punished as deserters. Before their execution they confessed the whole. Mr. Nelson was carried out with them, in expectation of the same fate. They were shot before his eyes. He was sent back to prison, and soon after to France, but on his passage prevailed with a fellow passenger to convey intelligence of a second design of 12 men of war and 2000 troops, which were every day expected at Canada to make a descent upon the English colonies from Piscataqua to Carolina. He was confined in France in a small hole for two years, without opportunity of seeing any person but a servant who brought his victuals to a grate. A gentleman, who had taken notice of the person who carried the victuals from day to day, had the curiosity to inquire what prisoner was there, and to speak to him at the grate, and to ask if he could do him any service. Mr. Nelson desired no other favour than to have a letter sent to England, to inform Sir Purbeck Temple of his condition; which was done, and soon after a demand was made of his release or exchange. He was then looked upon as a person of some importance. He was sent to the Bastille, and just before the peace of Ryswick was allowed to go to England upon his parole, and security given by a French gentleman for his return. The peace being concluded, and he intending to return, was forbid to do it by King William; but to prevent any trouble to his friend, he went contrary to order, and surrendered himself. Being discharged, upon his return to England he was brought into trouble there for going back to France contrary to the King's order, but at length returned to his family after ten or eleven years absence.

* Mr. Danforth, the deputy governor, writes to Plymouth, Ap. 20th, "Their enterprise herein was without the privity of those who when begun judged themselves obliged to endeavour the prevention of bloodshed, and thereupon did give their sense and advice to the governor, Sir Edmund, as they apprehended very necessary. — I yet fear what the consequences will be, and heartily pray that no bitter fruit may spring forth from this root. We have need of God's pity and pardon; and some do apprehend it will be wisdom to hasten our address, to those that are now supreme in England, for pardon of so great an irruption, and for a favourable settlement under the sanction of royal authority:" and in a letter to Increase Mather, July 30th, "The ancient magistrates and elders, although they had strenuously advised to further waiting for orders from England, and discouraged any attempts of that nature, so far as they had opportunity, yet were they now compelled to assist with their presence and counsels for the preventing of bloodshed, which had most certainly been the issue if prudent counsels had not been given to both parties."

† Mr. Mather.

until several days after, and perhaps was corrected and enlarged. Indeed, it fully appears from many private letters, still preserved, one of the best sorts of evidence of the truth of historical facts of this nature, that none of the magistrates were privy to the rising of the people; and, in the people themselves, it seems to have been sudden, and without any previously concerted plan.

The next day, April 19th, an order was signed by most of the persons who subscribed the advice to Sir Edmund, and also by Wm. Johnson of Woburn, and James Russell of Charlestown, directed to John Pipon, commander of the castle, and accompanied with an order from the late governor, to deliver the fort and stores to Capt. Fairweather; which was complied with. The 20th, the tumult being abated, the new council began to consider what form of government they should establish in the room of that which was dissolved. They first invited divers other persons to join with them, who were required to sign an approbation of the advice given to Sir Edmund; and, being thus strengthened, they took the title of "A council for the safety of the people and conservation of the peace." Those who thus associated with the first mentioned, were James Russell, John Phillips, Penn Townsend, Joseph Lynde, John Joyliffe, Eliakim Hutchinson, Nath. Oliver, John Eyre, Jeremiah Dummer, Wm. Johnson, John Hawthorne, Andrew Belcher, Richard Sprague, James Parker, Dudley Bradstreet, Nath. Saltonstall, Richard Dummer, Robert Pike, John Smith, Edmund Quincy, William Bond, and Daniel Pierce. They chose Mr. Bradstreet their president, Isaac Addington clerk of the council, and Wait Winthrop commander in chief of the militia, and appointed officers in the several ports for entering and clearing vessels, and John Foster and Adam Winthrop, two of their number, stewards or treasurers.

They continued to pass orders, from time to time, for the regulation of the inhabitants, but the authority was weak, and there was a necessity of a further settlement. They were careful to avoid reassuming their charter. Besides the exceptions that might be taken whilst the decree against it stood in full force, there were many who were desirous

desirous of a settlement from England, sensible of the defects in the charter ; and when the governor and assembly afterwards addressed for the restitution of it, they desired such further privileges as were necessary. They had, no doubt, received advice of the convention called by the Prince of Orange ; and, in imitation of it, on the second of May, they recommended to the several towns in the colony to meet, and depute persons, not exceeding two for each town, except Boston four, to form an assembly, to sit the ninth of the same month. Sixty-six persons met, and presented a declaration to the president and former magistrates in particular,* taking no notice of such as had associated with them ; but upon receiving an answer in writing, they desired the whole council to continue in their station until the 22d instant ; at which time it was agreed there should be a meeting of the representatives of all the towns in the colony, at Boston, who were to be specially instructed by their towns. Letters had been sent to Plymouth and to Connecticut,† to acquaint the principal gentlemen there with what had been done at Boston. Both those colonies were content the governor should be confined at Boston, and

* They declare the governor, deputy governor and assistants, chosen and sworn in 1686, according to charter rights, and the deputies then sent by the freemen of the several towns, to be the government now settled in the colony. *Records.*

† Plymouth imitated Massachusetts in securing one of the council who was within that colony, as appears by the following declaration.

A declaration of sundry of the inhabitants of Plymouth, Ap. 22, 1689. "Whereas we have not only just ground to suspect, but are well assured, that Nath. Clark hath been a real enemy to the peace and prosperity of this people, and hath, by lying and false information to the late governor, caused much trouble and damage to this place, endeavouring to deprive us of our lands and exposing us to the unjust severity of persons ill affected to us, whereby a considerable part of our estates is unrighteously extorted from us, to the great prejudice of our families and the loss of many necessary comforts, and he persisting from time to time in his malicious forging complaints against one or other of us, whereby we are in continual hazard of many further great inconveniences and mischiefs : We do therefore seize upon his person, resolving to secure him for the hands of justice to deal with him according to his demerit." *MS.*

Mr. Treat, the governor of Connecticut, gives this account of their proceedings, in his letter to their agent, Jan. 6, 1689. "In the beginning of May last, upon the amazing reports and tidings of the revolution of the government in the Massachusetts, and seizing of the governor and so many of his council, and that part of the country up in arms before we knew any thing of it, but the news did soon fly like lightning, and soon after our men in most places gave out that they would no longer obey us or submit to Sir Edmund's government ; at the same time the eastern Indians went on in their barbarous cruelties in murdering our countrymen at the eastward, and we had by letters from New-York and Long-Island caution given us of several picaroons that were on the coast to alarm us on the sea board ; the true and real grounds of the procedure of the colony in assuming the government was, *salus populi est suprema lex.*"

and both reassumed their old form of government. Nothing passed relative to New-Hampshire or Rhode-Island. As soon as the news reached New-York, Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, dispatched the following letter, directed to Simon Bradstreet and Wait Winthrop, Esq's. and others.

“ New-York, 1689, 1st May.

“ Gentlemen,

“ It was an extraordinary surprize to us to hear of the
 “ confusions the inhabitants at Boston have occasioned, by
 “ taking that part of the government to themselves, and
 “ that they have seized upon the person of his excellency
 “ and several of the officers. We cannot imagine that any
 “ such actions can proceed from any person of quality
 “ amongst them, but rather promoted by the rabble,
 “ and that for the safety of his excellency's person those
 “ measures have been taken, but hope and doubt not, be-
 “ fore this time, the fury of those persons may be allayed,
 “ and that his excellency and the rest of the officers may
 “ be restored to their former stations, or at least have lib-
 “ erty to come hither. For this part of the government,
 “ we find the people in general inclined to peace and quiet-
 “ neis,* and doubt not the people will remain in their du-
 “ ties.

* The inhabitants of New-York, having never experienced any great degree of liberty, there would have been no grounds of fears of a revolt, if it had not been for the example of New-England. From their first subjection to England, the government had been the same; and the Dutch governors who preceded were not less absolute than the English. Upon the news from Boston, Capt. Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, proposed to admit part of the trained bands to watch and ward by turns within the fort, under their own officers; and offered to apply the money arising from the customs to the fortifying the city, and making it defensible against a foreign enemy. Jacob Leisler, a captain of the trained bands, happened to have a ship just arrived with wines, the duties whereof would have amounted to one hundred pounds, which he refused to pay, “the collector being a papist, and there being no legal authority to receive it.” Soon after, he excited the people upon the east end of Long-Island to march to New-York, in order to take possession of the fort, to prevent its being delivered up to foreigners. When they came within 12 miles of the city, being about 80 in number, they sent three of their leaders to the lieutenant-governor, who, having convened his council, gave them such answers as induced them and the rest of the company to return home. A rumour was soon after spread of a design to massacre the inhabitants during the public worship in the Dutch church upon a Sunday. The Friday before the day for the supposed execution, the people rose, and seemingly compelled Leisler to head them. One Hall went as their leader to the fort. The guard, consisting of the trained bands, readily admitted them. Leisler followed, and took the command of the men. This was the 31st May. The same evening they sent for the keys from the lieutenant-governor, who was obliged to deliver them. The trained band consisting of six companies, the captain of each company was

“ ties. We do not question but you will send us a speedy
 “ answer, the matter being of so great consequence, tend-
 “ ing to the peace and quietness of us all ; which if you
 “ do, we remain your friends and servants,

Fra. Nicholson
 Frederick Flypse
 N. Bayard
 S. Courtland.”

The following answer was returned.

“ Boston, 11th May, 1689.

“ Gentlemen,

“ In answer to yours of the first of May instant, giving
 “ an account of your having received the general intelli-
 “ gence of the revolution occurring here, expressing your
 “ hopes that before this time the fury of the people may
 “ be allayed, and that Sir Edmund Andros and the rest of
 “ the officers may be restored to their former stations, or
 “ at least may have liberty to come to you. We perceive
 “ you have not a particular account how things are at pre-
 “ sent circumstanced with us, there being no other form
 “ of government than a committee for safety of the people
 “ and conservation of the peace, the soldiers still continu-
 “ ing in arms. And the people are so well satisfied in the
 “ justifiableness of their late action, that they continue
 “ their spirit and resolution to pursue what they have put
 “ forth in their public declaration printed, which is here
 “ inclosed, as also a printed copy of the advice given by
 “ ourselves and others unto Sir Edmund, which will shew
 “ the necessity of our then interposing. And we have no
 “ other station than to intend the common safety and con-
 “ servation

to command his day according to their order. When it came to Leisler's turn, the 3d of June, he caused an alarm ; and the people being all brought together, a declaration was prepared in writing, ready to be signed, “ that with their lives and fortunes they would defend the protestant religion, and keep the fort for King William and Queen Mary, until their Majesties' further order.” The people then chose a committee, who assumed the name of a “ committee of safety.” They appointed Leisler captain of the fort. The lieutenant governor withdrew. In his absence Leisler takes upon him the administration, and after some time calls himself lieutenant governor, and chooses a council. The province continued in great confusion, until the arrival of governor Slaughter with a commission from King William and Queen Mary. Leisler held the possession of the fort against the governor, longer than he could justify himself in so doing. His enemies took the advantage of it ; and he was tried, condemned and executed, as a traitor. The party rage, which was raised on this occasion, was kept up many years after in New-York, and descended to the posterity of each side.

“servation of the peace, and it is not in our power to
 “set any persons at liberty who are confined and kept by
 “the soldiers. This being all the present answer we can
 “make to you, if accepted, we remain,

“Gentlemen, your friends and servants,

“To Capt. Fran. Nicholson, S. Bradstreet
 “Fred. Phillips, Nich. Bayard, Wait Winthrop.
 “and Steph. Cortland, Esq’rs.”

The representatives of fifty-four towns met at Boston, on the 22d of May.* They soon discovered a desire to reassume the charter. The major part of the council were against it. Two days were spent in disputes. The people without doors were also much divided in sentiments. On the 24th, the governor and magistrates, chosen in 1686, signed a paper, declaring their acceptance of the care and government of the people, according to the rules of the charter, for the conservation of the peace and safety of the people, until, by direction from England, there be an orderly settlement of government, provided an addition should be made of fit persons to assist them, as was desired, and that what had been before done be allowed, and the stewards be reimbursed. This they did for the satisfaction of the people, and from the present necessity; but they did not intend, nor would be understood to intend, an assumption of the charter government. Their declaration was accepted by the representatives, notwithstanding its being qualified in the conclusion of it.† The next day, Mr. Winthrop, and most of the other gentlemen who had acted as members of the council, and who had a strong party in favour of their continuing so to act, generously quitted all claim to it, in confidence, as they express it, that the people will be inviolably preserved in their obedience to the directions expected from England, and that the persons of all the gentlemen confined should be well treated; and promised to endeavour to pacify the people, who were dissatisfied on their account, and to promote the public tranquillity, as far as should be in their power.

The

* Each town gave instructions to their members, whether to reassume or not. Forty of the fifty-four were for reassumption of the charter.

† By this declaration all the gentlemen who had joined the governor and assistants chosen in 1686 were excluded from the new council.

The 26th (being Sunday) a ship arrived from England, with advice of the proclaiming King William and Queen Mary. This was the most joyful news ever received in New-England. The fears of the people, of any very bad consequences from their late actions, were now over. On the 29th the proclamation was published in Boston, with greater ceremony than had been known; the governor and council, civil and military officers, merchants of the town, and principal gentlemen of the town and country, being on horseback; the regiment of the town, and many companies of horse and foot from the country, appearing in arms; a grand entertainment was prepared in the town-house, and wine was served out to the soldiers.

The 5th of June, the representatives of the several towns, upon a new choice, assembled at Boston. The council immediately proposed to them to exhibit articles against the gentlemen seized by the people, or else to consent to their enlargement, upon security given; but this was not agreed to.* The next day, the representatives urged to the council, to take upon them the part they ought to bear in the government, according to the charter, until orders should be received from England; and declared "they could not proceed to act in any thing of public concerns, until this was conceded." An acceptance was voted, this declaration being given as the reason of the vote. By these steps the change was made from the unlimited power of Sir Edmund and four of his council, to the old government, which had continued above fifty years; but the weight and authority did not return with the form. They were scrupulous of their power themselves; and made an apology, in an address to the crown, for causing certain pirates to be executed. They found it very difficult to raise men, and continue them in service, for the defence of the province. Several contemptuous pamphlets against them were published with impunity. Thirty years before,

the
* Some days after, Sir Edmund, by letter, demanded an immediate release of himself and the other persons concerned in government, or under his charge, then in custody or under restraint. The 27th June, the representatives resolved, that Mr. Joseph Dudley, Sir Edmund Andros, Mr. Edward Randolph, Mr. John Palmer, Mr. John West, Mr. James Graham, Mr. George Farwell, and Mr. James Sherlock, were not bailable, and sent up several heads of charges against them.

the authors of the like would have been guilty of a capital offence. And although the first advices, received afterwards from England, gave them some grounds to expect a re-establishment of government in the old form, yet these advices were soon succeeded by others, which caused them to despair of it.* Mr. Mather, the agent in England, waited the event of the Prince of Orange his expedition. Soon after the withdraw of King James, Mr. Mather was introduced to the Prince of Orange, by Lord Wharton, and prevented the circular letter before mentioned, for confirming governors, being sent to New-England. The 14th of March, Lord Wharton introduced him again to the King,† when, after humbly congratulating his Majesty's accession, Mr. Mather implored his Majesty's favour to New-England. The King promised all the favour in his power, but hinted what had been irregular in their former government. Whereupon Mr. Mather undertook, that, upon the first word, they should reform any irregularities they should be advised of; and Lord Wharton offered to be their guarantee. The King then said, that he would give orders that Sir Edmund Andros should be removed, and called to account for his mal-administration; and that the King and Queen should be proclaimed by the former magistrates. Mr. Mather was a faithful agent, and was unwearied in securing friends for his country. Besides several of the nobility and principal commoners, he had engaged the whole body of the dissenting ministers, whose weight, at that time, was far from inconsiderable.

The family of Ashurst had always been friendly to New-England. The first addresses after the restoration were sent

* "We are far from willingly doing any thing arbitrary, but the long want of directions from England for settlement of government doth weaken our hands." *Gov. Bradstreet's letter to Sir H. Ashurst, Oct. 26, 89.*

† "The long delay of orders from England referring to the persons confined upon the revolution, and want of confirmation of the government, hath given occasion to divers ill designing men, who were taken off from their employment and ways of unjust gain, studiously to employ themselves in opposing and undervaluing authority, which hath emboldened others to those practices which hath rendered them criminals of the highest nature, by committing felonies, piracies and murders, and thereby common enemies to mankind, and necessitated us to draw the sword of justice against them and bring them to trial and condemnation, and to execute some to deter others, &c. which we trust will not be offensive to his Majesty." *Bradstreet's lett. to Ashurst, Jan. 29, 1689-90.*

† King William and Queen Mary were proclaimed 13th Feb.

sent to Mr. Ashurst, Mr. Leveret and Mr. Richard Hutchinson, to be delivered to the King. Sir Henry Ashurst, a member of parliament, was more particularly engaged at this time by Mr. Mather, who desired that he might be empowered by the colony to appear as their agent. Mr. Hampden, another member, also shewed great friendship. The house of commons voted the taking away the charters of the plantations to be a grievance ;* and a bill passed the house for restoring charters, and the New-England charters were expressly mentioned ; but whilst the bill lay in the house of Lords, the parliament, sooner than expected, was prorogued, the King going to Ireland. The King, from the beginning, discovered a design to reserve the appointment of the governor to himself. It was in vain, after losing this chance in parliament, to try for the restoration of the old charter. A new charter, with as many of the old privileges as could be obtained, was all that could be hoped for. In the mean time, application was made, for express power and authority to be granted to the colony to exercise government according to the old charter, until a new could be settled. This was obtained.† At the same time an order was sent, commanding the delivery of the sails taken from the *Rose* frigate ; and another order, for

Sir

* At a committee of grievances, martis 5^o martii 1688, resolved nem. con. that it is the opinion of this committee, that the late prosecutions of quo warrantos against the cities, two universities, the towns corporate, boroughs and cinq ports, and the plantations, and the judgment thereupon, and the surrenders of charters to the violation of their ancient rights, are illegal and grievances. By the house. " Resolved, that this house doth agree with the said committee in said resolve, that the late prosecution of quo warrantos against the cities, two universities, the towns corporate, boroughs and cinq ports and plantations, and judgment thereupon, and the surrenders of charters to the violation of their ancient rights, are illegal and a grievance." *MSS.*

† WILLIAM, R.

Trusty, and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we are informed by several addresses from the colony of the Massachusetts-bay, and particularly by the address coming to us in the name of the governor and council and convention of the representatives of the people of the said colony, that they had joyfully received the notice of our happy accession to the throne of these kingdoms, and caused the proclamation thereof to be issued throughout the said territory : We have therefore thought fit hereby to signify our royal approbation of the same, and gracious acceptance of your readiness in performing that which was necessary on your parts for the preservation of the peace and quiet of our said colony. And whereas you give us to understand, that you have taken upon you the present care of the government until you should receive our order therein ; we do hereby authorize and empower you to continue, in our name, your care in the ad-

ministration

Sir Edmund Andros, and the other persons, to be sent to England.* Mr. Mather intended to have returned to New-England with these orders; but his son being taken with the small-pox at Deal, prevented his embarking. Letters arrived in England, presently after the King's order to the old magistrates, from Sir Edmund Andros, Mr. Dudley, &c. complaining of their usage. Nicholson and Usher came to London also with their complaints; and the Indians falling upon Piscataqua about the same time, it was imputed to the revolution in Massachusetts; and the

ministration thereof, and preservation of the peace, until we shall have taken such resolutions and given such directions for the more orderly settlement of the said government, as shall most conduce to our service and the security and satisfaction of our subjects within that our colony. And so we bid you farewell. Given at our court in Whitehall, the 12th day of August, 1689, in the first year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

Colony of Massachusetts.

SHREWSBURY.

* WILLIAM, R.

Whereas Sir Edmund Andros, knt. late governor of our dominion of New-England, has been seized by some people in Boston, and is under close confinement there, together with Edward Randolph, John Trevisy, and divers other subjects, who have humbly requested us that they be either set at liberty or sent in safe custody into England to answer before us what might be objected against them: we do hereby will and require, that the said Sir Edmund Andros, Edward Randolph, John Trevisy, and others our subjects that have been in like manner seized by the said people of Boston, and shall be at the receipt of these our commands detained there under confinement, be forthwith sent on board the first ship bound hither, to answer before us what may be objected against them; and that you take care that they be civilly used in their passages from New-England, and safely conveyed to our royal presence. Given at our court at Whitehall, this 30th day of July, 1689, in the first year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

NOTTINGHAM.

To such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws in our colony of the Massachusetts-bay in New-England, in America.

Of all that were concerned in the late government, Mr. Dudley felt most of the people's resentment. *Oppression is less grievous from a stranger than one of our own country.* Danforth writes to I. Mather, "Mr Dudley is in a peculiar manner the object of the people's displeasure; even throughout all the colonies where he hath sat judge, they deeply resent his correspondence with that wicked man Randolph for overturning the government.—The governor and council, though they have done their utmost to procure his enlargement, yet can't prevail, but the people will have him in the jail; and when he hath been by order turned out, by force and tumult they fetch him in, &c." Mr. Dudley to C. Mather, June 1st, "I am told that this morning is the last opportunity for rolling away the stone from the mouth of this sepulchre, where I am buried alive, in which I yet trouble you for your assistance." To governor Bradstreet, Sept. 12th, "After twenty weeks unaccountable imprisonment, and many barbarous usages offered me therein, the last seven weeks whereof are upon account of your letters to me, I have now to complain, that on Monday the whole day I could be allowed no victuals till nine of the clock at night, when the keeper's wife offered to kindle her own fire to warm something for me, and the corporal expressly commanded the fire to be put out.—I may be easily oppressed to death.—God will hear them that complain to him.—I pray your directions for your oppressed kinsman,

J. D."

the friends of New-England were afraid the powers would be recalled,* and a governor sent over without delay.

The letters did not arrive in New-England until very late in the year, but came very opportunely to calm the commotions which had very much increased there. Sir Edmund, his servant having enticed the centinel to drink, and then to suffer him to be upon guard in his stead, escaped from the castle, and went to Rhode-Island, where Major Sanford stopped him, and sent him back to the castle again.† The first opportunity after the arrival of the King's order, he, with Mr. Dudley and several others, embarked for England.‡ The general court thought it advisable to send over two of their members to join with Sir Henry Ashurst and Mr. Mather in maintaining their charges against their oppressors, as well as in soliciting the restoration of the charter, with such additional privileges as should be thought proper, viz. Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes,|| both of them assistants. Mr. Cooke was a gentleman of good understanding, and had been well educated; had always adhered stilly to the old charter; and when all the rest of the assistants declined reassuming it, he alone

was

* Nath. Mather's letter to Increase Mather, &c.

† Leffler, at New-York, was greatly alarmed with Sir Edmund's escape. He writes to the Massachusetts governor from New-York, Sept. 3d, "The escape of Sir Edmund, and his arrival at Rhode-Island, where Col. Dongan did, the same day, land some of his people, and himself not far off, caused a jealousy in us of a bad design. In this interim of time arrived here Mr. John Emerson, John Leveret, William Brattle, Thomas Maccarty, and John Perry, from the ferry, after watch set in the night, well armed, and, as reported, went into a tavern where doors and windows were shut, a man on horseback was dispatched post out of the town, made us all believe them of Sir Edmund's people, and he himself not far off. I sent for the strangers, of whom I demanded a pass; they said they had one, but lost it; they knew no body but Major Brockholt and Capt. Locker, two known papists, whereby I suspected them to be really of Sir Edmund's people, and beat the drum. I sent 12 soldiers to search the house for their portmanteaus; two were brought, and owned to be theirs. I found about 40 letters, most of them directed to disapprovers of our actions, which caused me to alarm the town, by which alarm I got immediately about 500 men courageously armed; and, while the committee read the letters, I sent out parties to search for strangers, and for the men of the house where they arrived, being persons who never joined with us to watch and fortify, nor armed in any alarm. The letters being read and nothing found, we suspected that those of consequence were gone, and so remained upon our guard. In the morning Mr. Lawrence perused a letter from his grand-child, wherein the characters of the said gentlemen were discovered; upon which slender proof, and my charity, I ventured to release the said gentlemen, who confessed we had just cause to suspect them, all things falling out as they did."

The four persons first named belonged to the college at Cambridge.

‡ The beginning of February.

|| Mr. Oakes was not chosen assistant until May, after they embarked.

was in favour of it.* Mr. Oakes was a man of less consequence, but attached to the same side, having been some time a representative of the town of Boston, and not of the assistants when they refused to reassume. They were instructed, among other things, to solicit in parliament, or elsewhere, the confirmation of their ancient charter and all its rights and privileges, civil and sacred; and, if there should be opportunity, to endeavour the obtaining such farther privileges as might be of benefit to the colony. The agents disagreed, and by this means certain articles intended against Sir Edmund were never signed by them.†

He

* This appears from the files of the court.

† Mr. Mather said, that the Earl of Monmouth told him they had cut the throat of their country in not doing it; but Mr. Cooke's excuse was, Sir John Somers's advice, which he said was against doing it. An inquiry into the conduct of Sir Edmund and the rest, it was designed should be avoided; and this was the reason of Sir John Somers's advice to Mr. Cooke. "When the agents first appeared before the council, Sir Edmund, Dudley, Randolph, &c. had notice to be present also, and came prepared with a charge against the colony, for rebellion against lawful authority, for imprisoning the King's governor, &c. Sir John Somers thereupon said, that the agents were upon the defensive part, and were ready to answer any complaints. Sir Robert Sawyer, who had brought the quo warranto, then declaimed largely against the colony for those deeds by which he supposed the charter forfeited; but, in the close, to prevent an answer, acknowledged that what he said was foreign to the present case; and one of the lords said, let us keep to the matter before us. The agents were then required to give the reasons of the opposition to Sir Edmund and his authority. They began with his proclamation, and other endeavours to stifle the news of the Prince's landing, and the imprisonment of the person who brought over the declaration. Lord president (Marquis of Carmarthen) asked, who imprisoned Sir Edmund and the rest. Sir John Somers replied, the country, my lord, oppressed by an arbitrary government, did there as we did here, rose as one man, took the opportunity of the news of the revolution in England to free themselves from the yoke they were under. Lord president. You say it was the country and the people; that is no body; let us see A B and C, the persons that will make it their case. Here is a charge against the King's governor, but no body has signed the paper. Sir J. Somers. My lord, we are here, in behalf of the country, to manage their concerns, and not in the behalf of any particular persons. One of the agents then whispered Sir John, that, if that was a stick, they would sign the paper immediately; but he replied, no, we are in our way, and have followed the direction of the board, and if they will bring us off thus they may. One of the lords said, I perceive the revolution was there as it was here, by the unanimous agreement of the people; for who seized and imprisoned the late lord chancellor, who seized and imprisoned the lord such and such, naming several, and secured the garrison of Hull? &c. I think we understand the matter well enough, and see no reason why we may not go forward with the proof. Another lord spake to the same purpose, and said, the people were to be commended for what they had done; but lord president applied himself to the agents, and said, Gentlemen, here has been a pretty deal of time spent; my lords will give his Majesty a true and impartial account of what has been said on both sides, and wait his Majesty's farther pleasure, and you may withdraw for the present. The next day, Sir Edmund and the rest were discharged from any further attendance; and a report being made to his Majesty in council, the same was approved, and the matter was ordered to be dismissed on both sides." (*Mr. Cooke's rec.*) Thus the agents

were

He obtained, some time after, the government of Virginia where he died. Mr. Dudley was appointed chief justice of New-York, and the latter end of the year 1690 was at Boston, in his way to his post. Nicholson endeavoured for the government of New-York, but had not interest to carry it, and was appointed lieutenant governor of Virginia under Lord Howard of Effingham.*

The war with the Indians, which began before the revolution of government, continued all the year after. Madockawando, sachem of the Penobscots, who came into Pemaquid, was sent to Boston, where he arrived just about the time the governor was confined. The authority treated him kindly, and sent him home; and at the same time wrote to St. Castine, and desired him to use his influence over the Indians; and offered him safe conduct, if he inclined to come to Boston. Madockawando had promised his interest for redemption of the captives which had been taken, and for putting an end to the war; but both he and Castine deceived the government. Madockawando proved a most virulent enemy.

The Indians of Penicook, upon Merrimack river, in the spring of the year 1689, professing great friendship to Major Waidron, of Quoechecho,† were civilly treated by him; and one of their chiefs was lodged in his garrison. The Indian, in the night, opened the gate to a great number of Saco and Penicook Indians, who lay hovering round it. They killed the Major and twenty-two others, and carried away twenty-nine captives, and plundered and burnt the neighbouring houses. The authority at Boston were equally anxious for the protection and defence of the people as if they had been within the colony, and sent out forces for their relief. Intelligence arrived, soon after, of mischief done

were diverted by their own counsel from pursuing their instructions, and supporting a charge which had been prepared and offered to the lords of the council. It was well known, that it would be most agreeable to have no inquiry made. Lord president's own arbitrary actions, whilst Earl of Danby, for which no satisfaction had been given, would have stared him in the face; and it would not have well consisted with the oblivion intended for what had past at home, to have been very strict in inquiring into tyranny in the colonies.

* He wrote to the Massachusetts authority, to inquire into the state of the Indian war, and with an air of boasting concludes his letter, "From him who has the honour to be their Majesties' lieutenant governor and commander in chief of the colony of Virginia, F. Nicholson."

† In New-Hampshire.

done in several parts of the county of York, or province of Main; and, on the 22d of August, the fort at Pemaquid, the command of which (being garrisoned by 14 men only) was given to one Weems, an officer Sir Edmund had left there, was besieged by the Indians. It was so situated as to be overlooked from a rock near to it.* From thence the Indians galled the garrison to such degree, that the next day they capitulated upon terms, which were kept with Indian faith, some of the men being butchered, and the others carried captive. There were no hopes of security by sea or land, the French from Quebec instigating the Indians and joining parties with them, and the French from Acadie, by their small privateers, infesting the coasts and taking many vessels. In the winter, therefore, the general court were meditating an attempt both upon Port-Royal and Quebec. Sir William Phips† came to New-England in the summer of 1689. He was thought the fittest person for the command of the forces. Eight small vessels, with seven or eight hundred men, was thought a sufficient force for Port-Royal.

The fleet sailed the 28th of April, 1690, and returned the 30th of May. The fort at Port-Royal, being in no capacity to stand a siege, surrendered with little or no resistance.

Sir

* Both English and French have fell into the like mistake, in the situation of several forts, built since that time.

† Sir William Phips was a New-England man, born at Pemaquid in 1650, where he kept sheep until he was 18 years old, then was an apprentice to a ship carpenter. When he was free, he set up his trade and built a ship at Sheepscoote. After that, he followed the sea, and hearing of a Spanish wreck near the Bahamas, he gave such an account of it in England, that in 1683 he was appointed commander of one of the King's frigates, the *Algier Rose*, of 18 guns, and went in search of it, but failed. Soon after, being fitted out by the Duke of Albemarle upon a second voyage, he was more successful, and brought home a treasure of near three hundred thousand pounds, his own share being about sixteen thousand pounds only. The King knighted him. He was soon after appointed high sheriff of New-England, which he accepted with a view to serve his country, under a tyrannical government; but he could do no service, and was in England again in 1688. King James, about the time of his abdication, offered him the government of New-England. It was not a time to accept of it. Sir William had the character of an honest man. His education was very low. He was of a hasty temper; and, being a stout man, he would use his cane and fist after he was governor. Some instances of this sort with a captain of a man of war and a collector occasioned complaints against him in England, which he was sent for to answer, and so far justified or excused his past conduct, that he was returning to his government, when he fell sick and died, and was buried in St. Mary Woolnoth church, London. By a series of fortunate incidents, rather than by any uncommon talents, he rose from the lowest condition in life to be the first man in his country.

Sir William took possession (as appears by his journal) of the whole sea coast, from Port-Royal to Penobscot and the New-England settlements. The plunder was thought equal to the whole expense. But this was conjecture. The acquisition was so easy, that the court were confirmed in the prosecution of their design upon Canada. Besides, the ravages began upon the frontiers by French and Indians, as soon as the spring opened, made it appear more necessary than ever. Casco fort, with above 100 persons, was besieged* and taken, whilst the forces were gone to Port-Royal. There was a still further inducement; they hoped to recommend themselves to the King's favour, and to obtain the establishment of their government. A small vessel had been sent to England express, the beginning of April, with a representation of the exposed state of the colony, and the necessity of the reduction of Canada, and praying for a supply of arms and ammunition, and a number of the King's frigates to attack the French by sea, whilst the colony forces should march by land and perform their parts.† But their hands were too full in England to give any

* May 17th.

† —“ The consideration of the premises hath put the government here upon sending a vessel on purpose to give their Majesties and most honourable privy council a true information of the present condition of these their Majesties colonies. Sandy plantations easterly, in the province of Maine, are utterly ruined and depopulated. The war was begun there the summer 1688, and about 700 soldiers then levied in this colony by Sir Edmund and sent thither, the charge whereof is not yet defrayed.—Last summer we had as great a number, or more, in constant pay; the whole of the rates already made amount to more than twenty thousand pounds. This people are now so very poor, that many protest they have not corn for their families; and those to whom wages are due, cry, that if they have them not, they and their families must starve.—There being now wars between Holland and France, some are fearful lest the Hollanders should eday the possessing themselves of Canada; and though it is hopeful they may prove better neighbours than the French, yet, considering the damage that will thereby be sustained by the crown of England, in loss of fishery, masting, furs, &c. it were better to expend two or three thousand pounds for the gaining that place, than that the French, or Dutch either, should have it.—This small vessel, coming upon this sole errand and business, to serve their Majesties interest, must not be permitted to return empty. We have confidence, that, may their Majesties have a true information, they will judge the present war made by the French and Indians upon their subjects here, to be more their Majesties concern than their subjects, and will not suffer them to sink and perish under so heavy a burden, but will order to be sent out of the King's store four or five hundred barrels of powder, with shot proportionable, and four or five thousand fuzes, our guns being many of them lost in the war.—You may assure their Majesties that it will encourage their subjects here, with all alacrity of mind, to serve their Majesties therewith, for reducing the French in Canada to their Majesties obedience, if their Majesties shall give orders for a suitable number of frigates to attack them by sea.”—*Dep. Gov. Danforth's letter to Sir H. Ashurst, April 1, 1690.*

any attention to this proposal. Massachusetts, however, determined to proceed; and Connecticut and New-York engaged to furnish a body of men. Two thousand were expected to march by Lake Champlain and attack Montreal, at the same time that the forces by sea should be before Quebec. It was late in the season to undertake this great affair, but they tarried longer than otherwise they would have done, in expectation of the stores they had sent for to England. None arriving, the 9th of August the fleet sailed from Nantasket. There were between thirty and forty vessels, great and small, the largest of 44 guns and 200 men, perhaps not of superior strength to a sixth rate man of war, the whole number of men about two thousand. They did not arrive before Quebec until the 5th of October. Great dependence was had upon a division of the French force; but it happened, most unfortunately, that the forces designed against Montreal had retreated, and the news of it had reached Montreal before the fleet arrived at Quebec; so that Count Frontenac, the French general, was able to employ the whole strength of Canada against this little army.* This must have struck a damp upon

* When a plan is thus formed, consisting of various parts, upon the due execution of which the success of the whole depends, it must give great pain to men, who have not lost all feeling, not to have it in their power to perform the parts assigned them, and much greater to have been guilty of neglect or unfaithfulness. It is difficult, at this day, to ascertain the cause of the New-York and Connecticut forces failing. A letter from Boston to London, Nov. 24, 1690, says, "That the enemy had notice of our coming very long before we could get at them; and whereas we had laid in beforehand that the five nations of the western Indians, with a party of English from Connecticut and Albany, should by land alarm the French quarters about Montreal, it fell out that when these were upon their march, some that therein served the French interests, by their wiles decoyed them into a retreat, that proved unlucky for us." The distracted state of the government of New-York, one party determined to ruin the public interest if the other had engaged in it, must have contributed to this disappointment. Leisler writes in a rage to governor Bradstreet, Sept. 15, 1690, "I have used all arguments and means possible to reinforce for Canada; but by Major Winthrop's treachery and cowardice, with the rest of his tools, hath rendered the work altogether impracticable, his errand being so far effected as to leave us in a weaker state than he found us. Nevertheless, we despair not in the least so to maintain that post that it shall defy him and all his assailants ever to dare attempting such lewd, unaccountable practices, in such a rebellious manner, as his keeping a garrison in Livingston's house, posting centinels to challenge the grand rounds, and other crimes, not only to stop our proceedings to pass the lake, but to answer the ambitious ends of the confederates united therein to divert our forces another way. — Good God! how monstrous is it, under pretence of general assistance, to cover their particular interests, and bring to pass such treacherous purposes! Mr. Livingston, that betrayer of the province, and arch confederate with yourselves, being willing

upon the spirits of the English forces, and they could have but little hopes of succeeding. Le Hontan, a French writer, says, the general was at Montreal when he heard the news of the fleet's being in the river; and that, if the English had made their descent before his arrival at Quebec, or two days after, they would have carried the place without striking a blow, there not being 200 French in the city, which lay open and exposed on all hands; but that they lost three days in consulting, before they came to a resolution. Success is wisdom with mankind in general. From the ill success of this undertaking, both English and French writers have treated it with ridicule and peculiar contempt. The next morning after the fleet arrived, Sir William sent a summons ashore. If it was too pompous, the answer was too insolent. The English were called heretics and traitors, and told, that if it had not been for the revolution, New-England and Canada would have been all one. The French say, the major who carried the summons was threatened with a gibbet, and had like to have swooned. No notice is taken of this in the English journals, and it is not likely to be true. An attempt was made to land the next day (the 7th), but the violence of the wind prevented. The 8th they landed all the effective men, amounting to between twelve and thirteen hundred.* They were fired upon from the woods by French and Indians, and marched in disorder, and did not attempt to cross Charles river, which lay between them and the town. Night overtook them. Upon examining a deserter, he gave them such an account of the strength of the French, as discouraged them from advancing any further. The ships were drawn up the next evening before the town. They did little damage to the enemy, but were much shattered by the cannon from their batteries. The forces continued ashore until the 11th, rather upon the defensive, when they embarked with precipitation. A council of war was called the next day, and proposals were made for another

willing to have exposed us to the remaining inhabitants; however, God be thanked, we had those that made early provision against these devices," &c.

Thus Winthrop's character seems to have been made a sacrifice to Leisler's vanity and madness.

* Le Hontan makes them three times that number, and that they left 300 dead on the spot.

other attempt, after a few days refreshment for the men ; but tempestuous weather came on, which drove some of the vessels from their anchors, and scattered the whole fleet ; and they made the best of their way back to Boston, where Sir William arrived the 19th of November. Some of the fleet were blown off to the West-Indies, one was lost upon Anticosta, and two or three were wrecked or never heard of. It appears by manuscript letters, that about two hundred men were lost by the enemy and sickness.* The small pox, which prevailed in Boston before they sailed, had got into the army. Many died of the camp disease after their return, and spread the infection among the inhabitants of Boston. This was a humbling stroke to New-England. The return of the New-York and Connecticut forces was the most visible cause of the disappointment. Walley, who had the command of the land forces, gave in a journal of his proceedings to the general court. His conduct was censured by particular persons, but there was no public inquiry.

The government was utterly unprepared for the return of the forces. They seem to have presumed, not only upon success, but upon the enemy's treasure to bear the charge of the expedition. The soldiers were upon the point of mutiny for want of their wages.† It was utterly impracticable to raise, in a few days, such a sum of money as would be necessary. An act was passed for levying the sum, but the men could not stay until it should be brought into the treasury. The extreme difficulty to which the government was thus reduced was the occasion of the first bills of credit ever issued in the colonies, as a substitute in the place of money.‡ The debt was paid by paper notes, from two shillings to ten pounds denomination ; which notes were to be received for payment of the tax which was to be levied,

* Sir William says, in his representation to King William, that he did not lose above 30 men by the enemy.

† *Arma tenenti, omnia dat, qui iusta negat.*

‡ Barbados was the first which followed the example. Mr. Woodbridge, a New-England man, was the projector. Their bills sank so low that the island was in confusion, and they soon abolished them. All the colonies upon the continent, Nova-Scotia excepted, have, first or last, with very different success, gone into the same substitute. It may be made a query, whether the project of a land bank in England in the reign of King William, which entirely failed, was not taken from this expedient of New-England.

levied, and all other payments in the treasury. This was a new experiment. They had better credit than King James's leather money in Ireland, about the same time. But the notes would not command money, nor any commodities at money price. Sir William Phips, it is said, exchanged a large sum, at par, in order to give them credit. The soldiers in general were great sufferers, and could get no more than twelve or fourteen shillings in the pound. As the time of payment of the tax approached, the credit of the notes was raised; and the government allowing five per cent. to those who paid their taxes in notes, they became better than money. This was gain to the possessor, but it did not restore to the poor soldier what he had lost by the discount.* Sir William Phips, after a few weeks tarry in Boston, embarked for England, to solicit an expedition from thence against Canada; the government, at the same time, sending their humble address to their Majesties, shewing the necessity of it.

Whilst

* The government, encouraged by the restoration of credit to their bills, afterwards issued others for charges of government. They obtained good credit at the time of their being issued. The charges of government were paid in this manner from year to year. Whilst the sum was small, silver continued the measure, and bills continued their value. When the charges of government increased after the second expedition to Canada in 1711, the bills likewise increased; and in the same or greater proportion the silver and gold were sent out of the country. There being a cry of scarcity of money in 1714, the government caused 30,000*l.* to be issued, and in 1716, 100,000*l.* and sent to the inhabitants, to be paid in at a certain period, and in the mean time to pass as money. Lands were mortgaged for security. As soon as the silver and gold were gone, and the bills were the sole instrument of commerce, pounds shillings and pence were altogether ideal; for no possible reason could be assigned why a bill of twenty shillings should bear a certain proportion to any one quantity of silver more than another: sums in bills were drawing into the treasury from time to time by the taxes or payment of the loans, but then other sums were continually issuing out, and all the bills were paid and received without any distinction either in public or private payments; so that, for near forty years together, the currency was in much the same state as if a hundred thousand pounds sterling had been stamped in pieces of leather or paper of various denominations, and declared to be the money of the government, without any other sanction than this, that, when there should be taxes to pay, the treasury would receive this sort of money, and that every creditor should be obliged to receive it from his debtor. Can it be supposed that such a medium could retain its value? In 1702, 6/8 was equal to an ounce of silver. In 1749, 50*s.* was judged equal to an ounce of silver. I saw a five shilling bill which had been issued in 1690 and was remaining in 1749, and was then equal to eight pence only in lawful money, and so retained but about one eighth of its original value. Such was the delusion, that not only the bills of the Massachusetts government passed as money, but they received the bills of the government of Connecticut, New-Hampshire and Rhode-Island also as a currency. The Massachusetts bills passed also in those governments. In 1749 bills of credit were abolished; and, unless the evils which they occasioned should be forgotten, the government, it must be presumed, will never issue any more.

Whilst the forces were gone to Canada, and the event uncertain, the Indians pretended to be disposed to peace. Major Pike and Major Hutchinson,* two of the assistants, were appointed to treat with them at Wells; but nothing was done. On the 29th of November, six of the chiefs, viz. Edgeremet, Toqualmot, Watombamet, Naictumbuit, Walombee, and John Hawkins,† brought in ten captives, and, in behalf of the Penicook, Winnapissiaukee, Ollapy, Pigwacket, Amascoggin, Pejepscot, Kennebeck Indians, and all adjacent places, within the territories of those sagamores, agreed upon a truce until the first of May ensuing, upon which day they were to meet at the house of Lieutenant Storer, in Wells, and to bring in all the English captives, and to settle articles for a firm and lasting peace. This agreement was made at Sagadahoc, with Capt. John Alden, appointed by the governor and council for that purpose. In consequence of this truce, the land enjoyed rest for the winter.

At the day appointed, Mr. Danforth, the deputy governor, and several others, with a proper guard, repaired to Wells; but no Indians appeared. Capt. Converse went out, and meeting with some of them, they came in, bringing two captives with them, and promised in twenty days to bring in all the rest. The deputy governor returned disappointed, and a fresh supply of 35 men were sent to Storer's house, where they were scarcely arrived, when, on June 9th, an attack was made upon the garrison by 200 Indians, with Moxus, a noted sachem, at their head; but the fortunate arrival of these recruits prevented the enemy from succeeding. Divers were killed at Berwick, Exeter and Cape Nidduck. A small army was sent into the eastern country by sea, which landed at Maquoit, and marched to Pejepscot, but met with none of the enemy. As the English were re-embarking, they were attacked by a great
body

* Grandson to Mrs. Hutchinson.

† The last received his name from the English, his Indian name not mentioned. The others are names of dignity, it being their custom when one chief dies to give the name to his successor in office though not of his family. There were an Edgeremet and Narctombuit at the treaty of Palmouth in 1749. Toxus has been the name of a Norridgewock chief for divers successions; perhaps from the same cause that the Pharaohs and Ptolemys kept up those names in Egypt—respect for them that first bore them.

body of Indians. Their vessels were aground. English and Indians kept firing all night. The Indians were, by this army, diverted from going over to the Isles of Shoals, which they intended to have done. The frontiers were unmolested after this, until the 28th of September, when 7 people were killed and taken at Berwick; and, the next day, between 20 and 30 at Sandy-beach; and in October, a family was destroyed at Rowley, and another at Haverhill. On the 25th of January the town of York was destroyed. Most of the houses were unguarded. A gun fired by the Indians caused many of the inhabitants to run to their doors. They found themselves surrounded with Indians; about 50 of the English were killed upon the spot, and near an hundred captivated. The minister, Shubael Dummer, who was in great esteem, was shot dead, as he was mounting his horse at his door, and his wife and family made prisoners. They set fire to the houses, four fortified houses only holding out against them, viz. Alcock's, Prebles's, Harman's and Norton's. A party of men were sent from Portsmouth, but too late to give relief.

Whilst the colony was thus distressed within themselves, their enemies in England took the advantage of their distresses, and used them as an argument against the restitution of the charter, imputing all to the bad administration of government. The difference between their agents also increased. Mr. Wiswall, a minister of Plymouth colony, a gentleman of piety and learning, was in Boston when Mr. Cooke and Oakes were about to embark, and he was desired to go with them. He had no credentials. He joined in politics with Mr. Cooke, rather than with Mr. Mather. The people of Plymouth were extremely desirous of continuing a separate government; but if that could not be obtained, they chose to be annexed to Massachusetts rather than New-York. When Mr. Slaughter was appointed governor of New-York, Plymouth was put into his commission; but by the industry and discreet application of Mr. Mather, the commission was altered.* An order,
after

* Connecticut, to remove all exception, obtained the opinion of three great lawyers upon the case of that colony, which was as follows:

** The corporation of Connecticut colony in New-England not having under their

after this, was issued to the lords chief justices, Holt and Pollexfen, and the attorney and solicitor general,* to draw up a new charter for Massachusetts, and Plymouth was included in it. When Mr. Wiswall understood this, he opposed it, in hopes of obtaining a separate grant. This offended the solicitor general, and he struck out Plymouth, and it was again intended they should be annexed to New-York. When this news reached the colony of Plymouth, many people were alarmed; yet their general court persisted in desiring Sir Henry Ashurst, their agent, to apply for a separate charter, without signifying that they chose to be joined to Massachusetts rather than to New-York; nor could they raise any money, the people about Bristol, Dartmouth, &c. pretending that there was no hopes of any charter for them, nor Massachusetts neither. The sentiments of many of the best men in the colony were known to Mr. Mather; otherwise, it is not improbable, Plymouth would

their public seal surrendered their charter, and there being no surrender upon record, only, when it was proposed to them by the late King James that they should take their choice whether they would be under the governor of New-York or of Boston, they humbly prayed that they might still enjoy the privilege of choosing their own governor according to their charter, but, if the King was resolved otherwise, they said they had rather be under Boston than under New-York. After which Sir Edmund Andros did, by a commission from the late King James, invade the liberty of the people in that colony, and exercise a government over them contrary to their charter, which they most unwillingly submitted to. But since the late happy revolution in England, the people of Connecticut have chosen a governor and assistants according to their charter, and doubt not but that they have a legal right to their former privileges.

Qu. Whether the charter belonging to Connecticut in New-England is, by means of their involuntary submission to Sir Edmund Andros's government, void in law, so as that the King may send a governor to them contrary to their charter privileges, when there has been no judgment entered against their charter, nor any surrender thereof upon record?

I am of opinion that such submission as is put in this case doth not invalidate the charter, or any of the powers therein, which were granted under the great seal; and that the charter, not being surrendered under the common seal, and that surrender duly enrolled of record, nor any judgment entered of record against it, the same remains good and valid in law, and that the corporation may lawfully execute the powers and privileges thereby granted, notwithstanding such submission and appointment of a governor as aforesaid. 2d Aug. 1690. EDW. WARD.

I am of the same opinion; as this matter is stated, there is no ground of doubt.

GEO. TREBY.

J. SOMERS."

I am of the same opinion.

The proceedings against Rhode-Island having been very near the same with those against Connecticut, the same opinion would serve to justify them in re-assuming their charter. The refusal of the Massachusetts house of deputies to comply with the demands of an arbitrary prince, and to make the like submission which the other two colonies had done, caused a judgment against their charter; and however equitable a re-assumption might have been, yet they were barred from a lawful claim to it.

* Treby and Somers.

would finally have been included in New-York commission, although near three hundred miles distant.*

When Mr. Mather found it impossible to obtain the restitution of the old charter, his next care was to preserve as many of the privileges contained in it as he could. Sir Henry Ashurst joined with him in all his measures. Mr. Cooke was for the old charter, or none at all. Mr. Oakes, the other agent, joined with Mr. Cooke.† It was doubtful whether they had authority, by their instructions, to solicit for any other. In the first draught of a new charter, the governor only was reserved to the King; the deputy governor, and council, and other officers, were to be chosen by the people; and the governor had no negative in any case. This draught was made by the attorney general, according to what he took to be the King's mind, as expressed in council. It was presented at the council board the 8th of June, 1691;‡ when it was objected, that, "by such

* Your service in keeping us from New-York, and all other intimations for the good of this colony, is thankfully received; and it would have been well pleasing to myself and sundry others of the most thinking men, who are desirous of supporting the ministry and schools of learning, to have been annexed to Boston; yet the greatest part of the people, and of our deputies, are most desirous of obtaining a charter for themselves if possible to be procured, though, so far as I can discern, they had much rather be annexed to Massachusetts than to New-York, yet are not willing to have it mentioned, lest it should divert any endeavours for obtaining a distinct charter for themselves.—It was voted that two hundred pounds should be raised by a voluntary contribution. On trial made, though some particular men and towns did contribute liberally, yet others, by reason of the great charge of the war, and partly being discouraged by some leading men telling them that they would but throw away their money, that they would never be like to obtain a charter, nor you neither for Massachusetts, thereby the sum proposed fell considerably short; and by the court's order, the whole sum not being raised, none was to be sent.—Not being in a capacity to make rates for the equal defraying the charge, I see little or no likelihood of obtaining a charter for us, unless their Majesties out of their royal bounty and clemency graciously please to grant it *juxta formam pauperis* to their poor but loyal subjects of this colony. *J. Hinkley to Mather, Octob. 16, 1691.* The charter was complete before this letter could arrive.

† Mr. Oakes, however, signed the petition for a new charter, although Mr. Cooke refused.

‡ Whilst the Massachusetts agents were soliciting a charter for that colony, a project was set on foot by Doctor Cox for forming a grand colony or state more extensive than all the other colonies together. The original draught of a charter has this entry upon it: "In the council chamber at Whitehall, the 22d of August, 1690. The right honourable the lords of the committee for trade and foreign plantations are pleased to refer the consideration of this draught of a grant, to Mr. Attorney General, who is desired to consider how far the same is confiding with law, and to report his opinion thereupon to the committee, William Blaithwait." The report of the attorney general runs thus: "May it please your lordships, in obedience to your order of reference, I have perused this draught, and I conceive

such a charter as this, the King's governor would be made a governor of clouts ;"* and an order passed for preparing the heads of another draught. When they were prepared, a copy was given to Mr. Mather, with an order from their Lordships, that " if the agents were not satisfied therewith, they should bring in their objections to the attorney general." Mr. Mather was so dissatisfied, that he declared he would sooner part with his life than consent to them. He was told, " the consent of the agents was not desired ; the agents of New-England were not plenipotentiaries from a sovereign state ; if they declared they would not submit to the King's pleasure, his Majesty would settle the country, and they might take what would follow." Sir Henry Alhurst, with Mr. Mather, drew up, notwithstanding, their objections

conceive their Majesties may erect such a corporation (as is here purported) and enable them to purchase such lands, and exercise government in the same. But the clause of confiscating the ships and goods of their Majesties' subjects who shall trade to such place without the company's permission will not be good in law. Also some clauses, particularly about the oaths and courts and officers, need be more clearly and intelligibly penned. Geo. Treby. Aug. 25th, 1690 "

By this charter, certain persons were to be made a corporation, capable in law to plead and be impleaded, &c. and to acquire and purchase lands, goods and chattels of the several natives and other inhabitants of that part of the continent of America lying and being in breadth from $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of north latitude, which is the northerly bounds of Carolina, to $46\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of north latitude, and in length from the pacific ocean, otherwise called the south sea, unto the westerly bounds of the English colonies of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the heads of the great rivers, in a certain ridge of mountains, separating the colony of Virginia from the rest of the continent, which runs into the bay of Chesapeak and from thence into the atlantic ocean, together with all islands, lakes, quarries, mines, &c. and all appurtenances whatsoever, to hold, use, and to give, grant and dispose of the same in as ample manner as any other corporation within the realm of England might or could do.

The governor, deputy governor and assistants were to be annually chosen by the company in England.

They had power to cause to be transported, subjects and strangers ; also, goods, chattels and merchandize.

None were to inhabit or dwell within the bounds of the patent, or to trade with the natives, without leave of the corporation.

All who should go thither, or be born there, to have the liberty of free and natural born subjects.

Power to establish provinces, counties, cities, towns, districts and jurisdictions, as should be thought fit.

Under their common seal in the King's name to appoint judges, justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers civil and military.

By such commanders, governors and officers as should be appointed by the corporation, to erect forts, &c. to assemble and put in warlike posture the inhabitants, and to encounter by sea and land all persons invading, annoying, &c.

A general court established, each city or borough to send two members, with power to make laws, &c. for the royal approbation, to raise taxes for the support and defence of the colony.

Free liberty of conscience to all the inhabitants.

* Mather's Narrative.

objections against the minutes, insisting upon the King's promise, and that charters might as well be refused to be restored to any of the corporations in England, where they had been taken away, as to New-England.* The objections were presented to the attorney general, and laid before

* Mr. Hampden, upon this occasion, desired the opinion of Mr. Hooke, a counsellor of note, which he gave as follows :

“ There are two parties which solicit the affairs of New-England :

1. Those who labour for an union of the whole territory under a captain-general, who should govern by commission from the King, without any respect to former charters.

Against this party it is justly objected, that a people, who some years since left their native country for the sake of their consciences, and adventured to inhabit a wilderness which had just before been swept of its inhabitants by a dreadful plague ; who had added to many of the heathen to the inheritance of our blessed Saviour, which no other Christian planters have done ; who have added so great a territory to the English empire, and are so useful to all other English plantations ; who, rather than break with England, submitted to the Turkish commission of Sir Edmund Andros ; and who have maintained civility beyond any other people on earth ; I say, that such a people should have their whole constitution overturned by a new sort of government, would be hard and unreasonable ; that for the present government to do all this, by taking advantage of the arbitrary and justly exploded proceedings of the last reign, would be scandalous and dishonourable.

2. The other party labour to have the several charters of the respective colonies restored.

Against them it is justly objected, that a bare restoration of their charters, and especially of the Massachusetts, would be of no service at all, as appears both from the charter itself and the practice of that colony, who have hardly pursued the terms thereof in any one instance ; which hath given colour to evil-minded men to give them disturbance.

1st. As to the charter itself, that colony, should they have their charter, would want,

1. Power to call a parliament, or select assembly ; for there, many thousand freemen have, thereby, an equal right to sit in their general assembly.

2. Power to lay taxes and raise money, especially on Indians not being of the company, and strangers coming to or trading thither.

3. They have not any admiralty.

4. Nor have they power to keep a prerogative court, prove wills, &c.

5. Nor to erect courts of judicature, especially chancery courts.

2d. The deficiency of their charter appears from their practice, wherein they have not had any respect thereto ; but, having used the aforesaid powers without any grant, they have exercised their charter powers also otherwise than the charter directed.

1. They have made laws contrary to the laws of England.

2. Their laws have not been under their seal.

3. They have not used their name of incorporation.

4. They have not used their seal in their grants.

5. They have not kept their general courts ; nor,

6. Have they observed the number of assistants appointed by the charter.

A middle way, therefore, seems most desirable, viz. that new charters be granted to the respective colonies, wherein the former to be recited, and the proceedings against them respectively, and a new grant made in terminis, by the words grant and confirm ; and, reciting the deficiency in the former charter, all those powers may be vested in the government of the Massachusetts for the time being, and the colonies which have no charters to be annexed to the Massachusetts colony, &c.

fore the council, and a copy sent to the King in Flanders; but all had no effect. The King approved of the minutes, and disliked the objections made to them; and the charter was drawn up by Mr. Blaithwait,* according to them. The only question with the agents was, whether to submit to this new settlement, or to signify to the ministers of state that they had rather have no charter at all. Mr Cooke continued firm to his first principles; and as he would never take any one step towards obtaining the charter, so he utterly refused to accept of it, when granted; and he endeavoured to prevent the colony from accepting it also.† Mr. Wifwall's principles and conduct were the same with Mr. Cooke's, and he endeavoured to prejudice the colony of Plymouth against the charter, as the other did that of Massachusetts.

* The charter has been said to have been drawn up by Sir John Somers; a mistake, from his having drawn the first, which was refused: others said it was done by Mr. Locke. There are so many inaccuracies as are not to be accounted for, if done by either of those great men. It is more probable they should come from Mr. Blaithwait.

†

London, Nov. 4, 1691.

Hon. Sir,

The foregoing went by Capt. Blower; soon after which, Mr. Blathwait prepared the draught of the charter which was agreed to by the Lords of the committee, and afterwards by them referred to the lords of the council, and there also passed, so as the dedimus was signed by the lords of the great seal October the 7th, that so the seal might be affixed when they pleased; but a stop was put thereto for some time, and it was given out that there would be no further proceeding therein till the King's return to court, who was then expected the first fair wind, which was not till the 19th day; but some, being restless and impatient till that matter was made irretrievable, got it to pass the great seal about two days before, and the commission and instructions for the government were then said to be also prepared, though his Majesty has not yet declared who shall be the governor, and lieutenant or deputy governor, and I am informed that it will be a week at least before he will, there being several who now move for it besides Sir William, and it is said there are no less than twenty that lay in for the government of New-York. I have herewith sent a copy of the charter, which in some things you will find comes short of the minutes, and the province of New-Hampshire left out; and notwithstanding the country of Nova-Scotia, &c. is therein granted, yet an after clause thereby takes away all the right to the soil to the eastward of Sagadahoc. Had any petition come from New-Hampshire respecting their desire to be continued under the Massachusetts, in all probability it had been granted them; but the contrary being affirmed, and that they desired to be distinct, gave the advantage to Mr. Allen to gain his point, which doubtless will be much to their prejudice.—When the court shall have the charter before them, they will then see how far it answers their desire and expectation, and know what they have to trust to, whom I pray God to direct for the best. It must be remembered that you have no plenipotentiaries for you here, and if any thing said or done here by any employed by you should be construed as obliging of you, you know how far you have obliged yourselves by your commissions and instructions to them. I hope you have been careful not to perpetuate any public revenue, or any officer's salary or stipend, nor large fees, &c. *Mr. Cooke's letter to Gov. Bradstreet.*

Massachusetts.* The nomination of the officers reserved to the crown were left, for the first time, to the agents, or rather to Mr. Mather, who was considered as *inftar omnium*.†

Sir William Phips was the person recommended for governor. He had been chosen by the colony an assistant, the year before, and was acceptable to the people in general. Mr. Stoughton had been appointed deputy president by King James; and although he had not recovered his interest so far with the people as to obtain a vote for an assistant, yet he stood well with many persons of influence, particularly with Mr. Mather, the son, who wrote to his father in favour of him.‡ Mr. Addington, the secretary, was at that time secretary to the colony. The emoluments of that office were small, compared with the duty, and so he was in less danger of a competitor. The twenty-eight counsellors were persons of the best characters in the several parts of the colonies, of which, by the charter, they were to be inhabitants or proprietors. Several who had been of

the

* —“ I do believe Plymouth's silence, Humphries' neglect, and the rashness and imprudence of one at least who went from New-England in disguise by night, hath not a little contributed to our general disappointment.—Plymouth, the Massachusetts as far west as the Narraganset country and northward 3 miles beyond Menimack river, the province of Maine, and the lands from Sagadahoc eastward as far as the easternmost extent of Acadie or Nova-Scotia, are clapt into one province, under such restrictions as I believe will not be very acceptable to those inhabitants who must lose their ancient names. There are in the new charter 28 counsellors (of which 4 for Plymouth) a governor and deputy, all nominated by one who acts as if he were a sole plenipotentiary. The governor, deputy and secretary are to be nominated and continued only *durante bene placito*. Sir W. P. hath one that labours hard for his advancement.—I only reflect on New-England's condition under this juncture of providence, much like that of the Jews under Cyrus ascending the throne of their oppressor. At his first appearance, they were in hope to rebuild their city and sanctuary, but were deprived of their expected privileges all his days by ill-minded counsellors.—All the frame of heaven moves upon one axis, and the whole of New-England's interest seems designed to be loaden on one bottom, and her particular motions to be concentric to the Massachusetts tropic. You know who are wont to trot after the Bay horse. Your distance is your advantage, by which you may observe their motions. Yet let me mind you of that great stateman, Eccles. vii. 14. Few wise men rejoice at their chains.—Doubtless it would be accounted hypocrisy before God, and ground of despair among men, to see any person receive and entertain the present and undeniable evidences of his disappointment, with the usual testimonies and compliments attending the desire accomplished. *Wifwall to Hinkley, Nov. 5, 1691.*

† “ Pray let me by eight o'clock have the names you would have for governor, deputy and assistants, that I may give them to my lord president,” &c. *Sir H. Ashurst to I. Mather, Sept. 3, 91.*

‡ “ Mr. Stoughton is a real friend to New-England, and willing to make any amendment for the miscarriages of the late government. I wish that you might be able to do any thing to restore him to the favour of his country.” *Cotton to Increase Mather.*

the assistants chosen by the people, were left out of the number, Mr Cooke in particular, also Thomas Danforth, William Browne, William Johnson, John Smith, Thomas Oakes, and Jeremiah Swaine. All these, except Mr. Browne, who was supposed to have been too compliant with Sir Edmund, were rigidly attached to the old charter ; and Mr. Mather no doubt expected they would appear in opposition to the acceptance of the new ; for, however extraordinary it may appear, the people of the country were far from being unanimous in submitting to it, expecting, that, if it should be refused, they might maintain their right to their old privileges. They thought it would be a singular hard case, that the effects of the late despotism must be felt by them alone, of all their Majesties' subjects, all other charters, whether there had been judgments against them, or whether there had been a surrender only, being, by one means or other, restored. But, it was said, there was this difference between the case of the Massachusetts and most of the other charters. In general, there was no room for legal exception to the powers exercised by the corporations ; but the Massachusetts charter not being intended, when it was granted, for such government as is necessary to be exercised in the colony remote from its mother country, a reversion of the former judgment would have been of no service ; and Sir George Treby declared to Mr. Mather, Sir John Somers, and the two lords chief justices being present and assenting to it, that " if the judgment against the charter should be reversed, and the government should exercise those powers which, before the *quò warrantò*, they had done, a new writ would issue out against them in Westminster-hall, and there would be a judgment against them, and such an one as that there would be no room for a writ of error." By the old charter, it was said, they had power to imprison or inflict punishment, in criminal cases, according to the course of corporations in England ; but that, unless capital cases be expressly mentioned, the power would not reach them ; that no power was given to erect judicatories, or courts for probate of wills, or with admiralty jurisdiction, nor any power to constitute a house of deputies or representatives, nor to impose

impose taxes on the inhabitants, nor to incorporate towns, colleges, schools, &c. which powers and privileges had been, notwithstanding, usurped. Whether many of the corporations in England had not deviated as much from their original constitution, and whether particular persons are not punishable for usurpations, and not the corporation itself extinguished or dissolved, as was urged in the case of the city of London, it is not necessary to determine. Seventy years practice under a new charter, in many respects to be preferred to the old, has taken away, not only all expectation, but all desire, of ever returning to the old charter. We do not envy the neighbouring governments which retained, and have ever since practised upon, their ancient charters. Many of the most sensible men in those governments would be glad to be under the same constitution that the Massachusetts province happily enjoys.

Sir William Phips arrived at Boston, with the charter, the 14th of May, 1692. He issued writs for a general assembly, which met the 8th of June following.

Although a party was formed which opposed a submission to the charter, yet a majority of the court wisely and thankfully accepted it, and appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God, for "granting a safe arrival to his excellency the governor and the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, who have industriously endeavoured the service of this people, and have brought over with them a settlement of government, in which their Majesties have graciously given us distinguishing marks of their royal favour and goodness."

Sir William arrived just at the beginning of as strange an infatuation as any people were ever under. A considerable number of innocent persons were sacrificed to the distempered imagination, or perhaps wicked hearts, of such as pretended to be bewitched. But having proceeded as far as I proposed, I leave the relation of this unfortunate affair, and other transactions and occurrences since the present charter, to be communicated to the public by some abler pen.

C H A P. IV.

The Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Colony, and the special Religious Customs.

IT was one great design of the first planters of the Massachusetts colony to obtain for themselves and their posterity the liberty of worshiping God in such manner as appeared to them to be most agreeable to the sacred scriptures. Whilst they remained in England they continued in the communion of the church, such of them excepted as were excluded from it for nonconformity to some of the ceremonies. With some of the ceremonial parts of worship they were all more or less dissatisfied. The canons or laws of the church, and the rigid execution of them, they accounted a grievous burden. The form of government in the church was not a general subject of complaint. They were very careful to distinguish themselves from the Brownists and other separatists. Had they remained in England, and the church been governed with the wisdom and moderation of the present day, they would have remained, to use their own expression, "in the bosom of that church where they had received their hopes of salvation.*" They were of the same stamp with Doctor Preston, Doctor Sibbs, Mr. Hildersham, Rogers, Dod, and other old puritans; who, though called nonconformists, yet I suppose never separated, but refrained from such ceremonies and such parts of the liturgy only as they scrupled to use. However, they did not suppose the form of episcopal government to be enjoined by divine authority, so as to make it unlawful to submit to, or to establish, any other form. They knew very well, that upon their arrival in America they would be no longer subject to any diocesan in England; but they took no measures for the establishment of episcopacy under any restrictions or limitations by royal or national

* The son of one of the first ministers, in a preface to a sermon preached soon after the revolution, remarks, "that if the bishops in the reign of King Charles the First had been of the same spirit with those in the reign of King William, there would have been no New-England."

tional authority. They must, however, have supposed some form or other of church government would be necessary ; but they were far from being determined what it should be. *Mr. Hildersham advised them to agree upon it before they left England ; but it was neglected ; perhaps it was impracticable. They knew not how far Mr. Endicot had proceeded in forming the first church, and how much it resembled the constitution of the separatists at Plymouth ; and soon after the news of it, one company, who were designed for New-England, formed themselves into a church in the new hospital at Plymouth, and John Warham and John Maverick were chosen and ordained their ministers. Both of them had before been ordained by bishops. The separatists used to boast, that “ if the old puritans were secure of the magistrate’s sword, and might go on with his good licence, they would shake off the prelate’s yoke, and draw no longer in spiritual communion with all the profane in the land ; and though they then preached and wrote against the separatists, yet, if they were in a place where they might have their liberty, they would do as they did.”† The inconveniencies we suffer under one extreme, it must be allowed, carry us insensibly into the other. The New-England puritans, when at full liberty, went the full length which the separatists did in England. It does not follow that they would have done so if they had remained in England. Upon their removal they supposed their relation both to the civil and ecclesiastical government, except so far as a special reserve was made by their charter, was at an end, and that they had right to form such new model of both as best pleased them. In the form of worship, they universally followed the New-Plymouth church. I find a common prayer book among the list of books presented by William Backhouse for the use of the ministers, but it was never made use of in any church. The first notice, after the charter, of any step towards forming themselves into a church estate was, upon occasion of great sickness and mortality, about a month after their arrival, when the governor, at Charlestown, wrote to Mr. Johnson at Salem to set apart a day to humble themselves,

* Hubbard.

† Robinson—Bradford.

selves, and seek God in his ordinances, and solemnly to enter into covenant with him; and as they lived in three* distinct places, and had men of ability in each, they might become three distinct bodies. At Charlestown, the governor, deputy governor, Mr. Johnson, who had removed from Salem, and the minister, Mr. Wilton, on the 30th of July, the fast day, entered into a church covenant; two days after, they allowed five more to join them, and so others, from time to time; and at length they in form chose Mr. Wilton for their minister, and ordained him;† but all joined in a protestation that it was not a renouncing of the ministry he received in England, but that it was as a confirmation in consequence of their election.‡ In the other plantations they formed themselves into distinct churches, one after another, but seem to have had no settled scheme or plan of church government, until Mr. Cotton|| came over, in 1633. His praise was in all the churches, as the principal projector of the plan of government of the New-England churches, which from that time took the name of congregational. This was called the middle way between brownism and presbyterianism,§ and is said to be distinguished by four characteristicks, viz.

1st. The subject matter of the visible church, viz. saints by calling, such as are acquainted with the principles of religion, and who profess their faith, and the manner how they were brought to the knowledge of God by faith in Christ, either *credo voce*, or else by a public declaration thereof made by the elders, as it has been delivered to them in private; although, if such profession be scandalized by an unchristian conversation, it is not to be regarded.

2d. The constitutive part of a particular visible church ought to be, a re stipulation or mutual covenanting to walk together in their christian communion, according to the rule of the gospel.

3d. No church ought to be of larger extent or greater number

* Mr. Prince supposes the three to be Dorchester, Charlestown and Salem. Salem had been in a church state a year before.

† August 30th.

‡ Mr. Prince has taken no notice of this circumstance mentioned by Hubbard.

|| Whatever Mr. Cotton delivered was soon put into an order of court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment. *Hubb.*

§ Hubbard.

number than may ordinarily meet together in one place, for the enjoyment of all the same numerical ordinances, and celebrating all divine worship; nor fewer, ordinarily, than conveniently may carry on church work.

4th. That there is no jurisdiction to which particular churches are or ought to be subject, by way of authoritative censure, nor any other church power, extrinsecal to such churches, which they ought to depend upon any other sort of men for the exercise of.

These are said to be the principles upon which a platform of church government was formed.

An odious sense had been affixed to the name of Independents, which seems to have been the reason why it was avoided, rather than any material distinction in the constitution of the churches which appears or can be inferred from either of those characteristics; but the platform, agreed upon and published in 1648, although it does not own that dependence which shall subject any one church to any other, or even to the whole united together, yet it professes a relation which one church hath to another,* and

* We may see something of the relation the churches considered themselves in, one to another, before the platform in 1647, by the following letter from the church of Salem to the church of Dorchester.

“Salem, 1st 5th m^o 39.

“Reverend and dearly beloved in the Lord. We thought it our bounden duty to acquaint you with the names of such persons as have had the great censure past upon them in this our church, with the reasons thereof, beseeching you in the Lord, not only to read their names in public to yours, but also to give us the like notice of any dealt with in like manner by you, that so we may walk towards them accordingly, for some of us, here, have had communion ignorantly with some of other churches, 2 Thes. iii. 14. We can do no less than have such noted as disobey the truth.

Roger Williams and his wife,
John Throgmorton and his wife,
Thomas Olney and his wife,
Stukeley Westcott and his wife,
Mary Holliman,
Widow Reeves,

} These wholly refused to hear the church, denying it, and all the churches in the Bay, to be true churches, and (except two) are all re-baptized.

John Elford, for obstinacy, after divers sins he stood guilty of and proved by witness—William James for pride, and divers other evils, in which he remained obstinate—John Talby for much pride, and unnaturalness to his wife, who was lately executed for murdering her child—William Walcot for refusing to bring his children to the ordinance, neglecting willingly family duties, &c.

Thus, withing the continued enjoyment of both the staves, beauty and bands, and that your souls may flourish as watered gardens, rest

Yours in the Lord Jesus,

For the church of Christ
in Dorchester.

HUGH PETERS,
by the church's order,
and in their name.”

“Of late, divers of the ministry have had set meetings to order church matters, by which it is conceived they bend towards prebyterian rule.” *Lechford*, 1641,

and connects them together by certain rules to be observed as the terms or conditions upon which such connection is to continue, and upon the irregular walk or demeanor of any one church, they are no longer to remain members of the same body, and the other churches are not to admit them to their fellowship or communion. And, although it was the business of a synod, or general council of all the churches, to debate and determine matters of religion, and to give directions relating to the worship of God and the good government of the church, "which were to be received with reverence and submission," yet the synod was to exercise no church censures by way of discipline, nor any act of church authority or jurisdiction, further than was done at the first council of the apostles; elders, and whole church, as recorded in the 15th chapter of Acts, which was declared to be a precedent. All this provision may appear but a weak band of society; and one would think that merely being rejected from a society, which, it is to be presumed, after sufficient cause given for such rejection, there would remain no great fondness for continuing with, would be no great punishment. But this constitution of church government was adapted to the constitution of civil government, both as popular as can well be conceived; and notwithstanding an acknowledgment or declaration from both, of separate and distinct rights, yet each was aiding and assisting to the other.* By the laws established

* A constant watch was kept over the churches by the magistrates; and when any contention or disorder arose in a church, it was recommended to some of the neighbouring churches to inquire into the causes thereof. The following order of the civil government shews in what manner they proceeded.

"At a council held at Boston, the 5th of Sept. 1656.

"The council, being informed of the uncomfortable differences that of late have fallen out in the church of Christ at Sudbury, notwithstanding several endeavours to compose the same, which yet have been fruitless, out of their tender care to preserve and procure peace and unity amongst them, lately wrote to the said church, in an amicable way, to advise and counsel them forthwith to call in to their help such council from the neighbouring churches as the rule prescribes, from whose labours, through the blessing of God, a blessing might have been expected, which too great a part of that church, as they understood by their letter, is far from inclining unto. The council, judging it to be their duty to take an effectual course for the healing of their breaches, do therefore desire and order, that the churches of Christ in Cambridge, Watertown and Concord, do each of them respectively send two messengers to meet at said Sudbury on the 7th day of October next, by 3 of the clock in the morning, to consider and advise in the premises, viz. to endeavour to compose and settle the distractions at Sudbury, to give their judgments in the cases of differences there; and it is expected and desired

established in the colony, no man could have a share in the administration of civil government, or give his voice in any election, unless he was a member of one of the churches.* No church could be gathered without the allowance of the magistrates, consisting of and elected by members of the churches; and a minister, for preaching to such a society, was liable to a penalty. Mr. Matthews, a minister, about the year 1650, was fined ten pounds for this offence. A law was made in 1638, that if any person stood excommunicated six months, they should be liable to fine, imprisonment, or banishment, as the court of assistants should determine; but this law approached too nigh to the ecclesiastical laws in England, so much complained of, to continue long in force, and in 1639 it was repealed. But the first laws seem to deprive an excommunicated person, and also a whole church, if separated from the rest, of all civil privileges, although the platform does not suppose deprivation of civil rights and authority to be the necessary consequence; yet, even by the platform, all others were to "forbear to eat and drink with excommunicated persons."

Whilst

fired that the church of Sudbury, and all persons concerned therein, give this council, at the time and place aforesaid, the opportunity of meeting with them, to declare what shall concern themselves, or the council shall see cause to inquire of them, in reference to this business; making their return to the council of this jurisdiction, what success their endeavours, through the blessing of Christ, hath procured, and whose the fault hath been, or is; that so, if necessity require, such further course may be taken therein, as may most conduce to the glory of God, the uniting their hearts to unity in truth and peace, according to the rule of the gospel. And it is ordered, that Lieut. Goodenow, or such as he shall appoint, shall take care for the entertainment of the said council and all persons concerned therein. [*This was very agreeable to the procurement, the canonical term for the provision made by a church for the archdeacon at his visitation.*] And it is ordered, that the said council shall have liberty to adjourn to some other place, if they shall see cause. By order of the council, EDWARD RAWSON, Sec'y."

"Master Peters went from Salem, on foot, to Dover, to appease the difference between Master Larkham and Master K----. He went by the sending of the governor and assistants. Master Willson went to Green's harbour, &c. and at another time, Master Wilson, Master Mather, and others, heard the difference between Master Hooke and Master Doughty, at New-Taunton.—

"It may be, it will be said, they did these things by way of love and friendly advice. Grant this. But were not the counselled bound to receive good counsel? If they would not receive it, was not the magistrate ready to assist, and to enforce peace and obedience?" *Lechford.*

"Every church hath power of government in and by itself, and no church or officer have power over one another, but by way of advice or counsel, saving that the general court now and then over-rule some church matters." *Id.*

* This law was dispensed with in favour of Mr. Humphries, who lived at Lynn, where no church was gathered, nor was he a member of any other church, yet was an assistant several years. Mr. Cotton says, they supposed he would have been a member if he had had opportunity for it.

Whilst they remained in this state they would have very little chance for a public post, where all the electors were church members.*

The elders or ministers, although they were not considered as one of the estates, yet no matters of great weight or moment, whether of a religious or civil nature, were determined without their advice, and a formal reference to them ; (in early times they were generally present in the courts) ; and they were thus naturally led to use their influence with their people to acquiesce in, and approve of, the measures which they themselves had been consulted upon and advised to.

But however defective this constitution may appear in theory, we shall seldom meet with an instance where there has been so steady and so general an adherence to the principles upon which it was founded, and so much harmony subsisting, not only in particular churches, but between one church and another, for fifty years together.

In general, the ordination of ministers was by imposition of the hands of their brethren in the ministry ; but some churches, perhaps to preserve a more perfect independency, called for the aid of no ministers of any other churches, but ordained their ministers by the imposition of the hands of some of their own brethren.† The ordination at Salem, August 29th, 1660, was performed in this manner, as I find minuted by a gentleman then just arrived from England, who was present. ‡ “ The church at Salem kept this “ day as a fast, for the ordaining a teacher and a ruling “ elder. Mr. Higginson preached in the morning, continuing until one o’clock, then broke off for one hour ; “ then, the congregation being assembled again, they went “ to the work of the ordination, which was thus—first Mr. “ Higginson,

* In 1637, when Mr. Winthrop, the governor, had been very active in the banishment of many of the members of Boston church, for adhering to Mrs. Hutchinson, some of those which remained pressed the elders very hard to call the governor to answer as an offender against the church for what he had done in the state, but the elders did not think proper to comply. *Magnalia.*

† This is said by Bailey to be Brownist. *Doct. of Brownists.*

‡ I have seen an account of an ordination, about the year 1640, of Mr. Hooke, at Taunton, then Cohannet, in Plymouth colony, by the schoolmaster and one of the brethren, an husbandman, although Mr. Willson and Mr. Mather, two ministers, were present : but the general practice was otherwise ; and at this day an ordination by the lay brethren, although it might not be condemned as invalid, yet would be generally disapproved and discountenanced.

“ Higginson, who was to be ordained teaching elder, prayed ; after prayer, Major Hathorne, a private member, being, it seems, desired by the church, stood up and spake to the brethren of the church, that they should now, if they did continue in the mind they were in before as to the choice of Mr. Higginson for their pastor, declare their consent by silence ; and then spake to Mr. Higginson to declare his acceptance ; and then spake to the messengers of the churches that were sent to be present, and to all others, to speak if they knew any weighty reasons against their proceeding to ordination ; and then, none speaking, Major Hathorne and two of the deacons of the church, laying their hands on Mr. Higginson’s head, pronounced words of ordination, and prayed over him ; and then Major Hathorne exhorted the church in a few words to remember their duty, &c. towards him whom they had ordained to be their pastor. Then Mr. Higginson did, after the same manner as is before expressed, proceed to the ordination of Mr. Brown for the ruling elder ; which being done, they sung a psalm, and concluded with prayer. After the exercise, I was invited to the elder’s house, where was good company and good cheer.”

Most of the churches, not all, had one or more ruling elder. In matters of offence, the ruling elder, after the hearing, asked the church if they were satisfied ; if they were not, he left it to the pastor or teacher to denounce the sentence of excommunication, suspension or admonition, according as the church had determined. Matters of offence, regularly, were first brought to the ruling elder in private, and might not otherwise be told to the church. It was the practice for the ruling elders to give public notice of such persons as desired to enter into church fellowship with them, and of the time proposed for admitting them, if no sufficient objection was offered ; and when the time came, to require all persons who knew any just grounds of objection to signify them. Objections were frequently made ; and until they were heard and determined, the ruling elder seems to have moderated in the church ; but the church’s consent to the admission was asked by the pastor
or

or teacher, who also rehearsed and proposed the church covenant, and declared them members. When a minister preached to any other than his own church, the ruling elder of the church, after the psalm sung, said publicly, "If this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people at this time, in the name of God let him say on."^a The ruling elder always read the psalm. When the member of one church desired to receive the sacrament at another, he came to the ruling elder, who proposed his name to the church for their consent. At the communion they sat with the minister. I find nothing further relating to this officer in their public assemblies. They were considered, without doors, as men for advice and counsel in religious matters; they visited the sick, and had a general inspection and oversight of the conduct of their brethren. Every thing which I have mentioned as the peculiar province of the ruling elder, so far as it is in itself necessary or proper, may with propriety enough be performed by the minister. It is not strange therefore that this office in a course of years sunk into almost an entire disuse in the churches. Indeed the multiplying unnecessary and mere nominal officers, or officers whose duties and privileges are not with certainty agreed upon and determined, seems rather to have a natural tendency to discord and contention than to harmony and peace.

We meet with nothing peculiar, in the beginning of the churches, relative to the office of deacons. Mention is made of the duty of deaconesses or widows, who were "to shew mercy with cheerfulness, and to minister to the sick and poor brethren;" but I find no instance of any specially chosen or appointed to this service.

The ministers of the several churches in the town of Boston have ever been supported by a free weekly contribution. I have seen a letter from one of the principal ministers of the colony expressing some doubts of the lawfulness of receiving a support in any other way. In the country towns, compulsory laws were found necessary; and in the year 1654 the county courts were empowered to assess upon the inhabitants of the several towns which neglected the support

^a Litchford.

support of the ministry a sum sufficient to make up the defect.*

In Boston, after prayer and before singing, it was the practice for several years for the minister to read and expound a chapter. Whether it was because this carried the service to too great a length, or any other reason could be given for it, in a few years it was laid aside, except when it came in place of a sermon.† Exceptions (may we not say cavils?) have been made, by some learned, serious ministers, against reading the scriptures as part of the divine service without an exposition. The other parts of religious public worship, and the manner of administering the sacraments, not differing from what is at this day the practice of the churches of New-England and of the church of Scotland, it is unnecessary to take any notice of them.

From a sacred regard to the religion of the christian sabbath, a scruple arose of the lawfulness of calling the first day of the week Sunday; and they always, upon any occasion, whether in a civil or religious relation to it, styled it either the Lord's-day or the Sabbath. As the exception to the word Sunday was founded upon its superstitious, idolatrous origin, the same scruple naturally followed with respect to the names of all the other days of the week, and of most of the months, which had the same origin; accordingly, they changed Monday, Tuesday, &c. into the second and third days of the week; and instead of March and April, used the first and second months; and instead of the third Tuesday in May, the language was, the third third day of the third month; and so of the rest.‡ All their records and other writings are dated in the common form, which they brought from England with them, until the

* In 1644 one Briscoe, a tanner, of Watertown, published a book against the support of ministers by tithes or taxes, and reproached the ministers who took salaries in that way. The ministers thought him who denied the authority of the civil magistrate to provide for the support of ministers *fusse potius erudiendum quam argumento*, and therefore they left it to the magistrates to defend the cause, who convened the tanner before them, and brought him to an acknowledgment, if not to a sense, of his error. *Hubbard.*

† To preach a sermon which was not composed by the preacher himself, was looked upon, if not criminal, yet highly disreputable. One Mr. Bond, having taken this liberty, and being discovered, presently after removed to Barbadoes. *MS.*

‡ This was a scruple of the Brownists.

the year 1636, when Mr. Vane was governor; but after that, the alteration seems to have been very strictly observed in all public and private writings and discourse, for many years together. In the interregnum it much obtained in England; but the scruple there went off at once, upon the restoration; here, it abated; and it continues scarce any where at this day, except among the people called Quakers. Perhaps the great dislike to some other peculiarities of that people caused the decline of that custom in the colony, and made them consider the singularity in the same light with some others of the same nature, which they condemned.*

That every thing approaching to an acknowledgment of the authority of the pope, and his power of canonization, might be avoided, they never used the addition of saint when they spake of the apostles and the ancient fathers of the christian church, and even the usual names of places were made to conform. The Island of Saint Christophers was always wrote Christophers, and by the same rule all other places to which saint had been prefixed. If any exception was made, an answer was ready: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had as good right to this appellation as Peter, James and John.

They laid aside the fasts and feasts of the church of England, and appointed frequently, as occasion required, days of fasting and thanksgiving; but, besides these occasional fasts and thanksgivings, they constantly, every spring, appointed a day for fasting and prayer, to implore the divine blessings upon their affairs in the ensuing year; and in the fall, a day of thanksgiving and public acknowledgment of the favours conferred upon them in the year past. If they more readily fell into this practice from the example of the people of God of old, yet they might well have been justified without any example. It has continued without interruption,

+ They began the sabbath the evening of the last day of the week. It was some time before this custom was settled. Mr. Hooker, in a letter without date, but wrote about the year 1640, says, "The question touching the beginning of the sabbath is now on foot among us, hath once been spoken to, and we are to give in our arguments each to the other, so that we may ripen our thoughts touching that truth, and if the Lord will it may more fully appear." And in another letter, March, 1640, "Mr. Huit hath not answered our arguments against the beginning the sabbath at morning."

ruption, I suppose, in any one instance, down to this day. This is a custom to which no devout person of any sect will take exception. By a law of the colony, every person absenting himself from the public worship, on these days, without sufficient excuse, was liable to five shillings fine. It would have been as well, perhaps, if this provision had been omitted.

These were the principal of the special ecclesiastical or religious customs. There were some attempts to introduce singularities into some of the churches; particularly, Mr. Davenport, of New-Haven, who afterwards removed to Boston, required all his congregation to stand up whilst the text was naming; the principal reason which was given for it being, that it was the word of God, and deserved peculiar honour;* and Mr. Williams, of Salem, required all the women of his congregation to wear veils; but neither of these customs spread, or were of any long continuance. It was observed, as to the latter, that so uncouth an appearance, contrary to the practice of the English nation, would probably draw more eyes than if they were dressed like other women. Mr. Cotton, of Boston, happening to preach at Salem soon after this custom began, he convinced his hearers that it had no sufficient foundation in the scriptures: the married women had no pretence to wear veils as virgins; neither married nor unmarried would choose to do it from the example of Tamar the harlot, nor need they do it for such purpose as Ruth did in her widowhood. His sermon had so good an effect, that they were all ashamed of their veils, and never appeared covered with them afterwards.†

During the fifty years the charter continued, there were very few instances of any society of christians differing, professedly, in doctrine, discipline, or form of worship, from the established churches. The number of baptists was small. The quakers came over in small parties; but notwithstanding

* "At Quininyack (New-Heaven) Mr Davenport preached in the forenoon that men must be uncovered and stand up at the reading the text, and in the afternoon the assembly jointly practised it. *Mr. Hooker to Shepard, March 20, 1640.*

† Hubbard. Mr. Cotton, when he was in England, thought more favourably of this custom. He mentions the old countess of Lincoln her always coming to church veiled.

withstanding the strange delusion they were under in courting persecution, and the imprudence of the authority in gratifying this humour as far as their utmost wishes could carry them, as has been observed in the course of the history, yet they were never numerous enough to form a society of any consequence, except upon the borders of Rhode-Island.* Nor was there any episcopal church in any part of the colony until the charter was vacated.

The test, which we have just mentioned, went a great way towards producing this general uniformity. He that did not conform was deprived of more civil privileges than a nonconformist is deprived of by the test in England. Both the one and the other must have occasioned much formality and hypocrisy. The mysteries of our holy religion have been prostituted to mere secular views and advantages. Besides this test, another reason may be assigned. As good if not better lands than any in the colony lay contiguous to it, and men of different opinions chose to remove where they might enjoy both civil and religious liberty, rather than remain and be deprived of either. In this way, birth and quick growth were given to a neighbouring colony, which admitted persons of all religions, and gave equal privileges to all; and as soon as what they called a sectary sprang up in the Massachusetts colony, it was transplanted to Rhode-Island.

I shall finish what I have to say upon the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony with a short summary of the platform, as I find it prepared by a very sensible divine,† who made a figure in the colony soon after the platform was established.

1. "Ecclesiastical policy, church government, or church discipline, is nothing else but that form and order which is to be observed in the church of Christ upon earth, both for the constitution of it and all the administrations which therein are to be performed, the parts of which are all of them described in the word of God, and it is not left in the power of any to alter, add, or diminish, any thing therein.

2. There

* The sanguinary laws were of short continuance, otherwise the number of Quakers would have increased.

† Mr. Hubbard.

2. There is a catholic visible church, viz. the company of those who profess the christian faith, whether in church order or not; but there is no political catholic church, the state of the members of the visible church, since the coming of Christ, being only congregational.

3. A congregational church, by the institution of Christ, is a part of the visible church, consisting of a company of saints by calling, united into one body by an holy covenant for the public worship of God and the mutual edification one of another in the fellowship of the Lord Jesus; the matter of which, as to its qualification, ought to consist of such persons as have attained the knowledge of the principles of religion, who are free from gross scandal, and with the profession of their faith and repentance walk in blameless obedience to the word of God; as to its quantity, it ought not to be of greater number than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place, nor fewer than may conveniently carry on church work. The form of such a church is an agreement, consent, or visible covenant, whereby they give themselves unto the Lord to the observing the ordinances of Christ together in the same society.

4. The fraternity or brotherhood of such a church is the first subject of all ordinary church power, which is either a power of office or of privilege. But the power of privilege is in the brethren, formally and immediately; the other is in them no otherwise than that they design the persons unto office, who only are to act and exercise that power.

5. The ordinary officers of the church are such as concern their spiritual and moral, or temporal and natural, good. Of the first of which are pastors, teachers, ruling elders, 1 Tim. v. 17. In the last mentioned, most of the churches in New-England, as many of the congregational churches elsewhere, are not so well agreed, accounting ruling elders should be able to teach.

6. It is in the power of the churches to call their own officers, and remove them from their office again, if there fall out just cause; yet so as the advice of neighbour churches, where it may conveniently be done, be first had. They
who

who are to officiate ought to be tried and proved before they be elected. 1 Tim. v. 22.

7. Elders are to be ordained by imposition of hands, which is to be performed by the elders of the same church, if it be furnished with any, or those of neighbour churches, and it may be done by some of the brethren deputed thereunto, which latter is also disapproved by Dr. Hornbeck, the learned professor of divinity at Leyden, from Numb. viii. 10.

8. The power of government in a congregational church ought to proceed after the manner of a mixed administration; for, in an organic church, no act can be consummate without the consent both of the elders and brethren, so as the power of government or rule in the elders prejudice not the power of privilege in the brethren, nor the power of privilege in them prejudice the power of rule seated in the elders, seeing both may sweetly agree together.

9. For the maintenance of the ministers of the church, all that are taught are to communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things; and in case of neglect, the magistrate ought to see that the ministry be duly provided for.

10. For the admission of members, there ought to be either a personal relation in public, or by the elders acquainting the church what satisfaction they have received from the persons in private. The things wherein satisfaction is required are faith and repentance, which ought to be found in all church members.

11. Where members of churches are called to remove from one church to another, it is convenient, for order sake, that it be done by letters of recommendation or of dismission.

12. The censures of the church, which are for the preventing, removing or healing offences, are excommunication or admonition, wherein the church ought to proceed according to the rule, Matt. xviii. 15, 16, 17. wherein the offence is to be brought to the church by the mouth of the elders.

13. Particular churches, although they are distinct and have not one power over another, yet, because they are united unto Christ, not only as a mystical but as a political head, they ought to have communion one with another,
by

by way of mutual care, consultation, admonition, and participation in the same ordinances.

14. Synods, orderly assembled and rightly proceeding according to the pattern of Acts xv. are the ordinance of Christ, and, if not absolutely necessary to the being, yet necessary to the well-being, of churches, for the establishment of peace and truth therein. And many churches may so assemble together by their messengers and elders. And their directions and determinations, so far as consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement therewith, without which they bind not at all, but also for the power whereby they are made, as an ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his word.

15. Church government and civil government may very well stand together, it being the duty of the magistrate to take care of matters of religion, and to improve his civil authority for observing the duties commanded in the first as well as in the second table, seeing the end of their office is not only the quiet and peaceable life of the subject in matters of righteousness and honesty, but also in matters of godliness. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2."

After all that may be said in favour of the constitution, the strength of it lay in the union, declared in the last article, with the civil authority. The usual way of deciding differences and controversies in churches, it is true, was by a council consisting of the elders and other messengers of neighbouring churches; and where there was a general agreement in such councils, the contending parties generally acquiesced; but if the council happened to differ in apprehensions among themselves, or if either of the contending parties were contumacious, it was a common thing for the civil magistrate to interpose, and put an end to the dispute.

C H A P. V.

The System, or Body, of Laws established in the Colony.

AT the first meeting of the court of assistants at Charlestown, Aug. 23d, 1630, they established rules of proceeding in all civil actions, and instituted subordinate powers for punishing offenders. The supreme authority being in the court of assistants, they resolved upon frequent meetings for the due execution of it. As it was necessary for every family to provide lodgings before winter, the first law proposed and passed was for the regulating the price of wages of workmen, under a penalty to him that gave as well as to him who received more than the limited price.* They proceeded to other laws, for punishing idleness and encouraging industry; and, as they were in the midst of savages much more numerous than themselves, they obliged every man to attend military exercises, and limited the bounds of their plantations, that none might be more exposed than was necessary.

In civil actions, equity, according to the circumstances of the case, seems to have been their rule of determining. The judges had recourse to no other authorities than the reason and understanding which God had given them. In punishing offences, they professed to be governed by the judicial law of Moses, but no farther than those laws were of a moral nature.

Whilst they were thus without a code or body of laws, and the colony but just come to its birth, their sentences seem to be adapted to the circumstances of a large family of children and servants, as will appear from the following, which, from amongst many others of the same sort, I have taken out of the public records.

Josias Plaiflowe, for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians, is ordered to return them eight baskets, to be fined five pounds, and hereafter to be called by the name of
of

* Carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers and thatchers, not more than 2s. per day, &c.

of Josias, and not * Mr. as formerly he used to be.

Captain Stone, for abusing Mr. Ludlow, and calling him justass, is fined an hundred pounds, and prohibited coming within the patent without the governor's leave upon pain of death.

Serjeant Perkins ordered to carry forty turfs to the fort, for being drunk.

Edward Palmer, for his extortion, in taking two pounds thirteen shillings and four pence for the wood work of Boston stocks, is fined five pounds, and ordered to be set one hour in the stocks.

Captain Lovel, admonished to take heed of light carriage.

Thomas Petit, for suspicion of slander, idleness and stubbornness, is censured to be severely whipped, and to be kept in hold.

Catharine, the wife of Richard Cornish, was found suspicious of incontinency, and seriously admonished to take heed.

Daniel Clarke, found to be an immoderate drinker, was fined forty shillings.

John Wedgewood, for being in the company of drunkards, to be set in the stocks.

John Kitchin, for shewing books which he was commanded to bring to the governor, and forbidden to shew them to any other, and yet shewed them, was fined ten shillings.

Robert Shorthose, for swearing by the blood of God, was sentenced to have his tongue put into a cleft stick, and to stand so for the space of half an hour.

Great numbers of the like kind might be added.

In the year 1634, the plantation was greatly increased; settlements were extended more than thirty miles from the capital town; and it was thought high time to have known, established laws, that the inhabitants might no longer be subject to the varying, uncertain judgments, which otherwise would be made concerning their actions. The ministers,

* They were very careful that no title or appellation should be given where it was not due; not more than half a dozen of the principal gentlemen took the title of esquire; and in a list of 100 freemen you will not find above 4 or 5 distinguished by Mr. although they were generally men of some substance. Goodman and goodwife were common appellations.

isters, and some of the principal laymen, were consulted with, about a body of laws suited to the circumstances of the colony, civil and religious. Committees, consisting of magistrates and elders, were appointed almost every year, for twelve or fourteen years together; and whilst they were thus sitting a code, particular laws, which were of greatest necessity, from time to time were enacted; and in the year 1648, the whole, collected together, were ratified by the court, and then first printed.

Mr. Bellingham of the magistrates, and Mr. Cotton of the clergy, had the greatest share in this work.

Let us consider the character of our new planters, the state and condition they were in before they left England, and after their arrival in America, and we shall see the source of the peculiarities in their laws and customs. It has been observed, that they were dissatisfied not only with the ceremonies, but also with the rigid discipline, at that time, of the church of England: in this indeed they were not singular; the principal commoners, great part of the clergy, and many of the nobility, were of the same sentiments. They must have had very tender and scrupulous minds, or they would not have banished themselves from their dear country, friends and acquaintance, and launched into an unknown world, rather than submit to any thing against their judgments and consciences. They professed a sacred regard to the word of God in the old and new testament as a sufficient rule of conduct, and that they were obliged to follow it. They looked upon the observation of the first as well as second table necessary to be enjoined; and as the constitution of their churches would not admit of ecclesiastical courts, provision must be made for the punishment of many offences here by the civil magistrate which are not offences by the common law. Whether every breach of the laws of the first as well as second table has not such a tendency, by mere example, to disturb the peace of civil society, as that provision for the punishment thereof is necessary, by some authority or other, I need not determine: they thought it had; and upon this principle they did not choose such punishments for crimes as were merely in proportion to their affecting the safety or peace

of society, a principle upon which the nations of Europe have been more and more modeling their criminal laws for several ages past, but annexed greater penalties to some immoralities and impieties than had been known in the country they left, determined many others to deserve the notice of the civil magistrate which would have escaped it in England, and perhaps judged some actions criminal which to minds less scrupulous would have appeared indifferent.* The generality of the colony being very near upon a level, more than common provision was necessary to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and to establish and preserve the authority of the government; for although some amongst them had handsome fortunes, yet in general their estates were small, barely sufficient to provide them houses and necessary accommodations; a contempt of authority was therefore next to a capital offence. The country being new and uncultivated, the utmost industry, economy and frugality were necessary to their subsistence; and laws, with heavy penalties to enforce the observance of them. They were in the midst of savages, whose numbers were much greater than their own, and were under continual alarms and apprehensions of danger, and a strict discipline could not be dispensed with. If we add, that they were at their full liberty, the troubles in England taking off from the colonies the attention of the several successions of supreme power there, for near thirty years together; from all these circumstances we may pretty well account for all the peculiarities in the laws of the colony.

In that branch of law more especially which is distinguished by the name of crown law, they professed to have no regard to the rules of the common law of England. They intended to follow Moses's plan, as has been observed, but no farther than it was of a moral nature † and obligatory

* The character which the colony acquired by the strictness and severity of their laws, induced many persons of pious minds to come over themselves, and others to send their children for education, many of whom remained here. Pennsylvania, by a greater latitude in their system, have drawn inhabitants in much greater proportion. Our ancestors valued themselves upon being a colony for religion. Penn had no other motive to found his colony than human policy.

† They did not go the length of the Brownists, who are said to have held, "that no prince nor state on the earth hath any legislative power; that God alone is the lawgiver; that the greatest magistrate hath no other power but to execut-

tory upon all mankind ; and perhaps they did not, in many instances, err in judgment upon the morality of actions ; but their grand mistake lay in supposing certain natural punishments, in every state, alike proportioned to this or that particular kind of offence, and which Moses had observed ; whereas such punishments are and ought to be governed by the particular constitutions and circumstances of the several kingdoms and states where they are applied ; and although they were undoubtedly well fitted to the state of the ancient Israelites, and the great end of punishment, viz. the preventing the like offences, could not, it may be, have been otherwise so well effected, yet they were by no means obligatory upon other states whose constitutions or circumstances differed ; and other states have therefore continually more or less varied from them. Idolatry was the sin which easily beset the Israelites, and it was necessary to make it a capital offence. Perhaps if it should be thought proper to prohibit idolatry in China, at this day, the same penalty might be necessary, and yet not so in New-England.

Murder,* sodomy, witchcraft, arson, and rape of a child under ten years of age, were the only crimes made capital in the colony which were capital in England ; and yet, from the mistaken principle I have just mentioned, their laws were more sanguinary than the English laws ; for many offences were made capital here, which were not so there. The first in order, being a breach of the first command in the decalogue, was the worship of any other god besides the Lord God. Perhaps a roman catholic, for the adoration of the host, might have come within this law.

execute the laws of God set down in scripture ; that the judicial laws of Moses bind at this day all the nations of the world as much as ever they did the Jews." Baylie.

Roger Williams said, that "although they professed to be bound by such judicials only as contained in them moral equity, yet they extended this moral equity to so many particulars as to take in the whole judicial law, no less than the rigidest Brownists." *Idem*.

Although they did not go to this extreme, it must be allowed they did not keep within the limits they professed as their rule. They were charged with holding it to be the duty of the magistrate to kill all idolaters and heretics, even whole cities, men, women and children, from the command of the Israelites to root out the canaanites. *Idem*.

* Homicide was either murder, excusable homicide, or justifiable. They did not make the distinction of manslaughter from murder. The benefit of the clergy was of popish extract, and burning in the hand with a cold iron appeared to them a ridiculous ceremony.

law. After the miserable Indians submitted to the English laws, special provision was made, by another law, that if any of them should powow, or perform outward worship to their false gods, the powower (who was their priest) should be fined five pounds, and others present twenty shillings each. The Indians have been punished upon the latter law; but I never met with an instance of a prosecution of any Englishman upon the former.

To blaspheme the holy name of God, Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, with direct, express, presumptuous, or high-handed blasphemy, either by wilful or obstinate denying the true God, or his creation or government of the world, cursing God, or reproaching the holy religion of God, as if it was a politic device to keep ignorant men in awe, or to utter any other kind of blasphemy of the like nature and degree, was also made capital.

Man-stealing, from Exodus xxi. 16. was also capital.

So was adultery with a married woman, both to the man and woman, although the man was single; and several have suffered death upon this law.* Male adultery with an unmarried woman, was not capital.

He who was convicted of wilful perjury, with intent to take away the life of another, was to suffer death, from Deut. xix. 16. This crime may well enough be denominated murder; and yet a wilful perjury, by which a man's life is in fact taken away, was never made capital in England. Many offences are made so, which seem to be inferior in their guilt and consequences to the public. The difficulty of conviction may be one reason, and the discouragement it would sometimes be to witnesses to give their

* Philo places the command against adultery before that against murder.—There was a pretty extraordinary instance of a prosecution for adultery in the year 1663. Mr. N. P. a young merchant, had been intimate with a married lady of one of the first families in the country. After her husband's death he married her. After they had lived together three or four years, a prosecution was begun against both of them, for adultery in the life time of the first husband. They were both committed to prison, and separately brought upon trial for their lives. The court and jury were favourable to the husband, and acquitted him of a capital offence, probably because he was not at the time charged a married man. The wife likewise met with a favourable jury, and they found her also not guilty; but the court, who thought otherwise, refused the verdict, and the cause was carried before the general court, where she very narrowly escaped, the whole court determining that there was proof of a crime which approached very near to adultery, but in favour of life she was discharged.

their testimonies another and stronger reason, in vindication of the common law. In this instance the Massachusetts law agreed, I take it, with the civil law, the laws of Scotland at this day, and of many other states in Europe.

A child, above sixteen years of age, that cursed or smote his father or mother, unless provoked by cruelty and in its own defence, or unchristianly neglected in its education, and also a stubborn and rebellious son, according to Deut. xxi. 20. upon conviction, were to suffer death. There have been several trials upon this law. I have met with one conviction, but the offender was rescued from the gallows by order of the King's commissioners in 1665.*

High treason is not mentioned.† Before they had agreed upon the body of laws, the King's authority in England was at an end. Conspiracy to invade their own commonwealth, or any treacherous, perfidious attempt to alter and subvert fundamentally the frame of their polity and government, was made a capital offence.

Rape, it was left to the court to punish with death or other grievous punishment at discretion.‡ No judge would desire to have a capital punishment left to his discretion; and it may be doubted whether, in any case, it can be of public utility.

Several

* In the first draught of the laws by Mr. Cotton, which I have seen corrected with Mr. Winthrop's hand, divers other offences were made capital, viz.

Profaning the Lord's day in a careless or scornful neglect or contempt thereof. Numbers xv. 30 to 36.

Reviling the magistrates in highest rank, viz. the governor and council. Exod. xxii. 18. 1 Kings xxii. 8, 9, 44.

Defiling a woman espoused. Deut. xxii. 23 to 26.

Incest within the Levitical degrees.

The pollution mentioned in Levit. xx. 13 to 16.

Lying with a maid in her father's house, and keeping it secret until she was married to another. Exod. xxii. 16.

The punishment by death is erased from all these offences by Mr. Winthrop, and they are left to the discretion of the court to inflict other punishment short of death.

From the same prejudice in favour of Israelitish customs, a fondness arose, or at least was increased, for significant names for children. The three first that were baptized in Boston church were, Joy, Recompence, and Pity. The humour spread. The town of Dorchester, in particular, was remarkable for such names, Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependence, Preserved, Content, Prudent, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Holdfast, &c. Many of which at this day are retained in families, in remembrance of their ancestors.

† In 1678, when complaints were made against the colony, it was by law made capital.

‡ Rape was not capital by the Jewish law, and for that reason it was not so for many years by the colony law.

Several offences were capital upon a second conviction, as the returning of a romish priest into the jurisdiction after banishment upon the first conviction. The law was the same with respect to quakers also.

The denial of either of the books of the old and new testament, which were all enumerated, to be the written and infallible word of God, was either banishment or death for the second offence, at the discretion of the court; and, what is very extraordinary, an inhabitant who was guilty of this offence upon the high seas, was made liable to the penalty.

Burglary, and theft in a house or fields on the Lord's day, were capital upon a third conviction. These were all the offences which they made capital.

Larceny, or theft, was punishable by fine or whipping, and restitution of treble the value, and theft boot by a forfeiture of the value of the goods to the government.

The penalty of drunkenness was ten shillings; excessive drinking, three shillings and four pence; tippling above half an hour, half a crown; profane cursing and swearing, ten shillings, and if more than one oath at a time, twenty shillings.

I have seen a letter, dated about the year 1660, wherein a gentleman writes to his friend in London, that "he had lived several years in the country, and never saw a person drunk, nor never heard a profane oath."

The penalty of profanation of the sabbath was ten shillings.*

Fornication might be punished by enjoining marriage, by fine, or corporal punishment; and a freeman, for this offence, might be disfranchised, upon conviction.†

Idleness was no small offence: common fowlers, tobacco-takers, and all other persons who could give no good account how they spent their time, the constables were required to present to the next magistrate; and the selectmen of every town were required to oversee the families, and

* When exception was taken in England to the laws, that relative to the sabbath, restraining persons from walking in the streets or fields, was one; but, although their charter was in danger, they refused to make any alteration in the law.

† Exodus xxii. 16, 17. caused some doubt whether fine or corporal punishment was to be inflicted for fornication. I have several manuscripts on both sides the question.

and to distribute the children into classes, and to take care that they were employed in spinning and other labour, according to their age and condition.

Contempt of authority was punished with great severity, by fine, imprisonment, or corporal punishment.

Lesser offences, as all breaches of the peace, and also every offence *contra bonos mores*, where there was no determinate penalty, the court, before which the offence was tried, punished at discretion.

They had a law against slavery, except prisoners taken in war. Negroes were brought in very early among them.* Some judicious persons are of opinion that the permission of slavery has been a public mischief.

Their laws concerning marriage and divorce were somewhat singular. I suppose there had been no instance of a marriage, lawfully celebrated, by a layman in England, when they left it. I believe there was no instance of marriage by a clergyman after they arrived, during their charter; but it was always done by a magistrate, or by persons specially appointed for that purpose, who were confined to particular towns or districts. If a minister happened to be present, he was desired to pray. It is difficult to assign a reason for so sudden a change, especially as there was no established form of the marriage covenant; and it must have been administered many times in the new plantations by persons not the most proper for that purpose, considering of what importance it is to society that a sense of this ordinance, in some degree sacred, should be maintained and preserved.† At this day, marriages are solemnized by the clergy; and although the law admits of its being done by a justice of peace, yet not one in many hundred is performed by them.‡

In

* Josselyn mentions three or four blacks in Mr. Maverick's family at Noddles-land in 1638.

† The Scotch writers tell us, that by their laws it is not necessary marriages should be celebrated by a clergyman; that the consent of parties, signified before a magistrate, or only before two witnesses, and without consummation, will make a marriage valid.

‡ The publication of the banns was very early required; and no magistrate, or other person specially authorized to join persons in marriage, had authority to do it before the parties had been published according to law. The same law was renewed under the province charter, and, after more than an hundred years experience, has been found very beneficial; there have been instances, but they are rare

In matters of divorce, they left the rules of the canon law out of the question ; with respect to some of them, prudently enough. I never heard of a separation, under the first charter, *a mensa et thoro*. Where it is practised, the innocent party often suffers more than the guilty. In general, what would have been cause for such a separation in the spiritual courts, was sufficient, with them, for a divorce *a vinculo*. Female adultery was never doubted to have been sufficient cause ; but male adultery, after some debate and consultation with the elders, was judged not sufficient. Desertion a year or two, where there was evidence of a determined design not to return, was always good cause ; so was cruel usage of the husband. Consanguinity they settled in the same degrees as it is settled in England and in the levitical laws. It is said, a man may give his wife moderate correction without exposing himself to any penalty in the law ; our legislators had more tender sentiments of this happy state, and a man who struck his wife was liable to a fine of ten pounds, or corporal punishment : a woman who struck her husband was liable to the same penalties.*

In testamentary matters, the county courts had jurisdiction by law.† In the beginning, they so far followed the civil law as to consider real estates as mere *bona*, and they did not confine themselves to any rules of distribution then in use in England, and which afterwards were more fully established by the statute of distributions. They considered the family and estate in all their circumstances, and sometimes assigned a greater portion to one branch than

rare, of young people going to New-Hampshire, where licences to marry are granted by the governor. As these instances have been, many of them, not for the most reputable causes, their example has had but little influence. Perhaps, in a few years, the people of England will be equally well satisfied with the provision made by the late marriage act, and no body will be at the pains of a journey to Scotland to avoid conformity to it. Upon Mr. Dudley's being appointed president of the colony, &c. in 1686, he published an order of council, authorizing and empowering ministers and justices of the peace, the order says, "to consummate marriages," after three several times publication or licence from the president or deputy.

* This seems to leave the wife to the mercy of the husband, who ordinarily must have paid the fine himself, or suffered her to be whipped.

† In the reign of Henry the Seventh, it was said by Fineux, that the jurisdiction of the spiritual court in matters testamentary was but lately introduced by custom.

than another ; sometimes they settled all upon the widow ; in other cases assigned the whole estate to the administrators, or to any relation who would undertake to support or provide for the family, and pay certain sums to the children when they came to age or marriage. All this seems to be necessary in a new plantation, where most people soon spent what little personal estate they had, in improvement upon their lands. When they established a general rule, they conformed very near to the rules respecting personal estate in England, only they gave the eldest son a double portion ;* and in the real estate, the widow generally was considered for her dower only ; but still, according to the circumstances of the estate and family, the court would consider the widow, and allow her a greater or lesser part, and enjoin her to take care of the children unable to provide for themselves, in proportion to what she received. They had no law for the distribution of the estates of persons dying insolvent ; however, as executors and administrators were not held to prefer in payment one debt to another, whether by judgment, bond or simple contract, the usual way was, for a creditor of an insolvent person to apply to the general court to appoint commissioners to examine the claims, and also to discover the estate by examining upon oath, &c. and each creditor was paid in proportion.† The common law was altered with respect to fee simple estates, and they descended to every child. It seems very natural to suppose that estates in fee tail would descend in like manner, except so far as the entail limited or cut the fee, as in gavelkind all the sons take as heir of the body. Notwithstanding this, the construction of a general tail was such, that the heir at common law took as heir of the body, to the exclusion of the other children. Traitors and felons might dispose of their estates, real and personal, by will, after sentence ; and if they died intestate, distribution was made as in other cases, there being no forfeitures. They held their lands as of the manor of East Greenwich in the county of

Kent,

* From Deuteronomy xxi. 17. This law of Moses extended as well to real as personal estate, and perhaps had as great weight as either the civil law or the peculiar circumstances of a new country.

† About the year 1680, a law was made to enable the county courts to appoint commissioners to examine claims to the estates of persons dying insolvent, and to distribute in proportion to the creditors.

Kent, in free and common socage, and not in capite nor by knights service. They strangely supposed that socage tenure included all the properties and customs of gavelkind, one of which is, "the father to the bough, the son to the plough.*" God having farbad the alienation of lands from one tribe to another in the commonwealth of Israel, so among the first laws of the colony it was provided, "that no free inhabitant of any town should sell the lands allotted to him in the town, but to some one or other of the free inhabitants of that town, unless the town gave consent, or refused to give what others offered without fraud." This law could not continue long in force. All the valuable ends were answered by making lands liable to pay taxes upon them to the town where they lay, though the lands be not the property of the inhabitants.

They made provision by temporary laws for the charges of government. This was done for divers years in the most equitable way, by assessing every inhabitant in proportion to the profits of his whole estate real and personal, and his income by any ways and means whatsoever. This is practicable only in cases where the taxes are not very heavy. By imposts, excises and other duties, taxes are insensibly paid, which, if proportionably laid upon every individual, and paid in one sum out of an annual income, would be thought intolerable. The clergy, at all times, have been exempt from all taxes for their persons or estates under their own improvement, not merely because this was agreeable to the levitical law,† but because they depended upon the people from year to year for their support, and whatever was added to their annual expense by a tax, so much must have been added by the people to enable their ministers to pay it. After the year 1645, imposts and excises were introduced. Where the officers are annually elected by the people, one great objection against such duties, viz. the

* "As to what is objected against persons condemned making wills, &c. we conceive it to be according to our patent and its original, viz. that of East-Greenwich, according unto which, as we conceive, notwithstanding the father's crime, yet the children are to possess the estate." *Mass. Records.*

† Upon occasion of some disputes with the clergy at Rome, a memorial was presented, in which was this maxim, "That the clergy ought to contribute to the support of the state, let the old testament say what it will." *Spirit of Laws.*

the influence such officers may have upon the people's liberty, in other elections, can have no place.

Their military laws at first were more severe, every person being required to appear in arms, in order for military exercise, once every month. Some few persons in public office were only excepted. This was afterwards lessened to eight times in a year, and at length to four. Every inhabitant was to be furnished with arms and ammunition. A few months actual service against the Indian enemy, in Philip's war, made better soldiers than all their exercise at home had done in forty years.

Upon the division of the colony into regiments, colonels and lieutenant colonels were appointed to each regiment. This lasted but a short time; ever after they had one field officer only to every regiment, a serjeant major, and a major general for the whole. He was chosen by the freemen. The officers of the several companies, ordinarily, were chosen by the companies respectively, and presented to the general court for their approbation.

It may not be amiss to add a brief account of their legislative and judiciary forms, and some special customs.

The magistrates or assistants, and the deputies or representatives of the people, at first, sat together in one room, and for several years voted together, without any distinction, the major part of the whole number determining the vote; for in 1635, when the general court was ordered, for time to come, to be held twice a year only, it was at the same time resolved, that inasmuch as in those courts held by the magistrates and deputies, there might arise some difference of judgment in doubtful cases, therefore no law, order or sentence should pass as an act of the court, without the consent of the greater part of the magistrates on the one part, and the greater number of the deputies on the other part; and for want of such accord, the cause or order was to be suspended; and if either party thought it sufficiently material, a committee was to be chosen, one half by the magistrates and one half by the deputies, which committee might choose an umpire, and by them the cause was to be determined. This was a prudent precaution on the part of the magistrates; for their number being limited, and

and the number of deputies increasing in proportion as new towns were planted, without such provision the magistrates would, in a few years, have lost all their weight in the legislative part of the government. There is no record of the general court's sitting and acting in distinct and separate houses until the year 1644. In the charter, as has been observed, there was no mention of a house of representatives; a general court was to consist of the magistrates and freemen; and this occasioned the dispute, whether there was a negative voice in each part of the legislative body; but at length it was agreed, that, in matters of legislation, they should act distinct and separate, and that no legislative act should be valid that was not approved by the major part of each house.

The judicial power, both in civil and criminal matters, was at first exercised by the court of assistants, except in cases cognizable by a justice of peace. In divers cases of violent death, juries of inquest were impaneled by the governor, and a jury was also impaneled for trial of any persons charged by the jury of inquest. I find but one instance of trial by jury in any case, except murder, and that was in an action of assault and battery, until November 1633, when it was ordered that process should be directed by the secretary to the beadle, to warn 24 jurors, 14 days before the court, who were to be named by the secretary. In 1634, an order or law was made, that no trial should pass upon any for life or death, without a jury regularly chosen by the freemen. Grand juries were first established by law in September 1635. At the first court afterwards, an hundred offences were presented.

The colony increasing, and the settlements extending remote from the capital, it was soon found necessary to make a division into shires or counties; and courts were held in each county, in some four in a year, in others two, in Yorkshire or the province of Main, but one. These courts were held by the magistrates who lived in each county, or any other magistrates who would attend, together with such other persons as the freemen of the county, from time to time, should nominate, and the general court approve of, so as to make five in all, any three to hold a court.

court. They had power to determine all civil causes,* and all criminal, the penalty not extending to life, member, or banishment. Grand and petit juries were summoned to attend them. Appeals from them lay to the court of assistants, and from thence to the general court. The higher offences against law were cognizable by the assistants only, except upon application, by appeal or petition, to the general court. In all actions, civil or criminal, in which any stranger was a party or interested, who could not stay, without damage, to attend the ordinary courts of justice, the governor or deputy governor, with any two magistrates, had power to call a special court to hear and determine the cause, either civil or criminal, if triable in a county court; the record of the proceedings to be transmitted to the records of the courts of assistants. In divers towns, a petty court was established for small debts and trespasses under twenty shillings: and in every town the selectmen, who were annually chosen by the town, had power to hear and determine all offences against the by-laws of the town, the penalty of which could not extend beyond twenty shillings, and the by-laws could not extend to matters criminal in their nature, but were limited to the regulation of their buildings, fences, streets, &c. to the preventing nuisances, and to other matters tending to the convenience and accommodation of the inhabitants.

The star chamber, high commission, as well as all the ecclesiastical courts, were in their zenith when our ancestors left England, but they brought away no affection for them. A discontented attorney,† who published, in 1642, a little pamphlet relative to New-England, says, that “in their general

* At first in civil causes they were limited to ten pounds.

† This was one Thomas Lechford, who left England about the year 1637, being dissatisfied, as he says, with the ecclesiastical government, and having made himself obnoxious by his opposition to episcopacy. When he came to New-England, he says, he found every church-member a bishop, and not inclining to become one himself, he could not be admitted a freeman among them, but was very active in censuring their proceedings in civil and ecclesiastical matters. The court took the advantage of an offence of another nature, his going to the jury and pleading with them out of court, and debarred him from pleading any man's cause besides his own, and at the same time admonished him not to presume to meddle beyond what he should be called to by the court. Being deprived of the means of supporting himself, he returned to England in 1641, a zealous episcopalian. Episcopacy being declining there, he had room to indulge the ruling passion, by attacking Old England and New in the same piece, to which he gave the title of Plain Dealing.

general courts and quarter sessions, they exercised all the powers of parliament, king's bench, common pleas, chancery, high commission, star chamber, and all other the courts of England ; and in divers instances put to death, banished, fined, cut off ears, whipt and imprisoned for ecclesiastical and civil offences." It will appear from their ecclesiastical constitution, and the professed independency of the churches, that there was no room for the exercise of great part of the powers of the spiritual courts.

All causes which in England would have fallen within the jurisdiction of the high court of admiralty, were likewise heard and determined in the courts of common law. There were divers instances of trials, condemnations and executions, for piracies, murders and other felonies committed upon the high seas. I imagine, the necessity of the thing, that justice might be done, must have been the plea for this extraordinary proceeding. To have sent such offenders to England, where they might have had a trial, to the legality of which no exception could have been made, would have been much more regular, and the expense attending it must have been matter of little weight, when compared with the putting men to death where the authority for it was but doubtful, if even that may be said in favour of it.

Their judicial proceedings were in as summary a way as could well consist with the preservation of any tolerable degree of method or order. They seem to have not much regarded forms in books of entries. Writs and processes were not in the King's name, and were very concise. I find a writ in 1650 in this form.

" To the Marshal or his Deputy.

" You are required to attach the goods or lands of William Stevens, to the value of one hundred pounds, so as to bind the same to be responsible at the next court at Boston, 29th of the 5th month, to answer the complaint of Mr. James Atwood in an action of debt to the value of fifty pounds upon a bill of exchange ; and so make a true return hereof under your hand. Dated 29th 2d month, 1650.

per curiam,

Wm. Aspinwall."

They

They did not trouble themselves with pleas in abatement. They made no alteration, upon the several changes of government in England. There is no room to suppose that the omission of his Majesty's name proceeded from disaffection, or that they imagined themselves altogether independent. So far as their dependence was expressed in their charter, it could not be disputed. The reasonable and necessary connexion between a colony and the state from which it springs, perhaps, was not fully understood. They were not long afraid of any checks or restraints from the powers at home. After a few years, the authority of the King in England was at an end. The house of commons, in 1642, passed a resolve which shews the colony to have been a favourite. Both Oliver and Richard Cromwell, during their protectorates, wrote to the government in a style more proper for one ally to another, than for the head of a sovereign state to one of its branches or dependences.

For more than the ten first years, the parties spake for themselves, for the most part; sometimes, when it was thought the cause required it, they were assisted by a patron, or man of superior abilities, but without fee or reward.

Where there was so much of equality in the circumstances of the inhabitants, and once a year every office expired, it is not strange that every order of men should be fond of acquiring and retaining their full share of power and authority; and, although it had been a known rule in the constitution they came from, that matters of evidence were determinable by the jury, and points of law, ordinarily, by the court, and the general court was so sensible of the expediency of this rule, that in 1642 they passed a temporary law or order, "that in all trials between party
" and party, the jury shall find matter of fact, with damages
" and costs, according to their evidence, and the judges are
" to declare the sentence upon it, or they may direct the
" jury to find according to the law," yet the jury seldom found a special verdict, which, a contemporary writer says, was the cause of many inconveniences.* I do not find that this law was ever revived. It was a very common thing for the court to refuse to receive the verdict of
the

* Lechford, p. 23.

the jury, and in this case the cause was carried before the general court. The jury sometimes gave their verdict, that there were strong grounds of suspicion, but not sufficient evidence to convict. The court would give sentence upon this verdict, and punish for many offences which, by the evidence upon trial, the party appeared to them to have been guilty of, although he was not convicted of the particular crime he was charged with. *Secundum allegata et probata* was a rule of proceeding to which they did not confine themselves.*

In criminal prosecutions, regularly, a bill was to be found by a grand jury, in which they were not very formal. Sometimes, the bill would be endorsed, that the jury had strong grounds of suspicion, but not sufficient evidence to put upon trial. I have met with instances of one of the court standing up, after a verdict of the petty jury of not guilty, in a capital trial, and charging the prisoner, in open court, with burglary and theft, which were not capital, and a new trial ordered upon such charge. The court would sometimes ask the party charged, whether they would be tried by bench or jury.

An attorney-general was not an established officer. On some occasions, a person has been specially authorized to bring informations for the King or government.† The treasurer, as receiver general for the colony, took care for the recovery of public dues. In criminal matters, a spirit of virtue produced informers, without reproach to their characters.

Oaths were administered with no other ceremony than holding up the hand. This was sufficient to distinguish a witness from the rest of the court. Kissing, or laying the hand upon the book, was scrupled as an idolatrous ceremony, and it has never since been practised in the government, nor the other governments in New-England, except when
special

* Mr. Hinkley, governor of Plymouth, writing to Mr. Stoughton for advice, in 1681, he answers him : " The testimony you mention against the prisoner, I think, is clear and sufficient to convict him ; but in case your jury should not be of that mind, then, if you hold yourselves strictly obliged by the laws of England, no other verdict but not guilty can be brought in ; but, according to our practice in this jurisdiction, we should punish him with some grievous punishment, according to the demerit of his crime, though not found capital."

† Sup. court's records.

special commissions from England, to take depositions to be used in some of the courts of law there, have made it necessary. There is no law to enjoin this, or restrain any other mode. Oaths are said to be, generally, administered according to the religion he that swears holds to be true. The Christian is sworn upon the gospels, the Jew upon the old testament,* and the Mahometan upon the alcoran. To have the fear of God before our eyes is all that is essential; and this is more likely to be produced by a due gravity and solemnity, at the administration, on his part who administers the oath, as well as his who takes it, than by any particular ceremony. Gentlemen who come among us from other parts of the British dominions approve of this form, and it is kept up now, more from the decency of it, than from any religious scruples.

For the first twenty years, they used too little formality in their deeds and conveyances of the titles to lands; but, in the year 1651, it was thought necessary to order that no estate of inheritance should pass, unless it was expressed in the deed or conveyance "to have and to hold to the grantee and his heirs forever," or words to that effect; and so no estate tail, except expressed "to the heirs male of the body lawfully begotten forever, or to the grantee for life, or term of years," &c.

As early as the year 1640, they made provision for a public registry; and no mortgage, bargain, sale or grant of any realty was good, where the granter remained in possession, against any persons, except the granter and his heirs, unless the same was acknowledged before a magistrate, and recorded; and all grants that had been before made were to be acknowledged and recorded within one month after the end of October that year, if the party was within the jurisdiction, if not, within three months after their return, otherwise to be void, except as aforesaid.

Every marriage, birth and death was likewise registered, first in the town, and, at the end of the year, carried by the

* It is said by some writers, that swearing by the book took its rise from the Jews, who laid their hands upon the old testament; but our first planters, who were not ignorant of this custom among the Jews, attributed it to their proneness to idolatry.

"Cum, ut mos Græcorum est, jurandi causâ, ad aras accederet." *Cic. pro L. C. Balbo.*

the town clerk, or clerk of the writs, as he was then called, to the county register ; and every neglect was punished with twenty shillings fine.



C H A P. VI.

Of the original State of the Country with respect to the Inhabitants and Soil.

THE Massachusetts first planters distinguished the natives by four divisions, eastern, western, northern and southern. The eastern people had the general name of Tarrateens or Tarrenteens; they had their residence at Kennebeck and the other rivers in the province of Maine and country east of it, and were part of the Indians called by the French Abenakis. The several subdivisions of these Tarrenteens or Abenakis, according to the rivers where they dwelt or generally resided, as St. John's, Penobscot, Norridgewock, Ameriscoogin, Saco, &c. were not known to the English until many years after.* There was great enmity between the Tarrenteens and Aberginians, or Indians of Massachusetts bay, who, although they had been formerly a great people, yet were so reduced, that upon alarms they would fly to the English houses as to asylums, where the Tarrenteens durst not pursue them. The French traders were better known than the English to these Tarrenteens, and early planted prejudices against the English, which could never be eradicated. These were the Indians who first used fire arms, which, with ammunition, they obtained from the French. The second year after the Massachusetts planters arrived, the Tarrenteens destroyed some of the English who went to trade with them, and pretended that they were drowned; but the truth being discovered, some of the Indians concerned in the murder were taken and hanged. Although they refrained from open hostilities for above forty years, yet they kept no great correspondence with, nor shewed any affection for, the English colonies, but at all times were attached to the French, who speak of them as the most mild and docile of any of the Indian

* The Indians of the river Saint François, viz. the Aresaguntacooks and Weweenocks, were a colony of the Abenakis removed from the eastern parts of New-England for the sake of French neighbourhood. They fixed at first upon the falls of Chaudiere, but soon after removed to St. François. *Charlevoix.*

Indian tribes. The western Indians went by the general name of Mohawks,* and under this name were included all the Indians westward of Quinnipiack (New-Haven) although the Indians of Hudson's river,† the Moheganders or Mackhandlers, were people of a different nation and language. The name of Mohawks struck terror into the Indians who lived east of them.

The southern Indians were divided into many distinct nations or tribes. Those upon Long-Island and the main land opposite upon the sea coast were accounted among the most savage: the Massachusetts Indians had but little knowledge of them. There was another sub-division, by the name of the River Indians, who had seated themselves in several commodious places upon the banks of Connecticut river. The next to them were called Mohegins, between Connecticut river and the Pequod river, and upon some of the higher branches of the last mentioned river. Then came the Pequods, seated between and about New-London and Stonington, near to the sea coast: these were supposed to be among the most warlike, active and daring, and made the Narragansets, though more numerous, stand in awe of them, and would have made the English do so likewise if they had been owners of English arms, and understood how to use them: they were represented to have been under greater prejudices against the English, from the beginning, than any other tribe. Next to the Pequods were the Narragansets, who lived along the sea coast from Stonington round point Judith, and on what is called the Narraganset bay. They consisted of several lesser principalities, but all united under one general ruler, called the chief sachem,‡ to whom all the others owed some kind of fealty

* Mohawks they were called by the Indians of New-England, which signifies cannibals, from the Indian word *moho*, to eat. *R. Williams.*

† The Indians called by the French Loups (Wolves) moved from Hudson's river. *Charlevoix.*

‡ Canonicus and Miantinomy were considered as having equal authority, until the latter was killed. *R. Williams.*

The ancient Indians among the Narragansets reported, when the English first arrived, that they had in former times a sachem called Tashtasluck, incomparably greater than any in the whole land in power and state; that he had only two children, a son and a daughter, and not being able to match them according to their dignity, he joined them together in matrimony, and that they had four sons, of which Canonicus, who was sachem when the English came, was the eldest. *MS.* This is the only piece of Indian history or tradition of any sort from the ancestors of our first Indians I have ever met with.

fealty or subjection. The Nianticks were included and considered as a branch of the Narragansets. The Narragansets must have been very numerous. None of the Indians were supposed to increase, but to be continually decreasing, not in the English colonies only, but among the French in Canada also; and yet in 1675, at the beginning of Philip's war, it was generally agreed that the Narraganset tribe consisted of 2000 fighting men. They were the most curious coiners of the wampompeag,* and supplied the other nations with money, pendants and bracelets; also with tobacco pipes of stone, some blue and some white; they furnished the earthen vessels and pots for cookery and other domestic uses. They were considered as a commercial people, and not only began a trade with the English for goods for their own consumption, but soon learned to supply other distant nations at an advanced price, and to receive beaver and other furs in exchange, upon which they made a profit also. The Pequods jeered them for their indisposition to war, and called them a nation of women.

The Womponoags were next to the Narragansets. Their sachem was Massasoiet of Woosamequin, whose chief seat was sometimes at Pokanocket† or Sowam, and at other times at Namasket, now Middleborough. The Nipnets, who were seated upon some lesser rivers and lakes or large ponds, more within the continent, where Oxford now is, and towns near it, were supposed to be tributaries to Massasoiet. The Indians upon Cape Cod, although not considered as part of the Wamponoags, yet were supposed to be also under some kind of subjection to Massasoiet. However, it is certain, that when Philip, the son of Massasoiet, had engaged almost all the other Indians of the country in war with the English, his solicitations could not prevail with those of Manamet to join him, but they adhered to the English, and were a defence to Sandwich and the towns further

* The people of New-Plymouth, in the year 1627, began a trade with the Dutch at Manhados, and there they had the first knowledge of wampompeag, and their acquaintance therewith occasioned the Indians of these parts to learn to make it. *Hubbard*. It is not probable the New-England Indians had any instrument of commerce: the English could not have been seven years among them without discovering it. *Argentum & aurum pro pills an irati. Illi negaverint debito.* Tac.

† Bristol.

further upon the Cape. There seems to have been two cantons or sachemdoms of the Cape Indians; one extending from Eel river in Plymouth, to the south shore of the Cape, and comprehended what are now called the Mashpee Indians,* and then extended upon the Cape to the eastern part of Barnstable, and as far westward as Wood's-hole, and divers petty sachems or sagamores were comprehended in this division, of which Mashpee was one: the eastern part of the Cape from Nobskuffet or Yarmouth made another sachemdom, the capital of which was Nausit or Eastham: these were known to the people of New Plymouth by the name of Nausit Indians. The Indians upon Nantucket, and those upon Martha's Vineyard, are supposed to have been distinct and separate tribes, having their own sachems and sagamores. The Nantucket Indians were a large body.

The several scattered tribes from the Pockanockets to Piscataqua river, were called the Northern Indians, and by some Aberginians. There were many distinct settlements, upon the lesser channels of Piscataqua or Newichewannock river. Merrimack also had its receptacles, from the mouth fifty miles or more, as Wainoofet, Patucket, Amoskeag, Penicook, &c. and Newbury falls was a noted plantation, there being plenty of fish there at all seasons. And for the same reason, and because of the great plenty of shell fish, at Agawam (Ipswich) there was a noted tribe with their sachem. Naumkeag (Salem and Marblehead) and Saugus (Lynn) made another division. Saugus Indians had a distinct sachem, known by the English name of George, who lived

* I received this account of the Cape Indians from the Rev. Mr. Hawley, a worthy missionary to the Mashpee tribe, who are the principal body of Indians now remaining in New-England. The town of Mashpee consists of 65 wigwams, besides 9 wigwams at a place called Scanton, and 4 at Sockanisset, in the bounds of Falmouth, who are likewise under Mr. Hawley's charge. In 1648 Pappmunnuck sold lands to the people of Barnstable, as being the chief of this tribe. They have not preserved a succession of sachems, but for many years past have affected government in imitation of the form of government in the English townships. However, the great grandson of this Pappmunnuck they considered as the chief speaker in 1761. He died that year. Another of his descendants is now a schoolmaster, near four score years of age. But some deny that Pappmunnuck was their chief, and make Tookenchofen the sachem. There are as many adult persons of this tribe as there were four score years ago, but not so many children and youth. Complaints are made of the practice of the parents in binding out their children as servants in English families, and some late attempts have been made by the government to restrain or regulate this practice.

lived forty years or more after the English came there.

At Massachusetts, near the mouth of Charles river, there used to be a general rendezvous of Indians. That circle which now makes the harbours of Boston and Charlestown, round by Malden, Chelsea, Nantasket, Hingham, Weymouth, Braintree, and Dorchester, was the capital of a great sachem,* much revered by all the plantations of Indians round about; and to him belonged Naponset (Dorchester mills, now Milton), Punkapog (Stoughton), Westagasset (Weymouth), and several places upon Charles river, where the natives were seated. At Millick a sagamore was seated, upon a creek which meets with the mouth of Charles river.

It is not possible to make a just computation of the number of Indians within the limits of New-England. It is agreed that they looked with a jealous eye upon the English planters, and, when it was too late, repented that they had not, by a general union, discouraged and prevented the first attempts of settlements among them.

The life of hunters and fishermen is said to be averse to human society, except among the members of single families. The accounts which have been transmitted of the natives, at the first arrival of the Europeans, represent them to have been as near to a state of nature as any people upon the globe,† and destitute of most of the improvements which are the usual effects of civil society. Some writers‡ tell us, that husbands and wives, parents and children, lived always in one room or wigwam, without any apartments, and made no privacy of those actions which nature teaches even some irrational animals§ to be ashamed of in public. All agree, that a young woman was not less esteemed for having accompanied with a man, their usual practice being to

* The tradition is, that this sachem had his principal seat upon a small hill or rising upland, in the midst of a body of saltmarsh in the township of Dorchester, near to a place called Squantum, and it is known by the name of Massachusetts hill, or mount Massachusetts, to this day. The blue hills, so called, in the township of Milton, &c. are called in Capt. Smith's map, in 1614, Chevi hills, but they were called before Massachusetts mount. Prince Charles changed the name, and also gave the name of Charles's river to what had been before called Massachusetts river.

† Sallust's description of the aborigines of Italy suits very well for our natives.*

** Genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum.*

‡ Mr. Shepard's clear sun-shine of the gospel, 1648.

§ The elephant, the deer, &c. who never couple but in secret.

to live together upon trial, before they took one another for husband and wife.* We hear of no instances of refined conjugal affection. The superior strength of the man to that of the woman, instead of being employed in the most laborious services necessary for their mutual support, was made use of to keep the wife in subjection, and oblige her to every kind of drudgery, not only to the carrying her children upon her back in all their removes, but to the carrying their provisions and packs of every kind, in their huntings and other marches. The women not only provided bark and stakes, the materials of their houses or cabins, but were the housewrights who built them; and as often as the family moved, for the sake of fishing or hunting, the women took down the houses and carried them on their backs. They planted, hoed and gathered the corn, and provided barns (holes in the ground ceiled with the rind of trees) for the reception of it; not to mention their employments in providing shell-fish and other fish for the family, bearing burdens of wood and water, dressing their food, &c. The men commended themselves for keeping their wives employed, and condemned the English husbands for spoiling good working creatures. A family seems, necessarily, to carry an idea of government; but parents had no authority over their children. The *storgée* in the parent might be observed towards their young. No return was made on the part of the child; but as soon as it

* Champlain, who lived a whole winter, about 1615, among the Algonquins, says, "they have a sort of marriage: when a young girl arrived to eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen or fifteen years, she would have suitors in proportion to her charms, who would apply to her father and mother; although, often enough, except among the discreeter sort, the girls would not stay for their consent. The enamoured Indian tenders to his mistress a few belts, chains, or bracelets of wampom. If the girl likes him she will receive the present, and he comes and lodges with her three or four nights, without saying one word, where they enjoy the fruits of their affections. If, after a week or fortnight spent in this manner, they cannot agree, which is very often the case, she quits her lover, who leaves his wampom and other presents made her. Disappointed, he seeks another mistress, and the another humble servant, and continue so to do until two meet together who are agreeable each to the other. There are some who pass their youth thus with many such husbands, who have not the sole possession; for, as soon as it is night, the young women, although married, run from one wigwam to another, and take what they like; but no violence is ever offered to the women, all depending on their consent. The husband takes the like liberty, without raising any jealousy, or but little, between them; nor is it any damage or loss of reputation to them, such being the custom of the country." Did ever any other people, in this respect, approach nearer to the brutal part of the creation?

it was capable, it was as ready to resist and oppose its parent as any other person.

Every nation or tribe had one whom they acknowledged as the head or chief. The son succeeded to the father. If no son, the queen ruled; if no queen, the next of kin of the blood royal.* They gave the title of sachem to the chief, and sometimes that of sagamore. Some suppose these two titles to be indifferently used; others, that the sagamores had a small territory,† and perhaps were, in some degree, dependent upon a sachem. There were several sagamores in the Massachusetts bay: sagamore George, at Saugus or Lynn; John, at Medford; Passaconaway, at Merrimack; his son, at Wechuset; Shawanon, at Nashaway; and many others. Massasoiet, the chief of the Wompanoag Indians, was always called sachem; so was Myantimomo, chief of the Narragansets, and Sassacus of the Pequods.

What power and authority the sachems and sagamores had, it is more difficult to determine.‡ Murder, and a bare attempt upon the life of their chief, are said to have been capital offences. Such a malefactor, being apprehended, (an escape to another nation was not very difficult) the sachem called some of his wisest men together, and the offender being pronounced guilty, his brains were beat out with a tomahawk. Other punishments they had not. We hear of no laws. Where they had no idea of property, but few laws were necessary. They had nothing to lose, worth even any corporal punishment, much less the life of a subject, where they were not over-stocked. Of personal injuries and affronts every man was his own avenger; they had no religion which forbade rendering evil for evil. Military authority

* Wood's Prospect.

† “The inferior sachems and subjects plant and remove at the pleasure of the highest and supreme sachems; and I humbly conceive that it pleaseth the Most High to make use of such a bond of authority over them, without which they could not long subsist in human societies, in this wild condition wherein they are.” *Roger Williams's letter to Massa. Gov. 12. 3d mo. 1636.*

‡ The earliest writers represent the sachem as ruled by the people, rather than a ruler of them, and that he held the reins no longer than he pleased the people, and, when they thought proper, resigned them to one that was more worthy, and as quietly betook himself to a private condition as if he had never known any other. Some tribute was paid to support the prince. Cutthamoquin, a sachem, complained to Mr. Eliot, that some of his subjects, after they became christians, were more slack in their tribute of corn, &c. than they were before.

authority they had none ; every man fought, and ran away, at his pleasure ; for this reason, they never could stand a body of English, and their wars between themselves were extremely precarious. Uncas, with an inferior number of Mohegins, and of no repute, beat Myantimomo at the head of the Narragansets, who held the Mohegins in contempt. Their arms were bows and arrows ; their captains, only, carried a spear. Their bowstrings were made of moose sinews. Their arrows were pointed with a small flat stone, of a triangular form, the basis of which they fastened with a leathern string into a cleft made in the end of a young stick of elder wood ; and, simple as they were, they did execution upon naked bodies. Many of these stones, or heads of arrows, are found, to this day, in the earth, in places where the Indians used to resort. After the arrival of the English, they made the heads of their arrows of brass, fastened them to a small stick six or eight inches long, formed to fix into the end of the pithy elder, which they bound round to strengthen it. They seldom missed their mark, when they aimed at a beast or bird, running or flying. In their wars they are said to have always engaged in a loose, disorderly manner ; and, as soon as their artillery was spent, to have taken to their heels. The Mohawks secured their bodies against the arrows of other Indians by a covering of sealorle skins. Their principal weapon was the tomahawk, a club two or three feet long, with a knob at the end ; since they knew the use of iron, improved by the addition of a sharp pointed hatchet opposite to the knob. Roger Williams says, it was their constant practice to strike off the heads of their dead enemies, at which they were very expert.

They were remarkable for firm, well-compacted bodies ; strong and active ; capable of enduring the greatest hardships and fatigues ; regardless of cold, whilst travelling in the severity of winter.* Having made holes in the ice, they

* “ They were at a loss what could induce the English to leave England, and come to America. The most probable conjecture they could make was, that the English wanted fowel at home, and came over for the sake of the wood. When they had burnt up the wood near their settlements, they removed to a new place for the sake of firing.” *R. Williams.* The same author says, that he has known them

they would sit round them, upon their naked bottoms, catching pickrel, breams, pearch, and other freshwater fish. A small pouch of parched corn, ground or rather pounded into meal, and called nuichicke, which is well enough translated nocake,* would support them several days in their travelling, when they could get no other provisions; and sometimes they were destitute even of this; but after abstinence they never failed of a proportionable indulgence, the first opportunity they had for it, and would make up at one meal for all they had missed. Their clothing was of the skins of wild beasts; after the English came, they began to use woollen, and in a few years wholly laid aside skins. One of their old garments of skins would purchase a new one of woollen, and a good quantity of strong water or sack into the bargain. The men threw a light mantle or covering over them; and although they wore a small flap, called Indian breeches, yet they were not over nice in concealing their nudities.† The women were more modest, and wore a coat of cloth or skins, wrapt like a blanket about their loins and reaching down to their thighs, which they never put off in company; and if the husband had a mind to sell the wife's beaver petticoat, he must have provided another of some other sort, before he could prevail with her to part with it. In winter, the old men sometimes wore a sort of trousers of skins, fastened under their girdles with buttons. Their shoes without heels, which they called mockassins,‡ were cut out of a moose's hide. Their ornaments were pendants in their ears, carved of bone, shell and stone, in the form of birds, beasts or fishes; belts of wampompeag upon their arms, and hanging down over their shoulders. Their hair was cut into various forms, and stuck with feathers. Upon their cheeks, and in many parts

them run between eighty and an hundred miles in a summer's day, and back again within two days. "The inhabitants of Fornosa have been seen to out-run hares in their full speed. The Chinese alledge, as the cause of their swiftness, that till the age of 14 or 15, their knees and loins are bound exceeding tight." *De Halde*. The Americans are bound in this manner the first year or two only.

* The Indian corn boiled, after being a little broken, they called nasaump. The English call it samp. Boiled with clams it makes a savory dish.

† Champlain says, the men in Canada generally threw aside all covering in the summer, and that the women and girls were no more moved at seeing them in that fashion than if they had seen nothing strange. p. 473.

‡ The Virginians had the same name for shoes.

parts of their bodies, some of them, by incisions, into which they conveyed a black unchangeable ink, made the figures of bears, deer, moose, wolves, eagles, hawks, &c. which were indelible, and generally lasted as long as they lived.*

Their food, in winter, was birds and beasts of all sorts, fish from the ponds, and shell-fish. In summer, they had fish from the sea, but no way to save that or their meat from putrefaction; berries of all sorts, green corn, beans,† and squashes. They boiled their victuals in earthen pots; their spits were sticks fastened in the ground, cleft a-top, where they fixed their meat, and placed them round a fire until they had sufficiently toasted it. The earth was their table; trenchers, napkins or knives they knew not the use of. Salt they had none, nor bread.‡ Indian corn boiled was the nearest akin to bread. They had no set meals; eat when they were hungry, as long as victuals lasted; and, being improvident, not caring for the morrow, they and their families would sometimes keep a fast of two or three days together. Water was their only drink.§ Their household furniture was very small. A skin or mat was their bed; they never used a chair or stool, always sitting on the ground.|| A few earthen and wooden vessels answered all the purposes of a family. As they had no metals of any kind, what few tools they had were of stone. Their hatchet and chizzel are kept as curiosities; the former somewhat in shape like an iron hatchet, saving that, instead of an eye for the handle, it had a neck, where they fastened a withe.¶ Their arts and manufactures lay in a very

* Since they have been furnished with paints from Europe, they daub their faces with vermilion, and sometimes with blue, green, and other colours.

† Beans, called in Europe French beans, are undoubtedly natural to the country, as much as Indian corn. In Canada the French called them beans of Brazil, when they first found them among the natives.

‡ The Indians of Canada mixed up their Indian meal and water into a cake, which they dried by the fire. *Champ.*

§ Tobacco was in general use. This refreshed their spirits.

|| At this day, when hundreds of them are at a conference with any of the English governments, they all sit upon the ground, with their elbows upon their knees.

¶ Roger Williams says, he knew an old squaw, many years after all the rest of the Indians used iron hoes for their corn, who was superstitiously attached to the clam-shell, and would never use an English hoe, though three times more work might have been done with it in the same time.

• The Samogitians are so given to superstition, that whereas it was the old custom of that country to till the ground with wooden ploughs and coulter, and
that

very narrow compass. Their skins they dressed by scraping and rubbing, and sometimes stained or coloured them with odd sort of embroideries. They had a sort of cordage or lines, from the wild Indian hemp, with which they made nets 30 or 40 feet long, for taking sturgeon. They had two sorts of canoes, one of pine or chefnut trees, which they burned hollow, and then scraped the inside with clam-shells and oyster-shells, and hewed the out side with stone hatchets. Those were generally 2 feet wide, and about 20 feet long; the other sort were made of the bark or rind of the birch tree, with knees or ribs, and though easily broken upon the rocks or shore, yet were tight and secure against the waves. Some of these were very neat, and the most ingenious of any part of their manufactures.*

They that speak most favourably, give but an indifferent idea of the qualities of their minds. Mr. Willson speaks of them, but with compassion, as the most sordid and contemptible part of the human species. Mr. Hooker says, they are the veriest ruins of mankind upon the face of the earth. Perhaps the Indians about the Massachusetts bay were some of the lowest of the American nations. We hear nothing of that formality and order in their councils, but little of those allegories and figures in their speeches and harangues, which the French observed among the Iroquois and other nations, at the beginning of their acquaintance with them. Indeed, in their discourses together upon any matter which they deemed important, they seldom used any short colloquiums, but each spake his mind at large without interruption, the rest of the company giving attention; and when he had finished, some other gave as large an answer. They shewed courtesy to the English at their first arrival; were hospitable, and made such as could eat
their

that the governor of one of their provinces brought them the use of iron plough-shares for the ease of the labourer; and that some years after, by an unusual distemper of the air, they had a dear year or two, they threw away their iron plough-shares and fell to the old wooden ones again, attributing a kind of divinity to the one and unluckiness unto the other." *Howel.*

* "I have seen a Native go into the woods with his hatchet, carrying only a basket of corn with him, and stones to strike fire. When he had felled his tree (being a chefnut) he made him a little house or shed of the bark of it; he puts fire, and follows the burning it with fire in many places; his corn he boils, and bath the brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish; but so he continues burning and hewing, until he hath, within ten or twelve days (lying there at his work alone) finished his boat." *R. Williams.*

their fool welcome to it, and readily instructed them in planting and cultivating the Indian corn; and some of the English who lost themselves in the woods, and must otherwise have perished by famine, they relieved and conducted home. Their manner was, to come into the English houses without knocking, and to sit down without ceremony. R. Williams compared the Quakers to them. There was no trading with them but for ready pay. He that trusted them lost his debt and his customer.

The principle, or persuasion, that all things ought to be in common,* might cause hospitality, where the like was expected in return, without any great degree of virtue. Some appearances there were of compassion, gratitude and friendship, and of grief at the death or distress of their children or near relations: some degree of these social affections is inseparable from human nature. Vices they had many. They were false, malicious and revengeful. The least injury caused in them a deadly hatred, which could never be allayed. They were infinitely cruel to their enemies, cutting and mangling their bodies, and then broiling them alive upon hot embers, and inflicting the most exquisite torments they could invent. They were not known to feed upon the flesh of their enemies after the English came among them.† The men were lazy and idle, never employing themselves about any other business than what was of absolute necessity for their support, and such as the women were not capable of. More dirty, foul and fordid than swine, being never so clean and sweet as when they were well greased.‡ Drunkards they were not; but the only

* An Indian gift is a proverbial expression, signifying a present for which an equivalent return is expected.

† Champlain says, the Algonquins took the heart of one of their enemies killed in battle, cut it into pieces, and gave it to his brother and several other prisoners to eat, who took it into their mouths, but would not swallow it.

A journal of a French officer in Canada, which was taken on board a small vessel in the West-Indies, gives an account of a feast made by some of the Indians who were at the taking of Fort William Henry, at which they sacrificed some of the English prisoners, boiled their flesh, and forced the other prisoners to eat it.

‡ I have seen a great half naked Indian sitting at a small distance from the governors and commissioners of several of the colonies, in the midst of a conference, picking lice from his body for half an hour together, and cracking them between his teeth.—One of the laws our Indians made, upon their first pretences to civility, laid a small penalty upon such as cracked lice with their teeth. The Hot-tentots had the same taste. “They plead in excuse the law of retaliation, and urge that it is no shame to eat those that would eat them.” *Kolben's voya. &c.*

only reason was, they had nothing that would intoxicate them. As soon as they had a taste of the English sack and strong waters, they were bewitched with them, and by this means more have been destroyed than have fell by the sword. The English women had nothing to fear, as to any attempt upon their honour. The same observation is made of the Canada Indians, with respect to the French women. La Hontan, a French author, who has given a different account, is charged with a fondness for embellishing his memoirs, and being very credulous. They had their choice among their own women. We have but little reason to wonder that so few Englishmen incline to cohabit with Indian women.

They had some sports and games with which they sometimes diverted themselves. Football was the chief, and whole cantons would engage one against another. Their goals were upon the hard sands, as even and firm as a board, and a mile or more in length; their ball not much larger than a hand ball, which they would mount in the air with their naked feet, and sometimes would be two days together before either side got a goal. They had two principal games of chance; one they called *puim*; this was much the same with a game *Charlevoix* mentions among the *Miamis*, which he calls *jeu des pailles*, or the game of straws. They took a number of packets of small sticks or straws, unequal in number but near of a size, and shuffling them together, he, to whose lot the highest number fell, was the forwardest in the game. Another game they called *hub-bub*, the same the French called *jeu de plat*, the game of the dish among the *Hurons*. They took five small pieces of bone, flatter than a die and longer, black on the one side and white on the other, these they put into a small wooden tray or platter, and giving it a stroke on the ground the bones all flew into the air, and the gamblers whist their hands to and fro among the bones, and then smite themselves on the breast and thighs, crying out, *hub, hub, hub*, so as to be heard at a great distance. According as the bones happened to be more or less of one colour, so they won or lost. Whilst any one continued to win he held the tray, and upon his losing gave it to the next. The Ne-
groes

groes in Guinca have a game of the same sort, which they call paw-paw. Shooting at marks was a diversion for their children, as soon as they were capable of drawing a bow. Swimming, running and wrestling they were, as early, accustomed to. Their hunting and fishing, being all they did, which could be called labour, for their maintenance or support, served also as diversions. Deer, moose and bears were their chief objects. Wolves, wild cats, raccoons, otters, musquashes, and even beavers, were not much regarded, until the English, from the value they set upon their skins or furs, encouraged the pursuit of them. Besides their bows, they had other devices to take their game, sometimes by double hedges a mile or two in length, and a mile wide at one end, and made narrow, by degrees, until they came to a gap of about six feet, against which they lay hid to shoot the deer, as they came through, in the day time; and, at night, they set deer traps, being springs made of young trees. They had their traps also for beavers and otters. Their ordinary fishing was with hooks and lines. They made their hooks of bones, their lines of wild hemp, stronger and neater than the English lines.* They had a way of taking sturgeon by lighting a torch made of birch bark, which weaving to and fro by the side of their canoe would delight the sturgeon and cause them to come tumbling and playing, throwing up their white bellies, into which the Indians struck their spears or darts.† The sturgeons' backs were impenetrable. They had grand fishings at the several falls of the rivers, at most of which a canton or company of Indians had their chief residence, and at fixed seasons the several neighbouring cantons met by turns, partly for recreation and partly to make provision for the year. During these meetings, all that came were at home, and had all things in common; and those who had entertained their neighbours expected the like kindness.

Religion they had as little as can well be imagined. Some notions they had of a future state, a mahometan paradise,

* Douglass says, they had no threads of flax, hemp or any other herbs; but the earliest accounts of the Massachusetts Indians assert the contrary, and Champlain says that it was part of the employment of the Indian women of Canada to twist the wild hemp, and make it into nets for fishing.

† The natives of the Canary islands happened to hit upon the same way of taking fish.

adise, where they were to solace themselves in fruitful corn-fields and fine flowery meads, with pleasant rivers to bath in; curious wigwams, provided for them without any labour of their own; hunting, fowling and fishing, without any weariness or pains to molest them; but at the door was a snarling animal, who denied a peaceful entrance to all unworthy of it.* This caused them to bury the bows and arrows of the deceased with their bodies, to affright or repel Cerberus; and good store of wampompeag, to purchase some peculiar favours or privileges.† Their enemies, and others unworthy the joys of elysium, they consigned to an eternal habitation and place of torment. However warm some of their imaginations might be, it is agreed that in general no people had greater fears of death, discovered by the distress and despair of the dying person, and the sighs and groans of the surviving parents or near friends, who mourned without hope. Idolatry‡ there were no signs of among them. They acknowledged a God, whom they mentioned by the word Ketan; he gave them rain in time of

* Wood's proposal.

† They supposed the souls of all great and good men and women went away to the south-west. A south-west wind ordinarily makes fair, pleasant weather. In the spring and summer, near the sea, in the afternoon it frequently succeeds a raw wind from the south to south-east blowing from the sea all the forenoon. In the country from whence this pleasant wind came, they concluded the divinity would choose to reside. *R. Williams*. This agrees exactly with the accounts the first East-India voyagers give of the Japanese.

‡ Amongst Mr. Eliot's manuscripts I find the following story. "This spring time in the year 1653, being sundry days at Pautucket, and spending a sabbath among them, there was a woman at the meeting who had a small brass image of a man about her neck, hanging by a string fastened about the neck of the image; I observed it, but thought little of it: afterwards when I thought to have gone away, my horse had run and gone homeward, as they found by his footing, whereupon I sent some after my horse, and purposed to have gone on foot after till they met me with my horse. Many being gathered together to take leave of me, among the rest there was that woman with an image about her neck; I asked her why she wore it there; she roundly and readily answered me, I pray unto it. Why, says I, do you account that to be your god? She as readily answered me, yes. At which I marvelled, having never seen the like before at any place I ever came to. I therefore declared to her, and to the company about us, the greatness of the sin of idolatry. I urged the second commandment. I shewed how much idols should be demolished. I desired her to give it to me, that I might demolish it; but she refused. I offered her half a crown for it, but she was not willing. Perceiving it was tied with a riding knot, I slipped the knot, and slipped off the image; then she swelled with anger, and cried. I presently gave her half a crown, which she took, but was not pacified. I told the company, the first pond I came to I would cast it in. When I departed, the woman girt up her loins and ran after me; when I perceived it, I asked her whither she went; she answered, whither I went, and she would not leave me so long as I had her god about me. It began to rain, which was some discouragement to my going forward; then I considered

of drought, and fair weather after great rains. Upon him they had their first dependence for recovery from sickness; but if he failed them, they applied to their powows, which, it is most likely, brought upon them the charge of worshipping the Devil. The powows the English called their priests. We have many idle stories of the intercourse they had with the Devil. Their craft was in danger from the preachers of the gospel, who condemned their cheats and juggles as diabolical; and they were great opposers of the gospel, and threatened the new converts with death and destruction; and many were so intimidated, that the powows were supposed to have fascinated or bewitched them. Passaconaway, a great sagamore upon Merrimack river, was the most celebrated powow in the country. He made the Indians believe strange things; that he could make water burn,

considered that this act of mine, in taking away and abolishing the idol, was neither so proper nor so valid as it would be if the rulers and sachems should do it—I resolved to return, and did so, and the woman after me. When I came to the wigwam, there being four sachems present which prayed to God, I desired them all to come together. Being come, I told them that seeing the rain had driven me back, God would not have me yet to go, but somewhat else is to be done about this idol and the sin of idolatry, and because the woman is not content with what I have done I do commit the matter and the idol unto you to judge. So I laid it upon the ground before them where they sat, and went to confer with the company. When they had sat about half an hour in consultation, they desired the company to come before them, which they did. They said they had agreed upon their judgments. 1st, That the act in taking away the idol was well done. 2dly, That one man should be appointed to demolish the idol, and three others for witnesses that it was done. 3dly, They adjudged the idolatress to be a great sinner, yet as it was the first time, and she had done it ignorantly, therefore they would spare her, yet they did all one after another reprove her very solemnly. After execution was done upon the idol, one declared that he understood there were some more idols like to that, in other houses. I requested the sachems to send for those also. The officer or constable went well guarded, and presently brought a bright brass image or seraphim with his wings spread, to the sachems, who presently passed the same judgment they had done upon the former, and it was executed accordingly. I asked, how it should come to pass that there should be such idolatry here, and in no place else that I had heard of. They rendered this reason: That being the most northerly place that I resort to, some of those Indians have commerce with the Indians that are yet more northerly, who have commerce with those whom the French teach to pray to such idols, therefore they think the idols and idolatry come from them.

The Oqui of the Algonquins, or French Indians, was the same with the powow of the English Indians. Champlain says, that what caused it to be supposed they intended the devil, was, that when they saw a man do any thing extraordinary, or have any extraordinary qualities, as a brave warrior, or a furious fellow to the degree of madness, they called him Oqui. That some of these Oquis undertook to heal the sick, cure the wounded, and to foretell future events. The Oquis persuaded the sick to cause feasts to be made, that they might have a share in them, and to perform many ceremonies in hopes of a speedy cure. Sometimes the physician acquired reputation by the sudden restoration of the patient; but if they were very ill, the horrid noise and disturbance the Oqui made, was much more likely to kill than to cure.

burn, rocks move, and trees dance, and metamorphise himself into a flaming man; that in winter he could raise a green leaf out of the ashes of a dry one, and produce a living snake from the skin of a dead one.*

When the powow was sent for in any malady, after a hideous bellowing and groaning, he made a stop, and all the auditors with one voice uttered a short note, and then the powow renewed his roaring, smiting his naked breast and thighs, and jumping about until he foamed at the mouth. The patients were frequently cured of imaginary distempers, by these ridiculous pranks; and such instances of recovery worked upon the credulity of the Indians, so far as to make them to suppose the powows could heal them, and poison them, when they pleased. The latter was the easiest, and it is not unlikely that they had enough of the Devil in them to do it, in order to carry on the fraud and raise their characters. These poor deluded creatures were soon convinced that the English medicines had a healing virtue beyond all the charms of the powows.† There is a noted instance of Mr. Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, his reviving old Massasoiet, by the help of a dose of mithridate, when given over by his own physicians. Mr. Mayhew, visiting the son of Towanquartick, a sagamore at Martha's Vineyard, who was ill of a fever, and whom the powows pronounced a dead man, let him bleed, and he soon recovered.‡ Many of the powows became converts to Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew; among the rest, Passaconaway, the sagamore already mentioned. Some of the converts gave this account, that "when any of the
" Indians fell into a strange dream, wherein Chepian ap-
" peared unto them as a serpent, the next day they tell the
" other

* They had a tradition, that a crow brought the first grain of Indian corn; and although this bird often robbed their fields, not one Indian in an hundred would kill them. *R. Williams.*

† "I find, by God's blessing on some means used in physic and chirurgery, they are already convinced of the folly of powowing, and are easily persuaded to give it over, as a sinful and diabolical practice." *Mr. Eliot's letter, Nov. 12, 1648.*

‡ Their sweatings in their hot-houses was a more rational remedy than the powowing. By these they are said to have easily got rid of the French disease. The Six Nations make use of a plant, which they pretend is a specific for that distemper, but make a secret of it. I will mention an instance of their sagacity. Observing that the musquash fed freely upon the hemlock without hurt, they took out the stomach of the animal, dried and pulverized it, and gave it to their children who had eaten of the plant, and found it to be an antidote for the poison,

"other Indians of it, and, for two days after, the rest of the Indians dance and rejoice for what they tell them about this serpent, and so they become their powows." Being asked what these powows do, and what use they are of; they said, "their principal employment was to cure the sick, by certain odd gestures and beating themselves, and then they shall pull out the sickness by applying their hands to the sick person, and so blow it away." This account was given to Mr. Eliot, who made this inference, "so that their powows are great witches, having fellowship with the old serpent, to whom they pray, and by whose means they heal sick persons," &c. Some of them were jugglers; and, without arriving to any great degree of perfection, they might raise the admiration of the generality of their blockish countrymen. However, the contemporaries of the aboriginals all say, that, besides the Ketan, or their good spirit, they had some notion of an evil spirit, which is sometimes called Chepian, but generally Abamocho,* lord of those infernal regions to which they consigned their enemies. Mr. Mayhew, in a letter dated in 1650, relates a conversation between Hiacoomes, a christian Indian, and Myoxco, a chief man of a place at the Vineyard. Myoxco demanded how many Gods† the English worshipped; and being answered, one, he reckoned up about 37 principal gods he had; and shall I, said he, throw away these 37 gods for one? ‡

The

* "The Indians, who had never seen any man blacker than themselves, happened to spy a Negro a-top of a tree who had lost his way, ran to the next plantation to inform the English that they had seen Abamocho, and to entreat their assistance to conjure him down. The English went out, and found the poor wandering black, and conducted him to his master." *Wood.*

Query, Whether it was not as natural for them to have taken the first white man they saw for Abamocho, as the first black, their own colour being a medium between both.

† Mr. Eliot, in translating the bible, could find no Indian word for God. In the prayers and sermons made by the Indians in their own language, they have been taught to use the word Jehovah, or the English words God or Lord. R. Williams uses the Indian word *Manitoo*, by which word they seem rather to have expressed their admiration at any thing which excelled, whether animate or inanimate.

‡ Roger Williams says, that when they saw one man excel others in wisdom, valour, strength, &c. they would say, out, he is a god. And when they heard of the English ships, houses, and manner of plowing their fields, they pronounced that they were gods. By their eastern, western, southern and northern gods, which the same author speaks of, they probably intended no more than the chief sagamores of the several places to which souls went. This is very consistent with the gross notions they had of a future state.

I

The Indians of Canada, according to Charlevoix, had an infinite number of genii, or subaltern spirits, good and bad, who had their particular worship. Very circumstantial accounts have been published, by the French writers; of the religious rites and ceremonies of the northern Indians, their feasts and fasts, their priests, and even their nuns or vestal virgins; which accounts have either been too easily received, or else the northern differed much from the more southern Indians, who, at best, gave themselves but little concern upon any point of religion. A deep inquiry into futurity could not consist with that indolent state of mind, which they made the summit of all happiness. An Indian convert discoursing with Woosamaquin, the great sachem, he inquired of the convert, what worldly good things he had gained by his new religion; and not receiving a satisfactory answer, gave himself no further thought about it. Mr. Mayhew * says, that upon the first proposals of religion to them, they generally made these three inquiries: 1. What earthly riches they should get. 2. What approbation they should have from other sagamores and governors. 3. How they should come off from the powows. †

Many people pleased themselves with a conjecture, that the Indians in America were the descendents of the ten tribes of Israel. There was as little affinity between the Indian and the Hebrew language, as between the languages of any two nations upon the earth; and the New-England Indians had no one custom peculiar to the Israelites, except that of the separation of the women on certain occasions. This custom obtained among most of the nations upon the continent. The French speak of others, viz. that, at certain repasts, they never make use of knives; it is not probable

I began to suspect, from this instance of plurality of gods, something like the mythology of the ancients. *Remulus in cælis cum diis agit ævum.* Cic. But I have no where met with any evidence of their making any of their deceased heroes the objects of their religious worship, nor so much as preserving the remembrance of their names; and it is probable the Indians run over a number of names to impose upon Mr. Mayhew, or to get rid of his importunity, and that, from this authority only, other writers have mentioned a plurality of gods.

* His letter to the corporation, 1650.

† R. Williams says, that when he had discoursed of the creation, of the soul, of the danger of it, and the saving of it, they assented; but when he spake of the resurrection of the body, they cried out, we will never believe this.

bable they ever had any to use, on any occasion, until they were brought to them from Europe; they called the first English, Knifemen; that they never break the bones of the beasts they eat, and that, in some of their songs, you may distinguish the word Hallelujah. One Capt. Cromwell, a rich bucanier, who died at Boston about 1646, assured governor Dudley, that he had seen Indians to the southward circumcised. This increased the faith of many.* The authors of the universal history seem to have as little grounds for the conjecture, that the Indians are the posterity of the ancient Scythians, and that Massachusetts, a compound Indian word, might be derived from Malagetes.

Our ancestors attempted to account for the first peopling America, consistent with the sacred history of the creation, but were obliged to leave the matter in the same uncertainty as all others have done who have since made the like attempt.

The language of the Indians, from Piscataqua to Connecticut, was so nearly the same, that they could tolerably well converse together. It was observed, that without the greatest difficulty, they could not be brought to pronounce the letters L or R. For Lobster, they said Nobitan. The Tarrenteens sounded the R easily. Labials they used with freedom. It is observed of the western Indians, particularly the six nations, that they have no labials in all their language; and they, and the Nipnets, who lived little more than 100 miles from them, could not better understand one another than the English and Chinese.

At the beginning, our planters promised themselves great things from the soil, and imagined they were rich, having the property of so great an extent of territory. The general court allowed no more than 200 acres of land, in the first dividend, for 50 pounds sterling advanced for the plantation. Mr. Johnson, in a will made made in 1629, supposes his interest, as a proprietor, worth six hundred pounds sterling;

* Their greasing their hair is called, by R. Williams, anointing their heads.

They are said to call the seven stars the Bear. This would be very strange, if there was any evidence of their calling them so when the first European arrived. So remarkable a constellation must have been always distinguished by them. A Bear being so common an animal with them, they probably were acquainted with the name of the constellation being the same with that of the animal, from their most early converse with the English or French.

sterling;* but many years had not passed, before an ingenious writer † observed, that the planters had found, by experience, that their improved lands were of no greater value (in many places not so great) than the labour and expense in subduing them. Several accounts of the opinions, which at first prevailed, both of the soil and climate, have been preserved. Wood, a writer of a fertile imagination, who lived in the country four years, which, from some passages in his history, appear to have been before the year 1636, or the Pequod war, says, “The soil is, for the general, a warm kind of earth, there being little cold spewing land, no moorish fens, no quagmires; the lowest grounds be the marshes, over which, every full and change, the sea flows; these marshes be rich ground, and bring plenty of hay, of which the cattle feed, and like as if they were fed with the best up-land hay in New-England,‡ of which likewise there is great store, which grows commonly between the marshes and the woods. This meadow ground lies higher than the marshes, whereby it is freed from the overflowing of the seas; and besides this, in many places where the trees grow thin, there is good fodder to be got amongst the woods. There be likewise in divers places near the plantations great broad meadows, wherein grow neither shrub nor tree, lying low, in which places grows as much grass as may be thrown out with a scythe, thick and long, as high as a man’s middle, some as high as the shoulders, so that a good mower may cut three load in a day. Many object this is but coarse fodder. True it is, that it is not so fine to the eye as English grass, but, being made into hay, the cattle eat it as well as sea hay, and like as well with it. The worst that can be said against the meadow grounds is, that there is but little
“edish

* In 1716, several gentlemen joined in the purchase of about 500,000 acres of land in the eastern country, called the Pejepscot purchase. The whole consideration was no more than about one hundred pounds sterling. *Douglas.*

† Mr. Hubbard.

‡ This account is much too favourable. Take the saltmarsh of the several parts of the country, one acre with another will not produce more than three quarters of a load of hay. Cattle, remote from the sea, must have salt, and a little salt hay would undoubtedly be grateful, and black cattle and horses and sheep may be kept alive through the winter with salt hay, but all creatures prefer English hay when they can have both. The natural upland grass of the country, commonly called Indian grass, is poor fodder, perhaps not better, if so good, as barley straw.

“ edith or after pasture, which may proceed from the late
 “ mowing, more than any thing else.* For the more up-
 “ land grounds, there be different kinds, in some places
 “ clay, some gravel, some a red sand, all which are covered
 “ with a black mould, in some places a foot deep, in others
 “ not so much. Such is the rankness† of the ground, that
 “ it must be sown the first year with Indian corn, which is
 “ a soaking grain, before it will be fit to receive English
 “ seed. For the natural soil, I prefer it before the counties
 “ of Surry or Middlesex, which, if they were not enriched
 “ with continual manurings, would be less fertile than the
 “ meanest grounds in New-England; wherefore, it is not
 “ impossible, nor much improbable, that, upon improve-
 “ ments, the soil may be as good, in time, as England. If
 “ any man doubt of the goodness of the ground, let him
 “ comfort himself with the cheapness of it; such bad land
 “ in

* I conclude, from this account, that they had then no hay of English grass: Land of a tolerable quality, where English grass (a name given to all imported grasses) has been mowed, we now find by experience will afford after feed until the severe frosts burn the grass and cause it to wither. It has been made a question, whether the seed of the white clover is not in the earth in all parts of the country; and our farmers affirm, and there is no doubt of the fact, that if they break up new ground in the woods, where no dung has ever been spread, and lay it down the next or the same year, and give it a thin coat of ashes, the white honey suckle comes in as thick as if the seed had been sown. Some connoisseurs say, that the plant and flower differ from the English honey suckle. Ashes will, certainly, in some of our improved lands, bring in this sort of grass, when barn dung, or sea manure, will bring in other sorts of English grass in the same field. On the other hand, in travelling the woods where no cattle has been, and where the soil has been so good that the brakes and Indian grass have been four or five feet high, I have searched for English grass without being able to find a spike of any sort. Some have supposed that the pigeons, which come down to the plantations in infinite numbers, and other birds of passage, scatter the seeds in their dung through the continent. There is a tradition, that the grass called fowl meadow grass, which is superior to any other grass of the fresh water meadows, was first brought to the meadows in Dedham by a large flight of wild fowls, and that from thence the grass, and the meadows where it was first discovered, and from whence it has been communicated to many parts of the country, took their names. I do not find the observation any where made, that, at the beginning of the English settlements, the European grass came into ground which had been broke up, before any seed was sown. On the other hand, it is not probable that the seeds of all that great variety of grasses, distinct from what is called wild or Indian grass, with which our fields abound, was ever imported or sown among us.

† Rather the roughness of the ground. The Indian corn requiring frequent plowings, what are now called horse hoeings, besides hoeing and hilling by hand, the land is pulverized, and there will be no tith necessary for English grain the next year. Indian corn is likewise gathered late, after the frosts set in, and, if the corn has been well tended, there will be no grass or weeds when the frosts break up in the spring, immediately after which it should be ploughed for the English grain.

“ in England, I am sure, will bring in store of good money.
 “ There hath as good English corn grown there as can be
 “ desired, especially rye, oats and barley ; there hath been
 “ no great trial of wheat and beans ; only thus much I as-
 “ firm, that these two grains grow well in gardens.”

This author's account of the country is not unfavourable. An anonymous manuscript, which was sent to England in the beginning of the year 1637, gives us a different idea.

“ The soil, it is, for the nature of it, mixed ; the upland
 “ rather participates of sand than clay, yet our rye likes it
 “ not, an argument it is both cold and barren ; yet I find
 “ some of it, manured, to yield some increase, but not to
 “ answer expectation : the low lands are, for the most part,
 “ covered with underwoods ; the soil, which is a mixture
 “ of clay and sand, seems to have been fattened by the con-
 “ tinual fall of leaves from the trees growing thereon. This
 “ soil is like your woodland in England, best at first, yet
 “ afterwards grows more barren. This raised the report
 “ of so rich a soil ; but we* that came after found, by dear
 “ experience, that affection, not judgement, was the author
 “ of it ; for, after five or six years, it grows barren beyond
 “ belief ; and whereas, after, the land in England proves
 “ fertile for grass, this yields none at all, but, like the land
 “ about Dunstable, puts on the face of winter in the time
 “ of summer. I do believe, that if we had marl, lime, or
 “ other manure, this barrenness might, in part, be cured ;
 “ but, as yet, we are destitute of these supplies. The na-
 “ tural coldness confutes the opinion of those, who did
 “ conceive it to be originally fertile ; and experience con-
 “ firms this to be true ; for beans, millet, and fitches and
 “ roots, which delight in a cold soil, prosper here alike.
 “ For the present, we make a shift to live ; but hereafter,
 “ when our numbers increase, and the fertility of the soil
 “ doth decrease, if God discover not means to enrich the
 “ land, what shall become of us I will not determine, but,
 “ it is probable, we must either disband ourselves, like
 “ beasts straitened in their pasture, and so be liable to de-
 “ struction from the natives (I mean the Pequods), or else,
 “ continuing

* I suppose he means the Massachusetts planters who came after Plymouth men.

“ continuing together, be made the subject of some fearful
 “ famine and the misery that accompanieth it. Hay, we
 “ have here of the low lands, such as it is, which, in my
 “ opinion, is inferior in goodness to our reed and sedge in
 “ England, for it is so devoid of nutritive virtue, that our
 “ beasts grow lousy with feeding upon it, and are much
 “ out of heart and liking; besides, it breeds among them
 “ sundry diseases, which we know not how to cure. Some
 “ have learned to make better provision, by burning the
 “ grass when it is near ripe, and so suffering a new crop to
 “ spring out of the ashes of the old. This they cut down;
 “ before it be half ripe, and make it into hay; but this
 “ proves like your after meath in old England, not fit to
 “ labour with, yielding a faint nourishment, which brings
 “ our cattle so low, and many times to diseases of which
 “ they hardly ever recover.

A gentlewoman, a few years after, in another manuscript, sends the following account. “ When I remember
 “ the high commendations some have given of the place,
 “ and find it inferior to the reports, I have thought the
 “ reason thereof to be this, that they wrote surely in straw-
 “ berry time. When I have thought again of the mean
 “ reports, and find it far better than those reports, I have
 “ fancied the eyes of the writers were so fixed on their old
 “ English chimney tops, that the smoke put them out.
 “ The air of the country is sharp, the rocks many, the trees
 “ innumerable, the grass little, the winter cold, the sum-
 “ mer hot, the gnats in summer biting, the wolves at mid-
 “ night howling, &c. Look upon it, as it hath the means
 “ of grace, and, if you please, you may call it a Cana-
 “ an.—I perceive some among you have imagined, they
 “ might enlarge their estates by coming here; but I am
 “ taught that great men must look to be losers, unless they
 “ reckon that gain which, by the glorious means of life,
 “ comes down from heaven. Men (by what I hear) of
 “ your rank and worth, will be welcome on New-England’s
 “ coasts; he only can advise you best, who can lead you
 “ to his place,” &c.

Mr. Hubbard, whose manuscript history was wrote about 1680, could make a better judgement.

“ As for the soil, it is, for the general, more mountain-
 “ ous and hilly than otherwise, and, in many places, very
 “ rocky and full of stones, yet intermingled with many
 “ plains and valleys, some of which are sandy and inclina-
 “ ble to barrenness, especially those which abound with
 “ pitch pines, and there are many such, as likewise many
 “ swamps or boggy places, full of small bushes and under-
 “ woods. But, here and there, are many rich and fruitful
 “ spots of land, such as they call interval land, in level and
 “ champain grounds, that oftentimes are overflowed by the
 “ channels of water which run beside them, which is sup-
 “ posed to enrich the soil that is so watered.* The fatness
 “ of the earth, washed by the rains, and melting of the
 “ snow from the surface of the higher parts of the country,
 “ being, by those floods, cast upon the levels which lie by
 “ the sides of those greater streams. In many such places,
 “ their land hath been known to be sown or planted full
 “ forty years together, without any considerable abatement
 “ of the crop, never failing of thirty or forty bushels per
 “ acre. But for the generality of the soil, it is of a lighter
 “ sort of earth, whose fruitfulness is more beholden to the
 “ influence of the heavens, advantage of the season, skill
 “ and industry of the tiller, than to the strength of its own
 “ temper. Such as came hither first upon discovery, chanc-
 “ ed to be here in the first part of the summer, when the
 “ earth was newly adorned with its best attire of herbs and
 “ flowers, flourishing with such early fruits as weather-beat-
 “ en travellers are wont to refresh themselves with behold-
 “ ing, as strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries, cherries, and
 “ whorts, as they observed who first landed about Martha’s
 “ Vineyard, from whence they promised themselves and
 “ their successors a very flourishing country, as they did
 “ who landed first upon the coast of Florida. All sorts of
 “ grain sown in the spring, are found to grow pretty natur-
 “ ally here. The cold oft times proves so extreme as to
 “ kill

* The two great rivers, Connecticut and Hudson’s river, are most remarkable
 for large tracts of this interval land, which are so often overflowed as to need no
 other manure, the waters in a freshet bringing down so much muck from the
 mountains, like the waters of the Nile, as to keep the ground in good heart to
 bear a crop of wheat every year. Sometimes, a great freshet, in the months of
 June and July, is prejudicial to the crops upon the mowing and pasture land, for
 that season, making the grass foul and disagreeable to the cattle.

“kill that which is committed to the ground before winter.”* From these several accounts, some judgment may be made of the opinion our forefathers had formed of the country. Experience convinced many of them, that the value of the land, when cleared, would make but poor wages for their labour in clearing it. It is a happy thing, that a fondness for freeholds to transmit to posterity, with privileges annexed to them, excited so many of the first planters of America to hard labour, and supported them under hard fare. A great part of this vast continent, filled with wild beasts, and savage men scarcely superior to them, now affords the necessaries and conveniences of a civilized life, equal to the like tracts of improved country in other parts of the globe. History affords us no instance of so great improvements in so short a time. The same passion still continues, and affords a prospect of the like happy effect for ages yet to come.

A natural history of the country will afford a volume of itself, and it is a work much wanted, and would entertain the curious. The botanical part would be very useful. I have not leisure, and if I had I have not a genius, for such an undertaking. I wish some person, who has both the one and the other, would undertake it.

* Our farmers, by sowing their seed early, the ground being prepared in ridges to throw off the rains and melting snows, raise winter wheat and rye with good success. The great discouragement has been the blast. An idle opinion obtained among the vulgar, that since the execution of the quakers, about a century past, wheat has always blasted. Generally, between the first and the tenth of July it has been observed, that the dew, called the honey dew, falling upon the wheat (the morning after being hot and calm) causes the rust or blast. Ordinarily, if the wheat be sown early, it will be so forward, by this time, that the grain will not suffer by it. The spring or summer grain, being later before it is ripe, is in general the most exposed. Sir Henry Frankland, several years ago, imported from Lisbon, the seed of summer wheat, which ripens there in 12 weeks, and the flour of it is in great esteem. This sort has been less subject to blast than any other. It ripens in Massachusetts about 16 weeks from the sowing.

A P P E N D I X.

(No. I.)

The humble Request of his Majesties loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company late gone for New-England; to the rest of their Brethren in and of the Church of England.

Reverend FATHERS and BRETHREN,

THE generall rumour of this solemne enterprize, wherein ourselves with others, through the providence of the Almighty, are engaged, as it may spare us the labour of imparting our occasion unto you, so it gives us the more incouragement to strengthen ourselves by the procurement of the prayers and blessings of the Lord's faithful servants: for which end wee are bold to have recourse unto you, as those whom God hath placed nearest his throne of mercy; which, as it affords you the more opportunitie, so it imposeth the greater bond upon you to intercede for his people in all their straits; we beseech you therefore by the mercies of the LORD JESVS to consider us as your brethren, standing in very great need of your helpe, and earnestly imploring it. And howsoever your charitie may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection, or indiscretion, of some of us, or rather, amongst us; for wee are not of those that dreame of perfection in this world; yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals, and body of our company, as those who esteeme it our honour to call the *Church of England*, from whence wee rise, our deare mother, and cannot part from our native countrie, where she specially resideth, without much sadnes of heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, wee have received in her bosome, and suckt it from her breasts: wee leave it not therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith wee were nourished there, but, blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall alwayes rejoyce in her good, and unfainedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdome of CHRIST JESVS.

Be pleased therefore, Reverend FATHERS & BRETHREN, to helpe forward this worke now in hand; which if it prosper, you shall bee the more glorious, howsoever your judgment is with the LORD, and your reward with your GOD. It is an usuall and laudable exercise of your charity, to recommend to the prayers of your congregations the necessities and

and straights of your private neighbours: do the like for a church springing out of your owne bowels. Wee conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will bee a most prosperous gale in our sailes, and provide such a passage and welcome for us, from the God of the whole earth, as both we which shall finde it, and yourselves, with the rest of our friends, who shall heare of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returnes of thanks-givings, as the specialties of his providence and goodnes may justly challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant, that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle *Paul* to make continuall mention of the church of Philippi (which was a colonie of Rome): let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lords remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing (who are a weake colony from yourselves) making continuall request for us to God in all your prayers.

What we intreat of you that are ministers of God, that we crave at the hands of all the rest of our brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the Throne of Grace.

If any there be, who, through want of cleare intelligence of our course, or tenderesses of affection towards us, cannot conceive so well of our way as we could desire, we would intreat such not to despise us, nor to desert us in their prayers and affections; but to consider, rather, that they are so much the more bound to expresse the bowels of their compassion towards us, remembring alwaies that both nature and grace doth binde us to relieve and rescue, with our utmost and speediest power, such as are deare unto us, when wee conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

What goodnes you shall extend to us in this or any other christian kindnesse, wee your brethren in CHRIST IESVS shall labour to repay in what dutie wee are or shall be able to performe; promising, so tarre as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalves; wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountaines of tears for your everlasting welfare, when wee shall be in our poore cottages in the wildernesse, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably, befall us. And so commending you to the grace of God in CHRIST, wee shall ever rest,

Your assured Friends and Brethren,

From *Yarmouth*, aboard
the *Arbella*, April 7. 1630.

Io: Winthrope, Gov.
Charles Fines.

Rich: Saltonstall.
Isaac Ishnfson.

George Phillips.
&c.

Tho: Dudley.
William Coddington.
&c.

(No. II.)

Certain Proposals made by Lord SAY, Lord BROOKE, and other persons of quality, as conditions of their removing to New-England; with the Answers thereto.

DEMAND 1. **T**HAT the commonwealth should consist of two distinct ranks of men; whereof the one should be, for them and their heirs, gentlemen of the country; the other, for them and their heirs, freeholders.

ANSWER. Two distinct ranks we willingly acknowledge, from the light of nature and scripture; the one of them called Princes, or Nobles, or Elders (amongst whom gentlemen have their place); the other, the People. Hereditary dignity or honours we willingly allow to the former, unless, by the scandalous and base conversation of any of them, they become degenerate. Hereditary liberty, or estate of freemen, we willingly allow to the other, unless they also, by some unworthy and slavish carriage, do disfranchise themselves.

DEM. 2. That in these gentlemen and freeholders, assembled together, the chief power of the commonwealth shall be placed, both for making and repealing laws.

ANS. So it is with us.

DEM. 3. That each of these two ranks should, in all public assemblies, have a negative voice, so as without a mutual consent nothing should be established.

ANS. So it is agreed among us.

DEM. 4. That the first rank, consisting of gentlemen, should have power, for them and their heirs, to come to the parliaments or public assemblies, and there to give their free votes personally; the second rank of freeholders should have the same power, for them and their heirs, of meeting and voting, but by their deputies.

ANS. Thus far this demand is practised among us: The freemen meet and vote by their deputies; the other rank give their votes personally, only with this difference, there be no more of the gentlemen that give their votes personally but such as are chosen to places of office, either governors, deputy governors, counsellors, or assistants. All gentlemen in England have not that honour to meet and vote personally in parliament, much less all their heirs. But of this more fully, in answer to the ninth and tenth demand.

DEM. 5. That for facilitating and dispatch of business, and other reasons, the gentlemen and freeholders should sit and hold their meetings in two distinct houses.

ANS. We willingly approve the motion, only as yet it is not so practised among us; but, in time, the variety and discrepancy of sundry occurrences will put them upon a necessity of sitting apart.

DEM. 6. That there shall be set times for these meetings, annually or half yearly, or as shall be thought fit by common consent, which meetings should have a set time for their continuance, but should be adjourned or broken off at the discretion of both houses,

ANS,

Ans. Public meetings, in general courts, are by charter appointed to be quarterly, which, in this infancy of the colony, wherein many things frequently occur which need settling, hath been of good use; but when things are more fully settled in due order, it is likely that yearly or half yearly meetings will be sufficient. For the continuance or breaking up of these courts, nothing is done but with the joint consent of both branches.

DEM. 7. That it shall be in the power of this parliament, thus constituted and assembled, to call the governor and all public officers to account, to create new officers, and to determine them already set up; and, the better to stop the way to insolence and ambition, it may be ordered that all offices and seats of office shall, every parliament, determine, unless they be new confirmed the last day of every session.

Ans. This power to call governors and all officers to account, and to create new and determine the old, is settled already in the general court or parliament, only it is not put forth but once in the year, viz. at the great and general court in May, when the governor is chosen.

DEM. 8. That the governor shall ever be chosen out of the rank of gentlemen.

Ans. We never practise otherwise, choosing the governor either out of the assistants, which is our ordinary course, or out of approved known gentlemen, as this year* Mr. Vane.

DEM. 9. That, for the present, the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Say and Seal, the Lord Brooke, who have already been at great disbursements for the public works in New-England, and such other gentlemen of approved sincerity and worth, as they, before their personal remove, shall take into their number, should be admitted, for them and their heirs, gentlemen of the country. But, for the future, none shall be admitted into this rank but by the consent of both houses.

Ans. The great disbursements of these noble personages and worthy gentlemen we thankfully acknowledge, because the safety and presence of our brethren at Connecticut is no small blessing and comfort to us. But, though that charge had never been disbursed, the worth of the honourable persons named is so well known to all, and our need of such supports and guides is so sensible to ourselves, that we do not doubt the country would thankfully accept it, as a singular favour from God and from them, if he should bow their hearts to come into this wilderness and help us. As for accepting them and their heirs into the number of gentlemen of the country, the custom of this country is, and readily would be, to receive and acknowledge, not only all such eminent persons as themselves and the gentlemen they speak of, but others of meaner estate, so be it is of some eminency, to be, for them and their heirs, gentlemen of the country. Only, thus standeth our case: Though we receive them with honour, and allow them pre-eminence and accommodations according to their condition, yet we do not, ordinarily, call them forth to the power of election. or administration of magistracy, until they be received as members into some of our churches; a privilege, which we doubt not religious gentlemen will willingly desire (as David did in Psal. xxvii. 4) and christian churches will as readily impart to such desirable persons. Hereditary honours both nature and scripture doth acknowledge (Eccles. xix. 17.) but hereditary authority and power standeth only by the civil

laws of some commonwealths; and yet, even amongst them, the authority and power of the father is no where communicated, together with his honours, unto all his posterity. Where God bleſſeth any branch of any noble or generous family, with a ſpirit and gifts fit for government, it would be a taking of God's name in vain to put ſuch a talent under a buſhel, and a ſin againſt the honour of magiſtracy to neglect ſuch in our public elections. But if God ſhould not delight to furniſh ſome of their poſterity with gifts fit for magiſtracy, we ſhould expoſe them rather to reproach and prejudice, and the commonwealth with them, than exalt them to honour, if we ſhould call them forth, when God doth not, to public authority.

DEM. 10. That the rank of freeholders ſhall be made up of ſuch, as ſhall have ſo much perſonal eſtate there, as ſhall be thought fit for men of that condition, and have contributed, ſome fit proportion, to the public charge of the country, either by their diſburſements or labours.

ANS. We muſt confeſs our ordinary practice to be otherwiſe. For, excepting the old planters, i. e. Mr. Humphry, who himſelf was admitted an aſſiſtant at London, and all of them freemen, before the churches here were eſtabliſhed, none are admitted freemen of this commonwealth but ſuch as are firſt admitted members of ſome church or other in this country, and, of ſuch, none are excluded from the liberty of freemen. And out of ſuch only, I mean the more eminent ſort of ſuch, it is that our magiſtrates are choſen. Both which points we ſhould willingly perſuade our people to change, if we could make it appear to them, that ſuch a change might be made according to God; for, to give you a true account of the grounds of our proceedings herein, it ſeemeth to them, and alſo to us, to be a divine ordinance (and moral) that none ſhould be appointed and choſen, by the people of God, magiſtrates over them, but men fearing God (*Ex. xviii. 21.*) choſen out of their brethren (*Deut. xviii. 15.*) ſaints (*1 Cor. vi. 1.*) Yea, the apoſtle maketh it a ſhame to the church, if it be not able to afford wiſe men from out of themſelves, which ſhall be able to judge all civil matters between their brethren (*ver. 5.*) And Solomon maketh it the joy of a commonwealth, when the righteous are in authority; and the calamity thereof, when the wicked bear rule. *Prov. xxix. 2.*

OBJ. If it be ſaid, there may be many carnal men whom God hath inveſted with ſundry eminent gifts of wiſdom, courage, juſtice, fit for government:

ANS. Such may be fit to be conſulted with and employed by governors, according to the quality and uſe of their gifts and parts; but yet are men not fit to be truſted with place of ſtanding power, or ſettled authority. Ahithophel's wiſdom may be fit to be heard (as an oracle of God) but not fit to be truſted with power of ſettled magiſtracy, leſt he at laſt call for 12,000 men to lead them forth againſt David, *2 Sam. xvii. 1, 2, 3.* The beſt gifts and parts, under a covenant of works (under which all carnal men and hypocrites be) will at length turn aſide by crooked ways, to depart from God, and, finally, to fight againſt God, and are therefore, herein, oppoſed to good men and upright in heart, *Pſal. cxxv. 4, 5.*

OBJ. If it be ſaid again, that then the church eſtate could not be compatible with any commonwealth under heaven:

ANS.

Ans. It is one thing for the church, or members of the church, loyally to submit unto any form of government, when it is above their calling to reform it; another thing to choose a form of government and governours discrepant from the rule. Now, if it be a divine truth, that none are to be trusted with public permanent authority but godly men, who are fit materials for church fellowship, then from the same grounds it will appear, that none are so fit to be trusted with the liberties of the commonwealth as church members: for, the liberties of the freemen of this commonwealth are such, as require men of faithful integrity to God and the state, to preserve the same. Their liberties, among others, are chiefly these. 1. To choose all magistrates, and to call them to account at their general courts. 2. To choose such burgeses, every general court, as, with the magistrates, shall make or repeal all laws. Now, both these liberties are such, as carry along much power with them, either to establish or subvert the commonwealth, and therewith the church; which power, if it be committed to men not according to their godliness, which maketh them fit for church fellowship, but according to their wealth, which, as such, makes them no better than worldly men, then, in case worldly men should prove the major part, as soon they might do, they would as readily set over us magistrates like themselves, such as might hate us according to the curse, Levit. xxvi. 17. and turn the edge of all authority and laws against the church and the members thereof, the maintenance of whose peace is the chief end which God aimed at in the institution of magistracy. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

(No. III.)

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. COTTON to Lord SAY and SEAL,
in the year 1636.*

Right honourable,

WHAT your Lordship writeth of Dr. Twisse his works *de scientiâ mediâ*, and of the sabbath, it did refresh me to reade, that his labors of such arguments were like to come to light; and it would refresh me much more to see them here: though (for my owne particular) till I gett some release from some constant labors here (which the church is desirous to procure) I can get litle, or noe opportunity to reade any thing, or attend to any thing, but the dayly occurrences which presse in upon me continually, much beyond my strength either of body or minde. Your Lordships advertisement touching the civill state of this colony, as they doe breath forth your singular wisdom, and faithfulness, and tender care of the peace, so wee have noe reason to misinterpret or undervalue your Lordships eyther directions, or intentions therein. I know noe man under heaven (I speake in Gods feare without flattery) whose counsell I should rather depend upon, for the wise administration of a civill state according to God, than upon your Lordship; and such confidence have I (not in you) but in the Lords presence in Christ with you, that I should never feare to betrust a greater commonwealth than this (as much
as

as in vs lyeth) under such a *perpetuâ dictaturâ* as your Lordship should prescribe. For I nothing doubt, but that eyther your Lordship would prescribe all things according to the rule, or be willing to examine againe, and againe, all things according to it. I am very apt to believe, what Mr. Perkins hath, in one of his prefatory pages to his golden chaine, that the word and scripture of God doe conteyne a short *upolupsis*, or platforme, not onely of theology, but also of other sacred sciences (as he calleth them) attendants, and hand maids thereunto, which he maketh ethicks, eonomicke, politicks, church-government, prophecy, academy. It is very suitable to Gods all-sufficient wisdome, and to the fulnes and perfection of Holy Scriptures, not only to prescribe perfect rules for the right ordering of a private mans soule to everlasting blessednes with himselfe, but also for the right ordering of a mans family, yea, of the commonwealth too, so farre as both of them are subordinate to spiritual ends, and yet avoide both the churchs usurpation upon civill jurisdictions, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, and the commonwealths invasion upon ecclesiasticall administrations, *in ordine* to civill peace, and conformity to the civill state. Gods institutions (such as the government of church and of commonwealth be) may be close and compact, and co-ordinate one to another, and yet not confounded. God hath so framed the state of church government and ordinances, that they may be compatible to any commonwealth, though never so much disordered in his frame. But yet when a commonwealth hath liberty to mould his owne frame (*scripturæ plenitudinem adoro*) I conceive the scripture hath given full direction for the right ordering of the same, and that, in such sort as may best mainteyne the *euxia* of the church. Mr. Hooker doth often quote a saying out of Mr. Cartwright (though I have not read it in him) that noe man fashioneth his house to his hangings, but his hangings to his house. It is better that the commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of Gods house, which is his church, than to accommodate the church frame to the civill state. Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordeyne as a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for monarchy, and aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approoved, and directed in scripture, yet so as referreth the soveraintie to himselfe, and setteth up Theocracy in both, as the best forme of government in the commonwealth, as well as in the church.

The law, which your Lordship instanceth in [that none shall be chosen to magistracy among us, but a church member] was made and enacted before I came into the countrey; but I have hitherto wanted sufficient light to plead against it. 1st. The rule that directeth the choice of supream governors, is of like æquitie and weight in all magistrates, that one of their brethren (not a stranger) should be set over them. Deut. xvii. 15. And Jethroes counsell to Moses was approved of God. that the judges and officers to be set over the people, should be men fearing God. Exod. xviii. 21. and Solomon maketh it the joy of a commonwealth, when the righteous are in authority; and their mourning, when the wicked rule. Prov. xxix. 21. Job xxxiv. 30. Your Lordships feare, that this will bring in papal excommunication, is just, and pious: but let your Lordship be pleased againe to consider whether the consequence be necessary. *Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur*: non-membership may be

be a just cause of non-admission to the place of magistracy, but yet, ejection out of his membership will not be a just cause of ejecting him out of his magistracy. A godly woman, being to make choice of an husband, may justly refuse a man that is eyther cast out of church fellowship, or is not yet receyved into it; but yet, when shee is once given to him, shee may not reject him then, for such defect. Mr. Humtrey was chosen for an assistant (as I heare) before the colony came over hither: and, though he be not as yet ioyned into church fellowship (by reason of the unsettlednes of the congregation where he liveth) yet the commonwealth doe still continue his magistracy to him, as knowing he waiteth for opportunity of enjoying church-fellowship shortly.

When your Lordship doubteth, that this corse will draw all things under the determination of the church, *in ordine ad spiritualia* (seeing the church is to determine who shall be members, and none but a member may have to doe in the government of a commonwealth) be pleased (I pray you) to conceyve, that magistrates are neyther chosen to office in the church, nor doe governe by directions from the church, but by civill lawes, and those enacted in generall corts, and executed in corts of justice, by the governors and assistants. In all which, the church (as the church) hath nothing to doe: onely, it prepareth fitt instruments both to rule, and to choose rulers, which is no ambition in the church, nor dishonor to the commonwealth; the apostle, on the contrary, thought it a great dishonor and reproach to the church of Christ, if it were not able to yield able judges to heare and determine all causes amongst their brethren. 1 Cor. vi. 1 to 5. which place alone seemeth to me fully to decide this question; for it plainly holdeth forth this argument: It is a shame to the church to want able judges of civill matters (as v. 5.) and an audacious act in any church member voluntarily to go for judgment, other where than before the saints (as v. 1.) then it will be noe arrogance nor folly in church members, nor prejudice to the commonwealth, if voluntarily they never choose any civill judges but from amongst the saints, such as church members are called to be. But the former is cleare: and how then can the latter be avoyded? If this therefore be (as your Lordship rightly conceyveth) one of the maine objections if not the onely one which hindereth this commonwealth from the entertainment of the propositions of those worthy gentlemen, wee intreate them, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to consider, in meeknes of wisdom, it is not any conceite or will of ours, but the holy counsell and will of the Lord Jesus (whom they seeke to serve as well as wee) that overruleth us in this case; and we trust will overrule them also, that the Lord onely may be exalted amongst all his servants. What pittie and griefe were it, that the observance of the will of Christ should hinder good things from us!

But your Lordship doubteth, that if such a rule were necessary, then the church estate and the best ordered commonwealth in the world were not compatible. But let not your Lordship so conceyve. For, the church submitteth it selfe to all the lawes and ordinances of men, in what commonwealth soever they come to dwell. But it is one thing, to submit unto what they have noe calling to reforme; another thing, voluntarily to ordeyne a forme of government, which to the best
discerning

discerning of many of us (for I speake not of myselfe) is expressly contrary to rule. Nor neede your Lordship feare (which yet I speake with submission to your Lordships better judgment) that this course will lay such a foundation, as nothing but a mere democracy can be built upon it. Bodine confesseth, that though it be *status popularis*, where a people choose their owne governours; yet the government is not a democracy, if it be administr'd, not by the people, but by the governours, whether one (for then it is a monarchy, though elective) or by many, for then (as you know) it is aristocracy. In which respect it is, that church government is iustly denyed (even by Mr. Robinson) to be democratical, though the people choose their owne officers and rulers.

Nor neede wee feare, that this course will, in time, cast the commonwealth into distractions, and popular confusions. For (under correction) these three things doe not undermine, but doe mutually and strongly mainteyne one another (even those three which wee principally aime at) authority in magistrates, liberty in people, purity in the church. Purity, preserved in the church, will preserve well ordered liberty in the people, and both of them establish well-ballanced authority in the magistrates. God is the author of all these three, and neyther is himselfe the God of confusion, nor are his wayes the wayes of confusion, but of peace.

What our brethren (magistrates or ministers, or leading freeholders) will answer to the rest of the propositions, I shall better understand before the gentlemen returne from Connecticut, who brought them over. Mean while, two of the principall of them, the generall cort hath already condescended unto. 1. In establishing a standing councill, who, during their lives, should assist the governor in managing the chiefest affaires of this little state. They have chosen, for the present, onely two (Mr. Winthroppe and Mr. Dudley) not willing to choose more, till they see what further better choyse the Lord will send over to them, that so they may keep an open doore, for such desirable gentlemen as your Lordship mentioneth. 2. They have graunted the governor and assistants a negative voyce, and reserved to the freemen the like liberty also. Touching other things, I hope to give your Lordship further account, when the gentleman returneth.

He being now returned, I have delivered to him an answer to the rest of your demands,* according to the mindes of such leading men amongst us, as I thought meete to consult withall, concealing your name from any, except 2 or 3, who alike doe concurr in the joynt desire of yeilding to any such propositions as your Lordship demandeth, so farre as with allowance from the word they may, beyond which I know your Lordship would not require any thing.

Now the Lord Jesus Christ (the prince of peace) keepe and bless your Lordship, and dispose of all your times and talents to his best advantage: and let the covenant of his grace and peace rest upon your honourable family and posterity, throughout all generations.

Thus, humbly craving pardon for my boldnesse and length, I take leave, and rest,

Your Honours to serve in Christ Jesus,

J. C.

(No. IV.)

Copy of a Commission for regulating Plantations.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c.

To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well beloved counsellour, William, by the providence of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, primate and metropolitan of all England; to our right trusty and well beloved counsellour, Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of our great seal of England; to our right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well beloved counsellour, Richard, by the providence of God, Archbishop of York, primate and metropolitan of England; to our right trusty and well beloved cousin and counsellour, Richard Earle of Portland, and high treasurer of England; Henry Earle of Manchester, keeper of our privy seal; Thomas Earle of Arundell and Surry, Earle Marshall of England; Edward Earle of Dorset, chamberlaine to our most dear consort the Queen; and to our trusty and well beloved counsellour Francis Lord Cottington, chamberlaine and under treasurer of our exchequer; Thomas Edmunds, Knt. treasurer of our household; John Cook, Knt. one of our principall secretaries of state; and Francis Windbank, another of our principall secretaries of state, GREETING.

WHEREAS divers of the subjects of us and of our late dear father King James, of famous memory, late, of England, King, by vertue of our royall authority, granted not only to enlarge the territories of our empire, but more especially to propagate the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, having, with their exceeding industry and charge, deduced great numbers of the people of England into severall colonies, in severall places of the world, either altogether desert and unpeopled, or enjoyed by salvage and barbarous nations, voyd of all manner of knowledge of Almighty God, wee, being graciously pleased to provide for the ease and tranquility of the said subjects, and reposeing assured confidence in your fidelity, wisdom, justice and providence, do constitute you, our said archbishop of Canterbury, &c. or any five or more of you, our counsellours, and to you, or to any five or more of you, do commit and give power of protection and government, as well over the said English colonies already planted, as over all such other colonies, which by any of our people of England, hereafter, shall be deduced into any other like parts whatsoever, and power to make laws, ordinances and constitutions, concerning either the state public of the said colonies or utility of private persons and their lands, goods, debts and succession within the precincts of the same, and for ordering and directing of them, in their demeanours towards forreigne princes and their people, and likewise towards us and our subjects, as well within any forreigne parts whatsoever beyond the seas, as during their voyages, or upon the seas, to and from the same.

And for relief and support of the clergy, and the rule and cure of the soules of our people living in those parts, and for consigning of convenient maintenance unto them by tythes, oblations and other profits

sits accrewing, according to your good discretion, with the advice of two or three of our bishops, whom you shall think fitt to call unto your consultations, touching the distribution of such maintenance unto the clergy, and all other matters ecclesiasticall, and to inflict punishment on all offenders or violaters of constitutions and ordinances, either by imprisonments or other restraints, or by loss of life or members, according as the quality of the offence shall require, with power also (our royall assent being first had and obtained) to remove all governors and presidents of the said colonies (upon just cause appearing) from their severall places, and to appoint others in their stead, and also to require and take account of them touching their office and government; and whom you shall find delinquents, you shall punish, either by depriving them of their severall places and provinces over which they are appointed, or by pecuniary mulcts and penalties, according to the qualities of the offences; and power also to ordain temporal judges and civill magistrates to determine of civill causes, with such powers, in such a forme, as to you or any five or more of you shall seem expedient; and also to ordain judges, magistrates and officers for and concerning courts ecclesiasticall, with such power and such a forme, as to you or any five or more of you, with the advice of the bishops suffragan to the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, shall be held meet; and power to constitute and ordaine tribunals and courts of justice, both ecclesiasticall and civill, with such power and in them forme of judicature, and manner of process and appeals from and to the said courts, in all cases and matters as well criminal as civill, both personall, reall and mixt, and touching the determination pertaining to any courts of justice, ecclesiasticall and civill, to judge thereof and determine; provided nevertheless, the said laws, ordinances and constitutions shall not be put in execution, untill our royall assent, expressed under our signe at least, be first thereunto had and obtained, the which our royall assent so obtained, together with the said laws, ordinances and constitutions, being published and proclaimed in the provinces in which they are to be executed, the said laws, ordinances and constitutions, from thenceforth, shall be in force in law; and we do hereby will and command all persons whom it shall concern, inviolably to keep and observe the same. - Notwithstanding, it may and shall be lawful for you, and every five and more of you, with our royal assent, the said laws, ordinances and constitutions (tho' so published and proclaimed as aforesaid) to alter, revoke and appeal, and other new laws, &c. in forme aforesaid, from time to time, to make and publish as aforesaid, and to new and growing evils and perills to apply new remedies, in such manner and so often as unto you shall appear to be necessary and expedient.

KNOW YE also, that we do constitute you the said Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. and every five or more of you, our committees, according to your good discretions, to hear and determine all complaints, at the entrance and suit of the party grieved, whether it be against the whole colonies themselves or any governor or officer of the same, or whether complaint touching wrongs exhibited and depending, either between the whole bodies of the colonies, or any private member thereof, and to summon the persons before you, and they or their pro-

curators or agents being on both sides heard, finally to determine thereof, according to justice. GIVING moreover and granting to you and any five or more of you, that if it shall appear, that any officer or governor of the said colonies, shall injuriously intend and usurp upon the authority, power and possessions of any other, or shall unjustly wrong one another, or shall not suppress all rebels to us, or such as shall not obey our commands, that then it shall be lawful (upon advice with ourself first had) for the causes aforesaid, or upon any other just reason, to remand and cause the offender to returne into England, or into any other place, according as in your good discretions you shall think just and necessary.

And wee do furthermore give unto you, or any five or more of you, letters patents and other writings whatsoever, of us or of our royall predecessors granted, for or concerning the planting of any colonies, in any countries, provinces, islands or territories whatsoever, beyond the seas, and if, upon view thereof, the same shall appear to you, or any five or more of you, to have been surreptitiously and unduly obtained, or that any privileges or liberties therein granted, be hurtful to us, our crown or prerogative royall, or to any foreign princees, to cause the same, according to the laws and customs of our realm of England, to be revoked, and to do all other things, which shall be necessary, for the wholesome government and protection of the said colonies and our people therein abiding.

Wherefore, wee command you, that you diligently intend the premises, at such times and places as yourselves for that purpose shall appoint, charging also and firmly commanding all presidents of provinces within the aforesaid colonies, now planted or to be planted, and all and every the said colonies themselves, and all other persons whom it doth concerne, that they attend you in the premises, and be obedient to your commands touching the same, so often as they shall be therunto commanded, at their peril. In witness whereof, wee caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, 28 day of April, in the tenth year of our reign.

(No. V.)

*Copy of the General Courts Addresse, the 6th of September
1638.*

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for foreigne
Plantations.

*The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts in New-
England, of the Generall Court there assembled, the 6th day of Sep-
tember, in the 14th yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord King
CHARLES.*

WHEREAS it hath pleased your Lordships, by order of the 4th of April last, to require our patent to be sent unto you, wee do hereby humbly and sincerely professe, that wee are ready to yield all due
obedience

obedience to our soueraigne Lord the King's majesty, and to your Lordships under him, and in this minde wee left our native countrie, and according thereunto, hath been our practise ever since, so as wee are much grieved, that your Lordships should call in our patent, there being no cause knowne to us, nor any delinquency or fault of ours expressed in the order sent to us for that purpose, our government being according to his Majestyes grant, and wee not answerable for any defects in other plantations, &c.

This is that which his Majesties subjects here do believe and professe, and thereupon we are all humble suitors to your Lordships, that you will be pleased to take into further consideration our condition, and to afford us the liberty of subjects, that we may know what is layd to our charge; and have leave and time to answer for ourselves before we be condemned as a people unworthy of his Majesties favour or protection; as for the quo warranto mentioned in the said order, wee doe assure your Lordships wee were never called to answer to it, and if wee had, wee doubt not but wee have a sufficient plea to present in.

It is not unknowne to your Lordships, that we came into these remote parts with his Majesties licence and encouragement, under his great seale of England, and in the confidence wee had of that assurance, wee have transported our families and estates, and here have wee built and planted, to the great enlargement and securing of his Majesties dominions in these parts, so as if our patent should now be taken from us, we shall be looked on as runnigadoes and outlawed, and shall be enforced, either to remoove to some other place, or to returne into our native country againe; either of which will put us to unsupportable extremities, and these evils (among others) will necessarily follow. (1.) Many thousand souls will be exposed to ruine, being layd open to the injuries of all men. (2.) If wee be forced to desert this place, the rest of the plantations (being too weake to subsist alone) will, for the most part, dissolve and goe with us, and then will this whole countrey fall into the hands of the French or Dutch, who would speedily inbrace such an opportunity. (3.) If wee should loose all our labour and costs, and be deprived of those liberties which his Majesty hath granted us, and nothing layd to our charge, nor any sayling to be found in us in point of allegiance (which all our countrymen doe take notice of and will justify our faithfulness in this behalfe) it will discourage all men heereafter from the like undertakings upon confidence of his Majestyes royal grant. Lastly, if our patent be taken from us (whereby wee suppose wee may claime interest in his Majestyes favour and protection) the common people heere will conceive that his Majesty hath cast them off, and that, heereby, they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and, thereupon, will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example to other plantations, and perrillous to ourselves of incurring his Majestyes displeasure, which wee would by all means avoyd.

Upon these considerations wee are bold to renew our humble supplications to your Lordships, that wee may be suffered to live heere in this wilderness, and that this poore plantation, which hath found more favour from God than many others, may not find less favour from your Lordships; that our liberties should be restrained, when others are enlarged,

that the doore should be kept shurt unto us, while it stands open to all other plantations, that men of ability should be debarred from us, while they have encouragement to other colonies.

Wee dare not question your Lordships proceedings; wee only desire to open our griefes where the remedy is to be expected: If in any thing wee have offended his Majesty and your Lordships, wee humbly prostrate ourselves at the footstool of supreme authority: let us be made the object of his Majestyes clemency, and not cutt off, in our first appeal, from all hope of favour. Thus, with our earnest prayers to the King of Kings for long life and prosperetty to his sacred Majesty and his royall family, and for all honour and welfare to your Lordships, wee humbly take leave.

This is a true copie compared with the original on file, as attested.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

(No. VI.)

The Theses of the first Class of Graduates at Harvard College, in 1642.*

Speſtatiffimis Pietate, et Illuſtriſſimis Eximia Virtute Viris, D. *Johanni Winthropo*, inclytæ Maſſachuſetti Colonie Gubernatori,
D. *Johanni Endicotto*, Vice-Gubernatori, D. *Thom. Dudleo*, D. *Rich. Bellinghamo*, D. *Ioan. Humphrydo*, D. *Iſrael Stoughtono*.

Neq; non Reverendis pientiffimiſque viris *Ioanni Cottono*, *Ioan. Wilſono*, *Ioan. Davenport*, *Tho. Weldo*, *Hugoni Petro*, *Tho. Shepardo*.
Collegij *Harvardeniſis*, nov. *Cantabr.* inſpectoribus
fideliffimis, cæteriſque Magiſtratibus, &
Eccleſiarum ejusdem Colonie
Preſbyteris vigilantiffimis.

Has Theſes Philologicas, & Philoſophicas, quas, Deo duce, Præſide *Henrico Dunſtero*, palam pro virili propugnare conabuntur (honoris & obſervantiæ gratia) dicant
conſecrantque in artibus liberalibus
inſitiati Adoleſcentes.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Benjamin Woodbrigius</i> | <i>Henricus Saltonſall</i> | <i>Nathaniel Ruſſerus</i> |
| <i>Georgius Downingus</i> | <i>Johannes Bulkleius</i> | <i>Samuel Bellinghamus</i> |
| <i>Gulielmus Hubbardus</i> | <i>Ioannes Wilſonus</i> | <i>Tobias Bernardus</i> |

Theſes

* From the year 1642 to the year 1764. inclusive, 2124 perſons have received degrees at harvard college, about 40 of which were honourary degrees, the remainder were conferred upon ſuch as had been admitted ſtudents there. In July laſt, 1091 of the perſons graduated remained alive, the eldeſt of whom received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1698. The ſalary of the Preſident, from the firſt foundation, has been, annually, granted by the government of the colony and province, beſides annual grants which have been made, for many years paſt, to the ſeveral profeſſors and inſtructors, where the foundations have been inſufficient.

The

Theses Philologicas.

GRAMMATICAS.

1. LINGUARUM Scientia est utilissima.
2. Literæ non exprimunt quantum vocis organa efferunt.
3. Hæbræa est Linguarum Mater.
4. Consonantes & vocales Hæbreorum sunt coætaneæ.
5. Punctationes chatephatæ syllabam proprie non efficiunt.
6. Linguarum Græca est copiosissima.
7. Lingua Græca est ad accentus pronuncianda.
8. Lingua Latina est eloquentissima.

RHETORICAS.

1. RHETORICA specie differt a Logica.
2. In Elocutione perspicuitati cedit ornatus, ornatui copia.
3. Actio primas tenet in pronuntiatione.
4. Oratoris est celare Artem.

LOGICAS.

1. UNIVERSALIA non sunt extra intellectum.
2. Omnia Argumenta sunt relata.
3. Causa *sine qua non* non est peculiaris causa a quatuor reliquis generalibus.
4. Causa et effectus sunt simul tempore.
5. Dissentanea sunt æque nota.
6. Contrarietas est tantum inter duo.
7. Sublato relato tolliter correlatum.

S Genus.

The charge of the several buildings also; except the first house, built principally by the legacy of Mr. Harvard; Stoughton-Hall, by lieutenant governor Stoughton; and the Chapel, by Mrs. Holden; has always been borne by the government. The library, consisting of five or six thousand volumes, many of them by the most celebrated authors, grew out of donations from charitable benefactors, unless any small purchases have been made out of the college stock. This valuable library, together with the apparatus, and the whole of the college, in which they were placed, were consumed by fire, in January 1764. Very generous presents have been since made, towards the library, but, as yet, far short of procuring one, equal to the former. Of the many benefactors to the college, the family of Hollis stands the first upon the list. Mr. Thomas Hollis, of London, who died in 1731, founded two professorships, one of divinity and the other of mathematicks and natural philosophy. He gave an apparatus for experimental philosophy, and made great and frequent additions to the library. Several other branches of the family have given bountifully to the college, particularly the present Mr. Hollis of Grey's Inn, who, besides his donations to the former library, has given largely towards the new library now collecting. The general court, having caused a new college to be built in the year 1763, which cost between four and five thousand pounds sterling, it has taken the name of Hollis-Hall, in grateful remembrance of the benefactions of this worthy family. I suppose the donation of Thomas Hancock, Esq. late of Boston, deceased, who gave one thousand pounds sterling towards founding a professorship for the oriental languages, is the next in value. His executor and residuary legatee, Mr. John Hancock, being informed of his testator's intention to have given five hundred pounds sterling more, towards the library, generously gave the same sum for the same purpose.

8. Genus perfectum æqualiter communicatur speciebus.
9. Testimonium valet quantum testis.
10. Elenchorum doctrina in Logica non est necessaria.
11. Axioma contingens est, quod ita verum est, ut aliquando falsum esse possit.
12. Præcepta Artium debent esse *kata pantos, kath' auto, kath' olex proton.*

Theses Philosophicas.

E T H I C A S.

1. PHILOSOPHIA practica est eruditionis meta.
2. Actio virtutis habitum antecellit.
3. Voluntas est virtutis moralis subiectum.
4. Voluntas est formaliter libera.
5. Prudentia virtutum difficillima.
6. Prudentia est virtus intellectualis & moralis.
7. Iustitia mater omnium virtutum.
8. Mors potius subeunda quam aliquid culpæ perpetrandum.
9. Non iniuste agit nisi qui libens agit.
10. Mentiri potest qui verum dicit.
11. Juveni modestia summum ornamentum.

P H Y S I C A S.

1. CORPUS naturale mobile est subiectum Physicæ.
2. Materia secunda non potest existere sine forma.
3. Forma est accidens.
4. Unius rei non est nisi unica forma constitutiva.
5. Forma est principium individuationis.
6. Privatio non est principium internum.
7. Ex meris accidentibus non fit substantia.
8. Quicquid movetur ab alio movetur.
9. In omni motu movens simul est cum mobili.
10. Cælum non movetur ab intelligentijs.
11. Non dantur orbes in cælo.
12. Quodlibet Elementum habet unum ex primis qualitatibus sibi maxime propriam.
13. Putredo in humido fit a calore externo.
14. Anima non fit ex traduce.
15. Vehemens sensibile destruit sensum.

M E T A P H I S I C A S.

1. OMNE ens est bonum.
2. Omne creatum est concretum.
3. Quicquid æternum idem & immensum.
4. Bonum Metaphysicum non suscipit gradum.

(No. VII.)

Copy of the determination of arbitrators for settling the line between New-Haven and the Dutch, in 1650.

ARTICLES of agreement made and concluded at Hartford, upon Connecticut, Sept. 19. 1650, betwixt the delegates of the honored commissioners of the united Englishe colonies, and the delegates of Peter Stuyvesant, governor generall of Newe-Netherlands.

Concerning the bounds and limits betwixt the Englishe united Colonies and the Dutch province of New-Netherlands, wee agree and determine as followeth.

1. **T**HAT upon Long-Island, a line, run from the westernmost part of Oyfter-bay, and so in a streight and direct line to the sea, shall be the bounds betweene the Englishe and Dutch there; the easterly part to belonge to the English, the westernmost part to the Dutch.

2. The bounds, upon the maine, to begin upon the west side of Greenwich bay, being about four miles from Stamford, and so to run a westerly line twenty miles up into the country, and after, as it shall be agreed by the two governments of the Dutch and Newe Haven, provided the said line runn not within tenn miles of Hartford river. And it is agreed, that the Dutch shall not, at any tyme hereafter, build any house or habitation within six miles of the said line, the inhabitants of Greenwich to remain (till further consideration thereof be had) under the government of the Dutch.

3. That the Dutch shall hold and enjoy all the lands in Hartford, that they are actually in possession off, knowne or sett out by certaine merkes and boundes, and all the remainder of the said lands, on both sides of Connecticut river, to be and remaine to the English there.

And it is agreed, that the aforesaid bounds and lymys, both upon the island and maine, shall be observed and kept inviolable, both by the Englishe of the united collonies and all the Dutch nation, without any encroachment or molestation, until a full determination be agreed upon in Europe, by mutual consent of the two states of England and Holland.

And in testimony of our joint consent to the severall foregoing conditions, wee have hereunto sett our hands this 19th day of 7ber, 1650.

Symon Bradstreete
Tho: Prence

Tho: Willet
Theo: Baxter.

(No. VIII.)

Copy of a Petition to the Parliament in 1651.

To the most honourable the parliament of the commonwealth of England,
the supreme authoritie, Greeting.

*The humble petition of the general court of the Massachusetts-Bay in
New-England.*

THESE coming to our handes. not long since, a printed proclamation, prohibiting trade with Virginea, Barbados, Bermuda and Antego, of which we were observant (though to the great losse and prejudice of the whole colonie) about the end thereof we found, that the parliament had given power to the counsaile of state to place governors and commissioners (without exception) in all the colonies of the English in America, wherein we finding ourselves comprehended as wrapped up in one bundle with all the other colonies; our case being different from all other English colonies in America for ought we know or have heard: Also since receiving information by Mr. Winslow our agent, that it is the parliaments pleasure that we should take a new patent from them, and keep our courts and issue our warrants in their names, which we have not used either in the late Kinges time or since, not being able to discern the need of such an injunction: These things make us doubt and fear what is intended towards us. Let it therefore pleas you, most honourable, we humbly entreat, to take notice, hereby, what were our orders, upon what conditions and with what authority we came hither, and what we have done since our coming. We were the first moovers and undertakers of soe great an attempt, being men able enough to live in England with our neighbours, and being helpfull to others, and not needing the help of any for outward things, about three or four and twenty years since, seeing just cause to feare the persecution of the then bishops and high commission, for not conforming to the ceremonies then pressed upon the consciences of those under their power, we thought it our safest course to get to this outside of the world, out of their view and beyond their reach. Yet before we resolved upon soe great an undertaking, wherein should be hazarded not only all our estates but alsoe the lives of ourselves and our posterity, both in the voyage at sea (wherewith we were unacquainted) and in coming into a wilderness uninhabited (unless in some few places by heathen barbarous Indians) we thought it necessary to procure a patent from the late King, who then ruled all, to warrant our removall and prevent future inconveniences, and soe did. By which patent, liberty and power was granted to us to live under the government of a governour, magistrates of our owne chusing, and under laws of our owne making (not being repugnant to the lawes of England) according to which patent we have governed ourselves above this twenty three years, we coming hither at our proper charges, without the help of the state, an acknowledgment of the freedome of our goods from custome, and having expended, first and last, in our transportation, building, fencing,

fencing, warre with the Indians, fortifying, subduing the earth in making it fit for culture, divers hundereth of thousand poundes; and have now made the place soe habitable that we are enabled to live in a mean and low condition, and alsoe to furnish other places with corne, beise, pork, mastes, clapboord, pipe staves, fish, beaver, otter, and other commodities, and hoped that our posterity should reape the fruit of our labours, and enjoy the liberties and privileges we had obtained for them, and for which we have payd soe dear and run soe great hazards. And for our carriage and demeanour to the honourable parliament, for these ten years, since the first beginning of your differences with the late King and the warre that after ensued, we have constantly adheared to you, not withdrawing ourselves in your weakest condition and doubtfullest times, but by our fasting and prayers for your good successe, and our thanksgiving after the same was attained, in dayes of solemnity set apart for that purpose, as alsoe by our sending over useful men (others alsoe going voluntarily from us to help you) who have been of good use and done good acceptable services to the army, declaring to the world heerby, that such was the duty and love we beare unto the parliament that we were ready to rise and fall with them; for which we have suffered the hatred and threats of other English colonies, now in rebellion against you, as alsoe the loss of divers of our shippes and goods, taken by the Kings party that is dead, by others commissioned by the King of Scotts, and by the Portugalls. All which if you shall pleas justly and favourably to consider, we cannot but hope, but that, as you have formerly conferred many favours upon us, soe it shall goe noe worse with us, than it did under the late King; and that the frame of our government shall not be changed, and instead of governour and magistrates yearly by ourselves chosen, have other imposed upon us against our wills; wherein if our hopes should deceave us (which God forbid) we shall have cause to say we have fallen into hard times, and sit downe and sigh out our too late repentance for our coming hither, and patiently bear what shall be imposed upon us; our adversity in such a case being the greater, because some of us are too old, and all our estates growne too weake (except a very few) to seek out a new corner of the world to inhabit in. But, as we said before, we hope that this most honourable parliament will not cast such as have adheared to you and depended upon you, as we have done, into soe deep despaire, from the fear of which we humbly desire to be speedily freed by a just and gracious answer; which will freshly bind us to pray and use all lawfull endeavours for the blessing of God upon you and the present government.

We will conclude, most honourable, our humble petition with the heartie acknowledgments of the goodnes of God towards us, who hath put into your hearts graciously to conferre upon us so many undeserved favours and great privileges, from tyme to tyme, in helping on the great work of God here amongst us, in taking off the customes from us, in enlarging your fund of bountie towards us for the propagating of the gospel among the natives with us, which work God prospereth beyond expectation in so few years; in doing us that justice in stopping all appeals from hence to you, in sending over many servants to us, in vouchsafeing to have a tender care over us upon all occasions; for these, and for all other manifold encouragements received from the most honourable court

of parliament, as we are bound to praise and magnify the name of our good God, so we acknowledge it our bounden dutie, not only to be heartilie thankfull to the most honourable court, but ever to pray, that the Lord (if it be his good pleasure) will so establish you the supreme authoritie of that commonwealth, that, all your enemies being subdued, you may rule in peace and prosperitie, to his glorie and your owne comfort here on earth, and everlastinglie raigne with him in glorie hereafter, which are the earnest desires and fervent prayers of,

Most honourable,

Your humble servants,

J. E.

T. D.

Ed. R.

In the name and of the court.

(No. IX.)

*Copy of a Letter to OLIVER CROMWELL in 1651, from the
General Court of the Massachusetts.*

To the right honorable his Excellence the Lord Generall CROMWELL.

Right Hon.

WEE acknowledge ourselves in all dutie bound, not only to take due notice of that tender care and undeserved respect your excellence hath, upon all occasions, vouchsafed unto the poor despised colonie of the Massachusetts in New-England, but also to acknowledge ourselves ever obliged to serve you, and to improve that interest which, through grace, we have obtained in Jehovah, the God of armies, to prosper you and your great and godly undertakings to his glorie and your everlasting comfort.

Your readines, right honorable, to doe us good, hath occasioned these lines to be presented to your excellence, to the end that no priuat information may occasion your honor (contrarie to your aymes and ends) to prejudice this colonie, by inviting over many of the inhabitants thereof to be transplanted into Ireland; wherein, although we verilie beleieve that your honor aymes at the glorie of God and the welfare of this people, yet (with fauor) we conceave it will tend to the contrarie, for these reasons following.

First, We did profess, we came into these remote partes of the earth to enioy the liberties of the gospel in their puritie, which, hitherto, we have (through the grace of Christ) had, without restraint, these 23 years and above. So that there is no solid ground for any defect therein, that we know, that should occasion a remoue.

Secondlie, God hath blessed the countrey with plentie of food of all kindes, generallie through the land, insomuch that there are many thousands of bushels of graine, and other provisions, of beef, pork, &c. yearlie transported to other places. And where there be any poore people through
age,

age, or weaknes, or losses by fire or other hand of God upon them or their estates, the churches or towns, or both, doe contribute to their wants. So that povertie cannot, truely, be alleaged to be a ground of remouall.

Thirdlie, We know not a more healthlie place in the whole world, for the general, than this land. Therefore, there can be no ground of remouing for want of health.

Fourthlie, We know not any countrey more peaceable and free from warre, for the present, through the mercy of God. What our unthankfullness may bring upon us, the just God onlie knowes; but we desire the Lord so to guide us, that we may not provoke the eyes of his ielousie against us. See that we conceave there is no just ground of remouall in that respect.

Fifthlie, God is pleased hitherunto to maintayne unto us all his ordinances, both in church and commonwealth, whereby, spreading errors in judgement are suppressed, and prophanenes and wickednes in practice punished according to rule and the best light God is pleased to vouchsafe unto us. So that we cannot see ground of remoueall for any defect in these particulars.

Sixthlie, God hath made this colonie to be instrumentall in the conversion of some of the natives amongst us, and many more are hopefull to submit to the gosple and beleeve in Christ Jesus. And that worke is brought to this perfection already, that some of the Indians themselves can pray and prophesie, in a comfortable manner, to the rest, with great gravitie, reverence and zeale, and can write and read English and Indian comfortably. And many scores of them assemble together upon their lecture days, and are well affected to the gosple. So that although this may not seeme to be an argument sufficient to hinder some from removing, yet it might be a just ground of consideration for many to turne their backs upon so hopefull and glorious a worke.

Lastlie, The great noise and general report of so many invited, and intending to transpant themselves into Ireland, hath occasioned some discouragement and weakening to the whole bodie of the colonie, and necessarilie brings an ill report upon the land, as if defective in that which make for a peoples comfortable subsistence, which cannot be but dishonourable to our good God, who hath done so much for us as he hath done, and consequentlie not comfortable to such amongst us as have occasioned it.

Yet, notwithstanding (right honorable) it is not our purpose, in laying down these reasons before your excellence, to hinder any families or persons to remoue to any partes of the world where God calleth them. And there is a law, long since established amongst us, that granteth such a libertie. But our intent onlie is to let your excellence understand the state and condition of this people, that God may have his due praises, and that your honor may not be wronged (by particular information) of the state of this colonie; that, accordingly, your excellence may act as you shall, for the future, in your wisdome, see meete.

Furthermore, We humbly petition your excellence to be pleased to shew us what fauor God shall be pleased to direct you unto on our behalfe, to the most honorable parliament, unto whom we have now presented a petition. The copy of it, verbatim, we are bold to send here-

with, that, if God so please, we may not be hindered in our comfortable proceedings in the worke of God heere in this wildernes. Wherein, as for other fauors, we shall be bound to pray, that the Captain of the host of Israell may be with you and your whole army, in all your great enterprises, to the glorie of God, the subduing of his and your enemies, and your everlasting peace and comfort in Jesus Christ. In whom we are, Right Hon.

Your most obliged servants,

J. E.

(No. X.)

Copy of an Address to OLIVER CROMWELL, in 1654.

May it please your Highness,

IT hath beene no smal comfort to us poor exiles, in these utmost ends of the earth (who sometimes felt and often feared the frownes of the mighty) to have had the experience of the good hand of God, in raising up such, whose endeavours have not beene wanting to our welfare : amongst whom, we have good cause to give your highness the first place : who by a continued series of favours have obliged us, not only while you moved in a lower orbe, but since the Lord hath called your highness to supream authority, whereat we rejoyce and shal pray for the continuance of your happy government, that under your shadow not only ourselves, but all the churches may find rest and peace. The assurance of your highness's endeavours for that end wee have lately received by Major Sedgwick and Capt. Leveritt, for, notwithstanding the urgent and important occasions wherewith your highness is pressed, yet your goodness hath compelled you to be mindful of us, and to give such royal demonstration of your grace and favour, far beyond what we dared to expect or desire, upon intelligence of our condition presented to your highness by some private friends, whose well meaning to us, must excuse their mistake ; which hath made us confident, that our attendance to your pleasure, in furnishing the said gentlemen with voluntiers, for your highness's service against the Dutch at the Manhatas, will be acceptable : with whom also, in compliance with our nation, ever since wee heard of the warr, wee have debarred ourselves of all commerce ; and have been exercised with serious and conscientious thoughts of our duty in this juncture of affaires ; the result whereof was in May 1653, That it was most agreeable to the gospel of peace which we profess, and safest for these colonyes, at this season, to forbear the use of the sword ; and though some of the other colonyes seemed to be of another mind, yet there wanted the concurrence of such a number of the commissioners to act accordingly, without whose consent foregoinge (by the articles of our confederation) no warr may be undertaken. Wee have nothing to add, to what was then under consideration, to put us upon that undertaking, in reference to our own interest, which we ought to understand and should attend, equally with our friends not more concerned than our selves ; wherein if wee should

be

be mistaken. wee hope wee shall not be loosers with God or good men, by our tenderness in a case of such importance, and suspendinge our actings, till wee see cleare and satisfyinge grounds of our undertakings, so highly tendinge to the violation of our peace, the almost onely blessing remaining to us, of all our outward comforts; the losse whereof, with the necessary consequents, would add such weight to our other sufferings as might overwhelme us in sorrow, and in that respect, render us of all men most miserable; which wee are assured is so far from your gracious intentions, that wee have no doubt, but the liberty wee have taken, of the waies proposed by your highness, to take that which is in our understandinge, the most consistent with our peace and welfare, will be most acceptable to your highness; and indeed wee cannot but acknowledge it a gracious providence of God, and a high favour and gentleness in your highness towards us, that when the object of your desire was our good, the meanes to attaine that end should no way preys us: for, with all readines, wee haue consented the said gentlemen may raise 500 voluntiers, armed and furnished for your service, within our jurisdiction, which is a large proportion out of our small numbers, especially at this season of the year, wherein the pressinge occasions of harvest doe call for all our hands to attend that service, least the following winter punish us for our neglect: Yet have wee willingly run this hazard, that wee might, in some measure, manifest our devotion to your service, in what wee may. Sir, be pleased to beleewe us, that our harts and our affections to your highness are sincere, and that wee should account it our unhappines, and ranke it amongst our greatest sufferings, to incur your highness's displeasure, though wee should never feele the effects thereof. If, therefore, our understandings have in in any thing mislead us, we most humbly crave your pardon, and that your highness be pleased to retaine us in your good opinion and favour, and wee shall ever pray the Lord, your protector in all your dangers, that hath crowned you with honor after your long service, to lengthen your daies, that you may long continue Lord Protector of the 3 nations, and of the churches of Christ Jesus. In whom we are, Sir,

Your Highness's
devoted servants,

24th August,
1654.

The General Court of the Massachusetts.

(No. XI.)

*Copy of a letter from the Government of the Colony of Rhode-
Island, concerning the Quakers.*

Much honoured Gentlemen,

PLEASE you to understand, that there hath come to our view a letter subscribed by the honour'd gentlemen commissioners of the united colonies, the contents whereof are a request concerning certayne people called quakers, come among us lately, &c.

Our

Our desires are, in all things possible, to pursue after and keepe sayre and loving coreispondence and entercourse with all the colloneys and with all our countrey men in New-England; and to that purpose we have endeavoured (and shall still endeavour) to answer the desires and requests from all parts of the countrey, coming unto us, in all just and equal returns, to which end the coloney have made feasonable provision to preserve a just and equal entercourse between the coloneys and us, by giving justice to any that demand it among us, and by returning such as make escapes from you, or from the other coloneys, being such as fly from the hands of justice, for matters of crime done or committed amongst you, &c. And as concerning these quakers (so called) which are now among us, we have no law among us whereby to punish any for only declaring by words, &c. their mindes and understandings concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and an eternal condition. And we, moreover finde, that in those places where these people aforesaid, in this coloney, are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only oposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come, and we are informed that they begin to loath this place, for that they are not opposed by the civill authority, but with all patience and meeknes are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions, nor are they like or able to gain many here to their way; and surely we find that they delight to be persecuted by civill powers, and when they are soe, they are like to gaine more adherents by the consyete of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious sayings. And yet we conceive, that their doctrines tend to very absolute cutting downe and overturning relations and civill government among men, if generally received. But as to the dammage that may in likelyhood accrue to the neighbour colloneys by their being here entertained, we conceive it will not prove so dangerous (as else it might) in regard of the course taken by you to send them away out of the countrey, as they come among you. But, however, at present, we judge it requisitt (and doe intend) to commend the consideration of their extravagant outgoings unto the generall assembly of our coloney in March next, where we hope there will be such order taken, as may, in all honest and contentious manner, prevent the bad effects of their doctrines and endeavours; and soe, in all courtious and loving respects, and with desire of all honest and sayre commerce with you, and the rest of our honoured and beloved countrey men, we rest

Yours in all loving respects to serve you,

From Providence, at
the court of tryals,
held for the coloney,
October 13th, 1657.

Benedict Arnold, *Presid.*
William Baulston,
Randall Howldon,
Arthur Fenner,
William Feild.

To the much honoured, the Generall Court,
sitting at Boston, for the Colloney of
Massachusetts.

(No. XII.)

Copy of a Letter from R. CROMWELL, Protector, &c. to the Governor and Magistrates of the Massachusetts Colony in New-England.

Loving Friends,

WE being given to understand, that Henry Sewall of Rowley in Melfey-Tufick bay in New England, dyed about foure years since, possessed of an estate of lands and goods in the colony aforesaid, and that the said estate did and ought to descend and come to his only sonne Henry Sewall, minister of North Baddesly in our county of South-ampton in England, who now purposeing to make a voyage into New-England, there personally to make his clayme to his said estate, hath desired our lycence for his absence, as also our letters recommendatory unto you, that when (by the helpe of God) he shall be arrived in New-England, he may have speedy justice and right done him concerning the said estate, that soe he may the sooner returne to his ministeriall charge at North Baddesly. And he being personally knowne to us to be laborious and industrious in the work of the ministry, and very exemplary for his holy life and good conversation, we doe earnestly desire, that when he shall make his addresses to you he may receive all lawful favour and furtherance from you for the speedy dispatch of his business according to justice and equity, that soe he may the more expeditiously returne to his said charge, where (through the blessing of God) his labours in the gospell may be further usefull and profittable; which we shall esteeme as a particular respect done to us, and shall be ready to acknowledge and returne the same upon any occasion wherein we may procure or further your good and welfare, which we heartily wish and pray for, and rest

Your very loving friend,

RICHARD P.

Whit.hall, the 22d of March, 1658.

(No. XIII.)

The Court's Declaration of their Rights by Charter, in 1661.

At the Sessions of the Generall Court, held at Boston the 10th of June 1661. The Answer of the Committee unto the Matters proposed to their Consideration by the honourable Generall Court.

I. *Concerning our Liberties.*

1. **W**E conceive the patent (under God) to be the first and mayne foundation of our civil polity here, by a governour and company, according as is therein exprest.

2. The governour and company are, by the patent, a body politique in fact and name.

3. This

3. This body politique is vested with power to make freemen, &c.
4. These freemen have power to choose annually a governor, deputy governor, assistants and their select representatives or deputies.
5. This government hath also power to sett up all sorts of officers, as well superiour as inferiour, and point out their power and places.
6. The governor, deputy governor assistants and select representatives or deputies, have full power and authoritie, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people here, whether inhabitants or strangers, both concerning ecclesiastical and civil, without appeals, excepting law or lawes repugnant to the lawes of England.
7. This government is priviledged, by all fitting means, yea (if neede be) by force of armes, to defend themselves both by land and sea, against all such person or persons as shall, at any time, attempt or enterprize the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of the plantation, or the inhabitants therein, besides other privileges, mentioned in the patent, not here expressed, &c.
8. We conceive any imposition prejudiciall to the country, contrary to any just law of ours (not repugnant to the lawes of England) to be an infringement of our right.

II. *Concerning our duties of allegiance to our souveraigne lord the King.*

1. We ought to uphold, and to our power mainteyne this place, as of right belonging to our souveraigne lord the King, as holden of his Majestyes man or of East Greenwich, and not to subject the same to any foreigne prince, or potentate whatsoever.

2. We ought to endeavour the preservation of his Majestyes royall person, realmes and dominions, and, so farr as lyeth in us, to discover and prevent all plots and conspiracies against the same, &c.

3. We ought to seeke the peace and prosperitie of our King and nation, by a faithfull discharge in the governing of this people committed to our care, &c.

First, By punishing all such crimes (being breaches of the first and second table) as are committed against the peace of our souveraigne lord the King, his royall crowne and dignity.

Second, In propagating the gospel, defending and upholding the true christian or protestant religion, according to the faith given by our Lord Christ in his word : Our dread souveraigne being styled defender of the faith, &c.

The premisses considered, it may well stand with the loyalty and obedience of such subjects, as are thus priviledged by their rightfull souveraigne (for himself, his heirs and successors for ever) as cause shall require, to pleade with their prince against all such as shall at any time endeavour the violation of their privileges.

We further judge, that the warrant and letter from the King's Majesty for the apprehending of Colonell Whalley and Colonell Goffe, ought to be diligently and faithfullly executed by the authority of this court.

And also that the generall court may doe safely to declare, that in case, for the future, any legally obnoxious and flying from the civil justice

justice of the state of England, shall come over to these parts, they may not here expect shelter.

By the order and consent of the committee,

Boston, 10 4mo. 1661.

THOMAS DANFORTH.

The court allowes and approves of the report of the committee.

This is a true copie taken out of the courts booke of records,
as attests

EDW. RAWSON, Secr.

(No. XIV.)

*Copy of a letter to William Goffe, one of the Regicides, from
his Wife, in 1662.*

My dearest Hart,

I HAVE been exceedingly refreshed with your choyce and precious letter of the 29th May 1662. Those scriptures you mention, through mercy, with many others, are a great support and comfort to me in this day of my great affliction. Through grace, I doe experience the Lords presence in supporting and providing for mee and mine, in this evill day. The preservation of yourselfe and my deare father, next to the light of his own countenance, is the choycest mercy that I enjoy. For, to heare of your wellfare gives, as it were, a new life to me. Ah! what am I, poor worme, that the great God of heaven and earth should continue such merceys to mee and mine, as I at this day enjoy. Many others have lost their deare youke-fellowes, and out of all hopes to see them in this life; but that is not my condition, as yet, blessed be his holy name, for he hath made mee hope in his word. 10 Zech. 9. *And I will sow them among the people, and they shall remember me in farre country, and they shall live with their children and turne againe.*—Persecution begins to be high heere, the bishops courts are up as high as ever. But, wee have the promises of a faithfull God to live upon, and he hath said, *To you it is given not only to beleeve but to suffer.* He hath alsoe promised to lay noe more upon his poore people than he will give strength to beare. Oh my Hart! I doe, with my whole soule, blesse the Lord for his unspeakeable goodnes to you and your deare friend, in that he hath been pleased to appeare soe eminently for your preservation. He brings to the grave and raises up againe. Oh that the experience that wee have dayly of his goodnes may make us trust him for the future. Wee have seene that word in the 5th of Job, in some measure, made good to you. Reade the 12th verse; from the 11th to the end of the chapter, there is much comfort to those in our condition; as alsoe in 91 Psal. O my deare, let us henceforth make the Lord our refuge and our trust, and then he shall cover thee with his feathers, and be a sanctuary to thee, wheresoever he shall cast thee. I mention these scriptures because I have found comfort in them, and I hope thou wouldest doe soe too. I shall now give you an account of your family, as farre as I dare. Through

VOL. I.

H h

mercy,

mercy, I and your little ones are in reasonable health, only Betty and Nan are weakely, and I feare will be lame a little, the others are very lusty. I am yet with my aunt, but how soon she may be fōrt to give up housekeeping I know not (for she is warned in to the bishops court) and wee shall be disperst, but I hope the Lord will provide for us, as he hath done hitherto.—Oh my deare, lett our trust be in the Lord alone. I do hartily wish mysele with thee, but that I feare it may bee a meanes to discover thee, as it was to ——— and therefore I shall forbear attempting any such thing for the present, hoping that the Lord will, in his owne time, returne thee to us againe; for he hath the harts of all in his hands, and can change them in a moment. I rejoyce to heere, that you are so willing to be at the Lords disposall; indeed, we are not our owne, for wee are bought with a price, with the precious blood of the Lord Jesus: And, therefore, let us comfort ourselves with this, though we should never meete in this world againe, yet I hope, through grace, wee shall meete in heaven, and foe ever be with the Lord, and it will not be in the power of men to part us. My dear, I know you are confident of my affection, yet, give me leave to tell thee, thou art as deare to me as a husband can be to a wife, and if I knew any thing that I could doe to make you happy, I should do it, if the Lord would permitt, though to the losse of my life. As for newes, I shall forbear writeing of any, for I know not much, and you may heare it from better hands. My unkle Burket is dead, and my mother is with her. My brother John is gon beyond sea, but I know not whither. His father in law is dead. My dear, my aunt and many others are very kinde to mee, foe that, through mercy, I have noe want of food and rayment, though in a meane way. The Lord is pleased to suit my minde to my condition, and to give mee strength, in some measure, to take paines with my children, which I look upon as a great mercy. I know not whether I may ever have another opportunity to send to you this season or noe, which makes me the longer now; for I shall not send but by those I judge to be faithfull, and I being in the country, I may not heare of every opportunity; and, though it is an unspeakeable comfort to mee to heare of thy wellfare, yet I earnestly beg of thee not to send too often, for feare of the work, for they are very vigilant here to find out persons. But this is my comfort, it is not in the power of men to act their owne will. And now, my dear, with 1000 tears, I take my leave of thee, and recommend thee to the great keeper of Israell, who neither slumbers nor sleepe, who, I hope, will keepe thee, and my deare freind with thee, from all year enemies, both spirituall and temporall, and in his owne time return you with safety to your family. Which is the dayly prayer of thy affectionate and obedient wife, till death,

F.

Many freinds here desire to be remembered to you. It will not be convenient to name them. I am sure you have a flock of prayers going for you here, which you and I reap the benefit of. My humble duty presented to you know who.

Fredrick, and the rest of thy dear babes that can speake, present their humble duty to thee, talke much of thee, and long to see thee.

My humble duty to my dear father, and tell him I pray for him with my whole hart, but I am foe bad a scribe I dare not write to him.

Pray be private and carefull who you trust.

(No. XV.)

(No. XV.)

*Copy of a Commission from King CHARLES the Second, to
Col. NICHOLS and others, in 1664.*

CHARLES the 2d, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland,
France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS we have received several addresses from our subjects of several colonies in N. E. all full of duty and affection, and expressions of loyalty and allegiance to us, with their humble desires that we would renew their several charters, and receive them into our favourable opinion and protection; and several of our colonies there, and other our loving subjects have likewise complained of differences and disputes arisen upon the limits and bounds of their several charters and jurisdictions, whereby unneighbourly and unbrotherly contentions have and may arise, to the damage and discredit of the English interest: and that all our good subjects residing there, and being planters within the several colonies do not enjoy the liberties and privileges granted to them, by our several charters, upon confidence and assurance of which they transported themselves and their estates into those parts. And we having received some addresses from the great men and natives of those countries, in which they complain of breach of faith, and acts of violence and injustice, which they have been forced to undergoe from our subjects, whereby not only our government is traduced, but the reputation and credit of christian religion brought into prejudice and reproach, with the gentiles and inhabitants of those countries who know not God, the reduction of whom to the true knowledge and feare of God is the most worthy and glorious end of all those plantations. Upon all which motives, and as an evidence and manifestation of our fatherly affection towards all our subjects in those several colonies of New-England (that is to say of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Plymouth, Rhode-Island and Providence plantation, and all other plantations within that tract of land, known under the appellation of New-England) and to the end we may be truly informed of the state and condition of our good subjects there, that so we may the better know how to contribute to the further improvement of their happiness and prosperity.

Know yee therefore, that wee reposing special trust and confidence in the fidelity, wisdom and circumspection of our trusty and well beloved Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carre, Knt. George Cartwright, Esq. and Samuel Maverick, Esq. of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have made, ordained, constituted and appointed, and by these presents, do make, ordain, constitute and appoint the said Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carre, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, our commissioners, and do hereby give and grant unto them, or any three or two of them, or of the survivors of them, of whom we will the said Colonel Richard Nichols, during his life, shall

be alwaies one, and upon equal divisions of opinions, to have the casting and decisive voice. in our name to visit all and every the severall colonies aforesaid, and also full power and authority to heare and receive, and to examine and determine, all complaints and appeales in all causes and matters, as well millitary as criminal and civil, and proceed in all things for the providing for and settling the peace and security of the said country, according to their good and sound discretions, and to such instructions as they or the survivors of them have or shall from time to time receive from us in that behalfe; and from time to time, as they shall find expedient, to certify us or our privy counsel, of their actings and proceedings, touching the premisses. And for the doing thereof, or any other matter or thing relateing thereunto, these presents, or the inrolment thereof, shall be unto them a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourselve at Westminster, the 25th day of April, in the sixteenth yeare of our reigne.

(No. XVI.)

*Copy of the Address of the Massachusetts Colony to King
CHARLES the 2d, in 1664.*

To the KINGS most excellent MAJESTIE,

*The humble supplication of the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony
in New-England.*

DREAD SOVEREIGNE,

IFF your poor subjects, who have removed themselves into a remote corner of the earth to enjoy peace with God and man, doe, in this day of their trouble, prostrate themselves at your royal feet, and beg your favour, we hope it will be graciously accepted by your Majestie. And that, as the high place you sustein on earth doth number you here among the Gods, so you will imitate the God of heaven, in being ready to maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor, and to receive their cries and addresses to that end. And we humbly beseech your Majestie, with patience and clemency, to heare and accept our plain discourse, tho of somewhat greater length than would be comely in other or lesser cases. We are remote, and can speake but seldom, and therefore crave leave to speake the more at once. Wee shall not largely repeat, how that the first undertakers for this plantation, having, by considerable summs, purchased the right thereof, granted to the counsel established at Plimouth by King James, your royal grandfather, did after obtain a patent, given and confirmed to themselves by your royal father, King Charles the first, wherein it is granted to them and their heirs, assigns and associates, forever; not only the absolute use and propriety of the tract of land therein mentioned, but also full and
absolute

absolute power of governing all the people of this place, by men chosen from among themselves, and according to such lawes as they shall from time to time. see meet to make and establish, being not repugnant to the lawes of England (they paying only the fifth part of the oare of gold and silver, that shall here be found, for and in respect of all duties, demands, exactions and service whatsoever) as in the said patent is more at large declared. Under the encouragement and security of which royal charter, this people did, at their own charges, transport themselves, their wives and families over the ocean, purchase the lands of the natives, and plant this colony, with great labour, hazards, cost and difficulties, for a long time wrestling with the wants of a wilderness, and the burdens of a new plantation; having also, now above 30 yeares, enjoyed the aforesaid power and privilege of government within themselves, as their undoubted right in the sight of God and man. And having had, moreover, this further favour from God, and from your Majestie, that wee have received several gracious letters from your royal selfe, full of expressions tending to confirme us in our enjoyments, viz. in your Majesties letter bearing date the 15th day of February, 1660, you are pleased to consider New-England as one of the chiefest of your colonies and plantations abroad, having enjoyed and grown up in a long and orderly establishment; adding this royal promise, Wee shall not come behind any of our royal predecessors in a just encouragement and protection of all our loving subjects there. In your Majesties letter of the 28th of June 1662, sent us by our messengers, besides many other gracious expressions, there is this [Wee will preserve and do hereby confirme the patent and charter heretofore granted unto them, by our royal father of blessed memory, and they shall freely enjoy all the priviledges and liberties granted unto them in and by the same.] As for such particulars, of a civil and religious nature, which are subjoined in the said letter, wee have applied ourselves to the utmost to satisfy your Majestie, so far as doth consist with conscience of our duty toward God, and the just liberties and priviledges of our patent. We are further bound, with humble thankfulness, to acknowledge your Majesties gracious expressions in your last letter wee have received, dated April 23, 1664, as (besides other instances thereof) That your Majestie hath not the least intention or thought of violating, or, in the least degree, infringing the charter heretofore granted by your royal father, with great wisdom, and upon full deliberation, &c.

But what affliction of heart must it needs be unto us, that our sins have provoked God to permit our adversaries to set themselves against us by their misinformations, complaints and solicitations (as some of them have made it their worke for many yeares) and thereby to procure a commission under the great seal, wherein 4 persons (one of them our knowne and professed enemy) are impowered to heare, receive, examine and determine all complaints and appeals, in all causes and matters, as well military as criminal and civil, and to proceed in all things, for settling this country, according to their good and sound discretions, &c. Whereby, instead of being governed by rulers of our owne choosing, (which is the fundamental privilege of our patent) and by lawes of our owne, wee are like to be subjected to the arbitrary power of strangers, proceeding not by any established law, but by their own discretions. And
whereas

whereas our patent gives a sufficient royal warrant and discharge to all officers and persons for executing the lawes here made and published, as is therein directed, wee shall now not be discharged, and at rest from further molestation, when wee have so executed and observed our lawes, but be liable to complaints and appeales, and to the determinations of new judges, whereby our government and administrations will be made void and of none effect. And thō wee have yet had but a little taste of the words or actings of these gentlemen, that are come over hither in this capacity of commissioners, yet we have had enough to confirme us in our feares, that their improvement of this power, in pursuance of their commission (should the same proceed) will end in the subversion of our all. We should be glad to hope that your Majesties instructions (which they have not yet been pleased to impart unto us) may put such limitations to their business here as will take off much of our feare, but according to the present appearance of things we thus speake.

In this case (dread soveraigne) our refuge, under God, is your royal selfe, whom wee humbly addresse ourselves unto, and are the rather emboldned therein, because your Majesties last gracious letter doth encourage us to suggest what, upon the experience we have had and observation we have made, we judge necessary or convenient for the good and benefit of this your plantation, and because we are well perswaded that had your Majestie a full and right information of the state of things here, you would find apparent reason to put a stop to these proceedings, which are certainly disservient to your Majesties interest, and to the prosperity and welfare of this place.

If these things go on (according to the present appearance) your subjects here will either be forced to seeke new dwellings, or sinke and faint under burdens that will be to them intollerable. The vigour of all new endeavours in the severall callings and occupations (either for merchandize abroad or further subduing this wilderness at home) will be enfeebled, as we perceive it already begins to be, the good of converting the natives obstructed, the inhabitants driven to we know not what extremities, and this hopeful plantation in the issue ruined. But whatever becomes of us, we are sure the adversary cannot counter-vail the Kings damages. It is indeed a grief to our hearts, to see your Majestie put upon this extraordinary charge and cost about a business, the product whereof can never reimburse the one halfe of what will be expended upon it. Imposed rulers and officers will have occasion to expend more than can be raised here, so as nothing will returne to your Majesties exchequer, but instead thereof, the wonted benefit by customes, exported and imported into England from hence, will be diminished by the discouragement and diminution of mens endeavours in their severall occupations; or if the aime should be to gratify some particular gentlemen by livings and revenues here, that will also fail, where nothing is to be had, the King himself will be a looser, and so will the case be found to be here, for such is the poverty and meannes of the people of this country (by reason of the length and coldnes of the winters, the difficulty of subduing a wilderness, defect of a staple commodity, the want of money, &c.) that if, with hard labour, men get a subsistence for their families, tis as much as the generality are able to do, paying but very smal rates towards the public charges, and yet, if all the country

country hath ordinarily raised for by the year all the charges of the whole government, were put together, and then doubled or trebled, it would not be counted for one of these gentlemen a considerable accommodation.

It is true, that the estates men have, in conjunction with hard labour, and vigorous endeavours in their several places, do bring in a comfortable subsistence for such a mean people (we dare not diminish our thankfulness to God that he provides for us in a wilderness as he doth) yet neither will the former stand if the latter be discouraged, nor will both ever answer the ends of those that need or seeke great things. We perceive there have been great expectations of what is to be had here, raised by some mens informations, but those informations will prove fallacious, disappointing them that have relied upon them. And, if the taking of this course should drive the people out of the country (for to a coalition, therein, they will never come) it will be hard to find another people that will stay long or stand under any considerable burden in it, seeing it is not a country where men can subsist without hard labour and great frugality.

There have also been high representations of great divisions and discontentments amongst us, and of a necessity of sending commissioners to relieve the aggrieved, &c. whereas, it plainly appears, that the body of this people are unanimously satisfied in the present government, and abhorrent from change, and that what is now offered will, instead of relieving, raise up such grievances as are intolerable. Wee suppose there is no government under heaven, wherein some discontented persons may not be found; and if it be a sufficient accusation against a government, that there are some such, who will be innocent? Yet, thro' the favour of God, there are but few amongst us that are malecontent, and fewer that have cause to be so.

Sir, the allknowing God knows our greatest ambition is to live a poor and quiet life, in a corner of the world, without offence to God or man. Wee came not into this wilderness to seeke great things to ourselves, and if any come after us to seeke them heere, they will be disappointed. Wee keep ourselves within our line, and meddle not with matters abroad; a just dependence upon, and subjection to your Majesty, according to our charter, it is far from our hearts to disacknowledge. Wee so highly prize your favourable aspect (tho' at this great distance) as wee would gladly do any thing, that is within our power, to purchase the continuance of it. Wee were willing to testify our affection to your Majesties service, by answering the proposal of your honourable commissioners, of which wee doubt not but they have already given your Majesty an account. Wee are carefully studious of all due subjection to your Majesty, and that not only for wrath, but for conscience sake. And should divine providence ever offer an opportunity, wherein wee might, in any righteous way, according to our poor and mean capacity, testify our dutiful affection to your Majesty, we hope we should most gladly embrace it. But it is a great unhappiness to be reduced to so hard a case, as to have no other testimony of our subjection and loyalty offered us but this, viz. to destroy our owne being, which nature teacheth us to preserve, or to yield up our liberties, which are far dearer to us than our lives, and which, had we had any
feares

feares of being deprived of, wee had never wandred from our fathers houses into the ends of the earth, nor laid our labours and estates therein; besides engaging in a most hazardous and difficult warre with the most warlike of the natives, to our great charge, and the losse of some of the lives of our deare friends. Neither can the deepest invention of man find out a more certain way of consistence, than to obtain a royal donation from so great a prince, under his great seal, which is the greatest security that may be had in humane affaires.

Royal Sir, it is in your power to say of your poor people in New-England, they shall not die. If we have found favour in the sight of our King, let our life be given us at our petition (or rather that which is dearer than life, that we have ventured our lives and willingly passed thro' many deaths to obtain) and our all at our request. Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our lawes and liberties live, our religious enjoyments live, so shall we all yet have further cause to say, from our hearts, let the King live forever. And the blessing of them that were ready to perish shall come upon your Majestie; having delivered the poor that cried, and such as had none to helpe them. It was an honour to one of your royal ancestors that he was called the poor mans King. It was Job's excellency, when he sat as King among his people, that he was a father to the poor. They are a poor people (destitute of outward favour, wealth and power) who now cry unto their Lord the King. May your Majestie please to regard their cause and maintain their right: It will stand, among the marks of lasting honour, to after generations. And wee and ours shall have lasting cause to rejoyce, that we have been numbered among your Majesties

Most humble servants

and suppliants.

25th of October, 1664.

(No. XVII.)

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of CLARENDON to the Massachusetts Colony, in 1664.

Mr. GOVERNOUR and GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received yours of the 7th of November, by the hands of Mr. Ashurst, a very sober and discreet person, and did (by his communicating it to me) peruse the petition * you had directed to his Majesty, and I do confesse to you, I am so much a friend to your colony, that if the same had been communicated to no body but my self, I should have dissuaded the presenting the same to his Majesty, who, I doubt, will not think himself well treated by it, or the singular care he hath expressed of

his

* No. XVI.

his subjects in those parts sufficiently acknowledged ; but since I found by your letter to my lord Chamberlaine and Mr. Boyle, that you expected some effect from your petition, upon conference with them wee all agreed not to hinder the deliury of it, though I have read to them and Mr. Ashurst, every word of the instructions the commissioners haue ; and they all confessed that his Majesty could not expresse more grace and goodnesse for that his plantation, nor put it more out of their power, in any degree to invade the liberties and privileges granted to you by your charter ; and therefore wee were all equally amazed to find that you demand a revocation of the commission and commissioners, without laying the least matter to their charge of crymes or exorbitances : What sence the King hath of your addresse to him, you will I presume heare from himself, or by his direction ; I shall only tell you, that as you had long cause to expect that the King would send commissioners thither, so, that it was absolutely necessary he should do so, to compose the differences amongst yourselves, of which he received complaint, and to do justice to your neighbours, which they demanded from his royall hands. I know not what you meane by saying, the commissioners have power to exercise government there altogether inconsistent with your charter and privileges, since I am sure their commission is to see and provide for the due and full observation of the charter, and that all the priviledges granted by that charter may be equally enjoyed by all his Majesties subjects there : I know they are expressly inhibited from intermeddling with, or instructing the administration of justice, according to the formes observed there ; but if in truth, in any extraordinary case, the proceedings there have been irregular, and against the rules of justice, as some particular cases, particularly recommended to them by his Majesty, seeme to be, it cannot be presumed that his Majesty hath or will leaue his subjects of New-England without hope of redresse by an appeale to him, which his subjects of all his other kingdomes haue free liberty to make. I can say no more to you but that it is in your owne power to be very happy, and to enjoy all that hath been granted to you ; but it will be absolutely necessary that you performe and pay all that reverence and obedience which is due from subjects to their King, and which his Majesty will exact from you, and doubts not but to find from the best of that colony, both in quality and in number. I have no more to add, but that I am,

Gentlemen,

Worcester-House,
15 March 1664.

Your affectionate servant,
CLARENDON C.

(NO. XVIII.)

*Copy of a Letter from King CHARLES the 2d to the Colony of
New-Plimouth, 1666.*

CHARLES, R.

TRUSTY and well beloved, we greet you well. Having received so full and satisfactory an account from our commissioners, both of the good reception you have given them, and also of your dutifalness

and obedience to us, We cannot but let you know how much we are pleased therewith ; judging that respect of yours towards our officers, to be the true and natural fruit which demonstrates what fidelity and affection towards us is rooted in your hearts. And although your carriage doth, of itself, most justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with the more lustre, by the contrary deportment of the colony of the Massachusetts, as if, by their refractoriness, they had designed to recommend and heighten the merit of your compliance with our directions, for the peaceable and good government of our subjects in those parts. You may therefore assure yourselves, that we shall never be unmindful of this your loyal and dutiful behaviour, but shall, upon all occasions, take notice of it to your advantage ; promising you our constant protection and royal favour, in all things that may concern your safety peace and welfare. And so we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 10th day of April 1666, in the eighteenth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,
WILL. MORRICE.

(No. XIX.)

Copy of a Letter from King CHARLES the 2d, to the Massachusetts Colony, in 1666.

CHARLES, R.

HIS Majesty having received a full information, from his commissioners who were sent by him into New-England, of their reception and treatment in the severall colonies and provinces of that plantation, in all which they have received great satisfaction, but only that of the Massachusetts ; and he having likewise been fully informed of the accompt sent hither by the counsell of the Massachusetts, under the hand of their present governor, of all the passages and proceedings which have been there between the said commissioners and them from the time of their first coming over ; upon all which it is very evident to his Majesty, notwithstanding many expressions of great affection and duty, that those who govern the colony of the Massachusetts doe beleieve, that the commission given by his Majesty to those commissioners, upon so many and waighty reasons, and after so long deliberation, is an apparent violation of their charter, and tending to the dissolution of it, and that in truth they doe, upon the matter, beleieve that his Majesty hath noe jurisdiction over them, but that all persons must acquiesce in their judgments and determinations how unjust soever, and cannot appeale to his Majesty, which would bee a matter of such a high consequence as every man discernes where it must end. His Majesty therefore, upon due consideration of the whole matter, thinks fit to recall his sayd commissioners, which he hath at this present done, to the end hee may receive from them a more particular account of the state and condition of those his plantations, and of the particular differences and debates they have had
with

with those of the Massachusetts, that so his Majesty may pass his final judgment and determination thereupon. His Majesty's express command and charge is, that the governor and council of the Massachusetts doe forthwith make choice of five or four persons to attend upon his Majesty, whereof Mr. Richard Bellingham and Major Hathorn are to be two, both which his Majesty commands upon their allegiance to attend, the other three or two to be such as the council shall make choice of; and if the sayd Mr. Bellingham bee the present governor, another fitt person is to be deputed to that office till his return, and his Majesty will then, in person, hear all the allegations, suggestions or pretences to right or fauor that can be made on the behalf of the sayd collony, and will there make it appear how farr hee is from the least thought of invading or infringing, in the least degree, the royall charter granted to the said collony; and his Majesty expects the appearance of the sayd persons as soon as they can possibly repair hither, after they haue notice of this his Majesty's pleasure; and his further command is that there may bee noe alterations with reference to the government of the prouince of Mayne, till his Majesty hath heard what is alledged on all sides, but that the same continue as his Majestyes commissioners haue left the same, untill his Majesty shall further determine; and his Majesty further expressly charges and commands the governor and council there, that they immediately set all such persons at liberty, who haue been or are imprisoned, only for petitioning or applying themselves to his Majesty's commissioners. And for the better prevention of all differences and disputes upon the bounds and limits of the several collonyes, his Majesty's pleasure is, that all determinations made by his Majesty's sayd commissioners with reference to the said bounds and limits may still continue to bee observed, till upon a full representation of all pretences, his Majesty shall make his own small determination; and particularly the present temporary bounds set by the commissioners between the collonyes of New-Plymouth and Rhead-Island, untill his Majesty shall find cause to alter the same. And his Majesty expects that full obedience be given to this signification of his pleasure, in all particulars: Given at the court at Whitehall the 10th day of April 1666, in the eighteenth year of his Majesty's reign.

WILL. MORRICE.

(No. XX.)

SAMUEL GORTON's *Defence against the Charges upon him in Morton's Memorial.*

NATHANIEL MORTON,

I Understand you have lately put forth a book of records.—But this I know, that I am unjustly enrolled, because I was never free nor member incorporate, in your body, or any of your territories; therefore, I may not refrain to make a short return, only as it concerns myself.

And 1st. Your peremptory judging of one you know not, for I am a stranger to you,—

My 2d word concerns your eminency, in assuming authority to canonize and put into the number of saints such men, when they are dead, who, in their life time, were persecutors, especially, you having acknowledged them to be such yourself; as also to thrust down under your feet, and make as brut beasts, having only hope in this present life, such as are known to be fearers of God, worshipping him instantly, day and night; tho' they be not acknowledged to be such, by some particular sectaries as yourself.

A 3d word I have to say concerns your record: Mistake me not, I meddle not with your records further than they concern myself. I then affirm, that your record is fetched from him who is a liar from the beginning—In that you declare I have spoken words (or to that effect) that there is no state nor condition of mankind after this life. I do verily believe, that there is not a man, woman or child, upon the face of the earth, that will come forth and say, that ever they heard any such words come from my mouth; and I appeal to God, the judge of all secrets, that there was never such a tho't entertain'd in my heart.—

And whereas you say, I am become a sordid man in my life; I dare be so bold as to lay my conversation among men to the rules of humanity, with any minister among you, in all the passages of my life which God hath bro't me thro', from my youth unto this day, that it hath been as comely and innocent as his. Whose ox or whose ass have I taken, or when or where have I lived upon other mens labours, and not wrought with my own hands, for things honest in the sight of men, to eat my own bread?

A 4th word I have to say to your pamphlet, concerns the stuff, as you scottishly and contemptuously call it. You may be ashamed to put pen to paper, to publish any thing to the world in shew of religion, not acknowledging the letter of the scripture, but deriding it rather.—

For the rest of those expressions which you charge upon us, you falsely apply them. We never called sermons of salvation, tales; nor any ordinances of the Lord, an abomination or vanity; nor holy ministers, necromancers: We honour, reverence and practise these things. And, however you term me a belcher out of errors, I would have you know, that I hold my call to preach the gospel of Christ, not inferiour to any minister in this countrey, tho' I was not bred up in the schools of humane learning, and I bless God that I never was; least I had been drowned in pride and ignorance, thro' Aristotle's principles, and other heathen philosophers, as millions are, and have been, who ground their preaching of the gospel upon humane principles, to the falsifying of the word of God, in the ruin of mens souls. Yet this I doubt not of, but that there hath been as much true use made of the languages, within this twenty years past, in the place where I live, as hath been in any church in New-England: I know the manner of your preaching very well.

When I was last in England, thro' importunity, I was perswaded to speak the word of God publickly, in divers as eminent places as any were then in London, as also about London, and places more remote; many times the ministers of the place being hearers, and sometimes many together, at appointed lectures in the countrey. I have spoken in the audience of all sorts of people and perages, under the title of

a bishop or a King ; and was invited to speak in the presence of such as had the title of excellency ; and was lovingly embraced wherever I came, in the word uttered, with the most eminent christians in the place ; and for leave-taking at our departure, not unlike the ancient custom of the saints, on record in the holy scripture ; and I dare say, as evident testimony of God's power, going forth with his word spoken, manifested, as ever any in New-England had ; publicly, and immediately after the word delivered, the people giving thanks to God that ever such a word came to be uttered among them ; with intreaty for stay and further manifestation, in as eminent places as are in England ; where myself did know that doctors of note had formerly preached, and, at that time, such as had more honour put upon them than, ordinarily, preachers have, who gave me the call thither, in way of loving and christian fellowship, the like abounding in the hearers : Therefore, I know not with what New-England is leavened or spirited. Indeed, once in London, 3 or 4 malignant persons caused me to be summoned before a committee of parliament, because I was not a university man : I appeared, and my accusers also ; one of them a school-master in Christ's hospital, another or two, elders of independent or separated churches ; who were questioned what they had against me. They said I had preached. Divers of the committee answered, that was true, they had heard me. The chairman asked of my accusers, what I had said. They could not repeat any thing, but said they were sure I had made the people of God sad. But the sum of all their accusation was bro't out in a book, which, they said, contained divers blasphemies : The book was only that which was printed of the proceedings of the Massachusetts against myself and others. The honoured committee took the book, and divers of them looked upon it, and found no such thing there, as they ignorantly suggested : And, tho' my adversaries could say nothing, but only vent their spleen, crying out upon blasphemy ; yet the chairman and divers of the board, knights and other gentlemen, questioned me about my call to preach, and other principal points of religion, and I answered to all of them according to my knowledge and conscience. Then my accusers desired Mr. Winslow might be called forth, whom they had procured to appear there, whom they thought would oppose me strongly, with respect to that book : When he came out of the crowd (for there was a multitude of people, the place being spacious) he spake judiciously and manlike, desiring to be excused, for he had nothing to say to me in that place, his business with me lay before another committee of parliament ; which gave the table good satisfaction. My answers and arguments were honourably taken by the chairman and the rest of the committee, and myself dismissed as a preacher of the gospel. Shortly after, eminent preachers, living remote from London, then present, sent unto me kind gratulations, for my arguments used, and answers given before that committee. Which act of that committee I take to be as good an human call to preach, as any of your ministers have ; and other call I know none they have. And, for a human call, I think mine to be as good as the degrees in the schools, or to pass under the hands and ceremonies of a titular bishop, or under the natural hands of a titular eldership, or to have the call of a people, by the power of stipend or contribution,

bution, without one of which no contract—all which I account as human, at the best.

A 5th word I have to say, is in that you send your reader to a book printed by Mr. Edward Winslow, for a more full and perfect intelligence. Mr. Winslow and myself had humanlike correspondency in England, and before the honourable committee which he referred himself to, as above: and, not to wrong the dead, I saw nothing to the contrary, but that I had as good acceptance in the eyes of that committee as himself had; altho' he had a greater charter and larger commission, out of these parts, than myself then had; and, however he was a man of more eminent parts than myself, yet the goodness and justice of my cause did equalize myself unto him, in those occasions, both in the minds and demeanors of our superiors. I do profess I do not know or remember any particulars in that book he then put forth:—I saw it in London, but read little of it; and when I came over into these parts, my ancient acquaintance and friend, Mr. John Brown, discoursing with me about those affairs in England, told me he had read such a book, printed or put forth by Mr. Winslow: I told him I had seen it, but read very little of it. Mr. Brown, you know, was a man approved of among you, an assistant in your government, a commissioner for the united colonies, &c. who thus spake unto me in our discourse (I will not pervert nor alter a word of the will or words of the dead) I say, he affirmed thus unto me, *That he would maintain, that there were 40 lies printed in that book.*

per me,

SAMUEL GORTON.

Warwick, June 30. 1669.

(No. XXI.)

*Major WALLLEY's Journal in the Expedition against Canada
in 1692.*

A narrative of the proceedings to Canada, soe far as concerned
the land army.

HAVING passed the isle of Percey, and being put back by a contrary wind, it was designed there to have landed our souldiers, to have settled our companys, to have called a council of warr, to have made and declared such orders as was necessary for regulating our forces, but by severall of our ships and vessels being drove out of the harbour by a storm, they came not in again seasonably, and soe what was intended was pievented.

Upon the 23d of Sept. wee came to an anchor at Tarrafack,* a council of warr was called, such orders and ordinances made as was judged necessary, and ordered to be published in every vessel, and at the head of each company, which orders are upon record and may be seen.

Upon the 27th of Sept. being about 25 leagues from Cabeck,† I went
aboard

* Tadousack.

† Quebec.

aboard each vessel in the fleet, that had souldiers, to take care that they might be all ready and fixt for the service, not knowing how soon there might be occasion; and whereas there had been complaints, that, aboard severall of the vessels, the souldiers and others had near a third part of their allowance taken off without order, I then gave orders, that their full allowance might be given them.

Upon the 5th Oct. wee came up with the Isle of Orleans, the whole fleet together, and having promised our men that they should with the first convenience be landed to refresh themselves, and not having opportunity before, thought it might doe well to doe it then, proposing to the council that wee might then settle the companys, that wee might then secure the island, gaine intelligence, and upon our informations to draw up such conclusions as were necessary, and not to have appeared in sight of the town until wee were fully ready to fall upon them; but it was over-ruled by the council, and agreed we should take the advantage of the tide and be in sight of the town by day light, which was accordingly done.

Upon the 6th Oct. it was concluded that a summons should be sent ashore, and, while the answer was coming, to put ourselves in the best posture wee could for landing, but by that time the messenger was returned wee found the tides did not sute, and that it would be too late to land that night. It was alsoe then agreed upon, that the army should land at the north shore, at the place wee after landed at; that the small vessels, that had guns, should take in the ammunition, provision, field pieces, shovels, shades and other necessarys for the souldiers (that tide or the next they were to come up to Charles river, that lyes by the town) that the ships boats should come into the river to be helpfull to carry the souldiers over, and the souldiers to be ready by the river when they came, that so they might be helpful each to other, as there had been occasion; that the field pieces should come in those vessels to be landed on the other side the river; it was alsoe agreed that, when wee were over the river, the men of warr were to sail up with the town, and when they perceivd we were upon the hill, especially if we then fired a house, they were then to land 200 men under their guns, and were to make a brisk and resolute charge to enter the town; alsoe agreed that Shute and others of the larger vessels that were not men of warr, were to go beyond the town, that the enemy might thinke we had another army to land there; alsoe agreed that we should have two ministers and three chirurgeons ashore.

These things being thus agreed on, on the next morning being the 7th Oct. wee attempted to land our men, but by a storm were prevented, few of the boats being able to row a head, and found it would endanger our men and wett our armes, at which time the vessel Capt. Savage was in went ashore, the tide fell, left them dry, the enemy came upon them, they manfully defended themselves. I went aboard severall vessels, and, though with some difficulty caused some small vessels that had guns to weigh, and sent some boats that endeavoured to help them, or if no other way to bring off the men, but the weather and shoals were such they could do them noe good; the enemy were awed by some guns from Sir William, that the shott flew among the thickest of them, alsoe by some guns from Capt. Eldridge. At the tides coming in they float-

ed and all gott off safe. That night, aboard Sir William's ship, the French prisoners informed us of a place about two miles beyond the town, that would be more commodious for landing the army, which I then thought might be best (but Capt. Davis saith since, wee should not amended ourselves) but it was said the council of warr had determined the place, and wee had not time to call them together then, and it would be safest to attend order.

The next day, being the 8th Oct. as soon as the bad weather was over, and the tides suited, wee landed our men, which considering how farr many of our vessels were from the shoar, and the helps wee had, never more men were landed in less time; but the flats lay off soe we were forced to go into the water, some up to the knees, and some near as high as their waists upon the flatts. I drew up the whole army, which consisted of between 12 and 1300 men, caused four companys to be drawn out as forlorns, though the ground would not admitt the forlorn and main battle to be far the one from the other; this being done, I ordered the forlorns to advance and to march, at their open order, towards the upland, and by this time the tide was upon the ground we stood on: The forlorn were no sooner advanced a few rods, before there was firing from both sides; upon one wing some of our men saw the enemy in the bushes and fired first, but upon the other wing, and in most places, the enemy had the first shot at us; and from a village over a creek on our right wing, there was a party gauled us considerably; upon the charge our officers and souldiers shewed courage and resolution enough, yet some having given an order to fire and fall off, but judging under the present circumstances, ordered the whole body to shoot and run up at once, which they did with one consent, that it was hard to say which company went up first or fastest; upon which the enemy having generally made a second shott, they gave way at once, and by the convenience of swamps and bushes, they had an opportunity to run away and secure themselves, but yet in partys out of every corner of a swamp or thicket they kept firing upon us; wee continued our chase and march towards the town, and killed some of the enemy as wee went. Being informed that the enemy had fired at our men out of a barn, and judging there were some in it, I ordered it to be fired; we come up with a house where was a hogshhead of claret sett at the door, and seeing our souldiers gather about it, least it were poisoned, or might otherwise harm our men or hinder our march, I ordered the head to be knocked out; drawing nearer the town and finding the army too much scattered, and not knowing but wee might be met withall by a force from the town, I drew up a good part of our forces and marcht on; wee continued our march until it was dark, two thirds of the army took up their stand by a creek, where was a house and some other shelter; with the other part I advanced about a quarter of a mile, that we might the better secure the shoar and to see our vessels that were to come into the river; there we took up our quarters, placed our guards and sentinels, and did what was necessary for securing ourselves and taking notice of the motion of the enemy; wee then took the advantage of the house, barn, hay and straw, that those that were not upon duty might keep themselves as warm as they could. Making inquiry what damage wee had received from the enemy, or done to them, found wee had not above 4 killed

outright

outright at our landing, nor less than 60 officers and souldiers wounded, and it was judged wee had killed 20, some say 30 of the enemy, and since, have been informed their hospital is full of wounded men, and it is said they had not less than 7 or 800 men that lay undiscovered to take the advantage at our landing; all things considered, it was a great mercy wee had no more damage done us. The same evening, having information of a Frenchman that had surrendered himself, and was with the other part of the army, I sent for him and strictly examined him, severely threatened him if I caught him in a lye, told him wee had taken other French prisoners, and if he told us any thing that was false, wee should soon find it. He told us wee should cut him in pieces if he told us any thing but what was truth; he informed that there were about 600 men that were in the swamp at our coming ashore, that there was a Captain and other officers killed, besides others that he saw, that the French had 900 men from the town more, upon their march towards us; that they were over the river, but seeing wee had landed our men so suddenly, and beaten the French off the ground, and were marching towards the town, that they retreated, marcht back to the town, or at least to the other side of the river: He said the Earl of Frontenack was come down, the governor of Mount Royal and the intendant; that a great many souldiers came into Cabeck on the Thursday before, a great many with the governor upon Fryday, and more with the governor of Mount Royal on Saturday, and many since: he alsoe said he was a souldier of Mount Royal that had run away, and that they were seeking after him (which we after found true). He alsoe said he came by the information by a Mount Royal souldier, that he had mett withall, which acquainted him they had left but 50 souldiers at Mount Royal, and added that he had heard some French officers, at the next house to that wee then were at, say that they had not less than 3000 men in the town: he alsoe said, that at the most convenient place of the souldiers going over they had planted 8 guns. All which afterwards we had confirmed. That others might not be discouraged, wee told him he was sent by the enemy to tell us a parcel of lies, but he said he had told us nothing but what we should find true.

After this, I sent for the rest of the forces to come over, that wee might not be too much scattered, and sent for the majors and captains, and such as belonged to the council of warr, to consider and conclude what was farther to be done; after some discourse, it was concluded by the whole, that, for as much as the vessels were not come up the river with our supplies of provision, ammunition, and other necessaries, neither the boats for transporting our men, that, as matters were thus circumstanced, wee were not in a capacity to advance, but hoped the vessels would be in with the tide, that was before day, and that if they came, wee would be ready to be helpfull to defend them, as we expected help from them; but the winds prevented their coming, as the masters after said. Before day, contrary to order, and without my knowledge, they landed the six field pieces, at the point near which the army lay, which greatly clogg'd us, and would have made our passadge over the river very difficult. In the evening, wee see Capt. Gilbert weigh anchor, and the ships of warr sail up to the town, and the several ships plying their guns upon the town, and the town upon them, with utmost diligence; but the reason of their go-

ing before the land army were over the river, wee understood not till afterwards. The cold of the night, and our souldiers not having opportunity to dry themselves until the next day, proved very prejudiciall to them. Upon the 9th of October, Sir William's ship returned from the town, being, as wee were informed, very much disinabled, having been very smartly engaged with the town; alsoe were informed, that the men of warr had not powder enough left for two rounds apeice; but, however, supposing they had secured and would supply us with what was promised and reckning it was aboard the small vessels that were to come into the river, we still expected their coming in, and that day advanced nearer the town, where wee had better shelter for the men, and a better place for our defence, where we placed out our guards, and put ourselves in the best posture we could to defend ourselves and offend our enemies, if they had come upon us; sent out partys to gain intelligence and make discovery, and what provision came within our reach was killed for the use of the army; our provisions being so much in the masters of the vessels power, and not in the commissary-generals order and dispose, proved a great damidge, for, by reason hereof, some souldiers were provided for and others wanted, and all the rum that could be procured, to refresh the souldiers, was only about 60 gallons, which was spared from Sir William's ship, the rest either had it not, or would not own they had.

Our souldiers dried themselves, gott what refreshment they could, and hoped the vessels might come in the evening tide, wee seeing more and more need of them, being more and more sensible of the enemies strength, and our own men, many, growing sick and unfit for service. But the vessels not coming, we stood upon our guard that night, but found it exceeding cold, it freezing that night soe that the next morning the ice would bear a man. That night I called a council, demanded their opinion what was to be done, for it would be to no purpose to lye there; one in behalf of sundry others said, they had been together considering thereof, and that for as much as we had not suitable supplys of provisions ashore, little or no ammunition to recruit if there should be occasion, that our men were, many, sick and wearied, that they had the difficultys of the river to deal with, neither boats nor vessels to help us in our going over, that we had 8 great guns and 1000 men at the river side that were ready for us, after that, a steep bank and narrow passage to win, up or through which wee should not a been able to have carried our great guns, neither could wee have carried them over, where wee might have had them for use, without the help of our boats or vessels, after all this, a well fortified town with three times our number of men within to encounter with, having but one chirurgion ashore, though three were ordered, the increasing cold weather, the enemy being capable and had a fair opportunity, had we gone over, by reason of their men on our backs and guns by Charles river, to cut off all supplys and preventing our sending off soe much as a wounded man; after some discourse on these matters it was concluded, as I understood, by the whole, that I should goe on board that morning to Sir William, and acquaint him with our difficultys and disappointments, and that it was their agreement, if he were willing, that the army should get aboard that night or before day, and that they should rest and refresh themselves a day or two, and if they found they had ammunition suitable, they were ready to land at any other

other place, or under the guns at the town, if the counsel should soe conclude; there was that day two men to each gun sent ashore, a barrel of powder for the great guns, and half a barrel besides, and 100 wt. of bullets or something more.

The 10th, before noon, I went aboard to Sir William, acquainted him how matters went ashore, and of the desire and conclusion of the officers; he said he could a been glad we had been capable to have proceeded, but consented to their coming aboard, and said the boats should be sent ashore before day; after I had been aboard a while, wee heard guns goe off ashore and perceived our out guards were charged by the enemy; I was going off, but, perceiving it was soon over, staid a while, and in the afternoon went ashore again, found our guards and some scouts had been engaged by the enemy; Major Savage sent reliefs as was necessary, but being informed that the enemy might be 1000 men over the river, he sent Capt. Corwin with orders that the souldiers should make an orderly retreat, for if the enemy were numerous it were better to prepare to meet them in the plain fields than among the swamps; wee had 4 men wounded, one died of his wounds, and, through hast in the retreat, a small drummer left his drum behind him; they did considerable damage to the enemy, but could not give a certain and particular account thereof, they fired several houses and barns and returned, but the enemy see no cause to follow them. That night wee kept a very strong and strict watch, I acquainted the souldiers of their coming aboard; after midnight several of the commanders desired we might remove our army nearer to the place where we were to goe off, accordingly wee silently marched off the ground, carryed back our guns; when I had taken care that wee had left none behind, I went to the place where they were ordered to march, found our souldiers too many of them upon the beach ready to goe off if there had been an opportunity; I caused them to be drawn up upon the upland adjoining, and put them in a posture for service if they had been attacked by the enemy, for wee were within sight and hearing of the town. Before day the boats began to row ashore, but soe many of our men drew off without orders, that they might be ready to get in with the first, I foreseeing the confusion that was like to be, and perceiving there would not be time before it was light to get all off, I sent the boats all away and would not let any goe off at that time.

The 11th day, being soe near as to heare them calling one to another at the town, their drumming and ringing before day, and other noises in the woods, that wee had reason to thinke they intended that day to come out against us with their whole strength; in the morning they fired several great guns at us but did us no harm, our men all that day standing to their arms, drums beating, colours flying, fair in sight of the town; we saw several of the enemy not far from us, and many on the other side of the river, besides what was in the town; it is said that Capt. Davis * reckoned, what they had in the town and that alarmed us and guarded their shoars, they were more than 4000 men; they sent out 7 or 800 fresh men dayly to alarm us and to watch our motions. Designing to goe off that night, and there being like to be a good opportunity, I called several of the officers and acquainted them that I was designed to send three parties of souldiers to beat up the swamps that

K k 2

wee

* Davis was then a prisoner at Quebec, taken at Casco-bay.

were round us, and beat off these spies that we had reason to judge lay near us, accordingly ordered three 16 files to be detached out of the several companies, and sent them out commanded by Capt. Barnet, and Capt. Minor, and that party that was sent out upon our right wing were soon engaged; sent Capt. March forthwith, who had a good company, and they then soon made the enemy give back, but they continued firing briskly at each other; I sent out several companys to relieve them; in the mean time not knowing but this party might have been sent to occasion the drawing off a great part of our forces, and they might have a greater strength near us, wherefore I sent out to make discovery, and stood ready with the rest of the army to fight them if they had come up with us. The souldiers were ordered to keep firing at the enemy, in and about the swamps near us, and where they saw the enemy, until it was dark; which accordingly they did.

It then growing near night, I ordered the sick men to be carried aboard, which might be done by day light, because two or three boats might goe off well enough unsuspected. That day, Alexander Smart came ashore with a commission to be master gunner, and had 52 seamen under his command for to attend the guns. A little before night, I called him and acquainted him that the army was to goe off that night, and gave him a charge about the guns, in particular ordered that three guns should goe off before any men went, or with the first, the other should be let alone to the last and kept for to defend the soldiers if there had been occasion, and to be put aboard the last boats, which might be soon done; he made me answer that, though he was the last man aboard, he would see all the guns off; I parted with him then and never see him afterwards that I knew of; I then acquainted Major Savage and other officers, that we should draw off half each regiment at a time, and he should draw off half his regiment first, and ordered that those that went in the first boats should be helpful to draw down those three guns that were to goe first aboard, which they did, and concluded they were gone aboard. It growing very dark, notwithstanding I had ordered the officers to keep the souldiers to their arms, many precipitately and disorderly drew down to the beach, four times more than had leave, and a very great noise was made, which I was much troubled at, and was willing to go down to see if I could still them; I called to Major Ward, ordered him he should do what he could to keep the souldiers to their arms, and not to move without order, which he soon found too hard for him to doe; I ordered some souldiers to keep the rest from crowding down until those were gone off that were upon the flats; I called to them to be silent, but either of these were little regarded, for the croud and the noise both increased; the seamen calling out for such souldiers as belonged to their vessels, and the souldiers for such boats as came from the vessels they belonged to, hundreds in the water up to the knees and higher, pressing into boats, the seamen and they contending, by reason whereof I see boats were like to be five times longer a loading than they needed; I saw a necessity of my going off to the boats, went aboard a small boat belonging to Mr. Winter, commanded silence, ordered the boats to take the men in, as they came and to carry them to the first vessels they came at, which was not minded by many, but as I was forced to goe from boat to boat and see it done, for otherways some

of the seamen would throw the souldiers overboard if they did not belong to them, or the souldiers would have pressed into boats to have sunk them. After my being at the point not less than three hours, the men were most off, and every thing still quiet; the boats were all gone, I began to think because I see none a coming they thought the men were all off, I questioned how many men were upon the point, some said 150, wee judged about 100 or 120, I told them I would see if any boats were coming, rowed off and heard several boats rowing, went to them and ordered them to hasten to the shoar; and though I thought there might be enough to take off all the men, yet they should rather have too many than want, I told them I would go to the next vessels that had boats aboard and send them away, which I did with all speed, Being now well satisfied our men were safe off, I went on board Sir William's ship, I acquainted how matters were, told him I hoped the guns were off, for did not see them when I came away; he made answer he questioned, for the master gunner had been aboard long before, and could not give account they were off, immediately came one of the gunners aboard, with a gun, and said that the guns were all off. I then being satisfied that both men and guns were all off, I went to my cabbin, to take my rest, having had but little for 3 days and nights before. Soon after, Mr. Dearing came aboard, who came off in the last parsel of boats, and acquainted some of the officers and divers others, that there was 5 of the guns ashore, that they had been under water, but appeared when he came away, they did not acquaint Sir William nor myself of it, until the next morning, for wee had come off undiscovered, and there was 4 or 5 hours time that they might been easily and safely fetcht, but that was neglected; they sent in the morning, but then it was too late.

The 12th day a council was called, several, but not all the commanders aboard, they discoursed of landing at the town, or at Orleance, many of the officers declared that many of their men were sick and unfit for service; however, it was agreed that the men should have a day or two's time to refresh themselves, and to inquire what capacity wee were in for a farther attempt, and some time should be spent on Monday in prayer, to seek God's direction, but the weather prevented our meeting, and wee necessitated to weigh and fall down to Orleance, many vessels drove from their anchors, and were in danger of being drove on upon the town; wee then sent ashore about our captives, but winds and weather after proved such, as wee had never opportunity to come together, but the whole fleet were scattered, and such exceeding hard cold and windy weather sett in for 3 weeks or a month together, as I never was in so much together.

This narrative given into the honourable council of the Massachusetts, this 27th Nov. 1690.

P. JOHN WALLEY.

The land army's failing, the enemy's too timely intelligence, lyeing 3 weeks within 3 days fail of the place, by reason whereof they had opportunity to bring in the whole strength of their country, the shortness of our ammunition. our late setting out, our long passidge, and many sick in the army, these may be reckned as some of the reasons of our disappointment.

Some

Some question our courage, that wee proceeded no further; as things were circumstanced, others would a questioned our prudence, if wee had; were it a fault, it was the act of a council of warr; wee must undergoe the censures of many: In the mean time, our consciences doe not accuse us, neither are we most, yea almost all, of us, afraid or ashamed to answer our actions, before any that can or shall call us to an account for the same, nor unwilling to give any farther satisfaction to any reasonable men that shall desire it.

JOHN WALLEY.

Boston, the 25th Nov. 1690.



INDEX.

I N D E X.

- A**
ACADIE, dealing with the French there, page 120.
 Acts of Trade, not observed, 246.
 Addington, Isaac, Secretary, 365.
 Address to King Charles the second moved for without success, 194. Agreed to, 194. To King Charles the first, 442. To the Parliament, 448. To Oliver Cromwell, 452. To King Charles the second, 460.
 Adultery, female, not male, capital, 389. On either part, ground for divorce a vinculo, 393.
 Agawam, Indian name of Ipswich, 33. Of Springfield, 95.
 Agents, Weld, Peters and Hibbins, 95. Edward Winslow, 140. John Leveret, 175. Bradstreet and Norton, 202. Stoughton and Bulkley, 281. Dudley and Richards, 300. Mather, 327. Athurst, Cooke, Mather and Oakes, 349.
 Alexander, Sir William, sells Nova-Scotia to the French, 121.
 Andros, Sir Edmund, governor of New-York, 292. Of Massachusetts, 316. Crown more arbitrary, 317. List of his council, 317. Suspected, without grounds, of being a papist, 354. Other groundless jealousies, 331. A kind general, 331. Governor from Delawa to Nova-Scotia, 332. Seized and confined, 333. Demands his release, 345. Ordered to England, 347. Escapes from the castle, and retaken, 349. Made governor of Virginia, 351.
 Anglesey, Lord, his letter to governor Leverett, 279.
 Antinomianism, rise and progress, 56 to 75.
 Appleton, Mr. an assistant, imprisoned by Sir E. Andros, 326.
 Articles of War for New-England forces, 259.
 Athurst family, friends to New England, 346. Sir Henry appears for the colony, 347.
 Assembly of divines at Westminster invite Mr. Cotton, &c. to sit with them, 111.
 Assistants contend with deputies, 39, 134. Vote to surrender the charter, 304.
- B.
- Baptists persecuted, 208, 209.
 Baxter, George, an arbitrator between English and Dutch, 149.
 Bellingham, Richard, arrives, 44. Deputy governor, 45. Governor, 91. Ordered to England to answer, 232. Governor, 236, 247. Dies, 247.
 Bermudas charter vacated, 302.
 Bigotry in England settled America, 11. Prevailed in New-England, 175.
 Bills of credit first issued, 356.
 Blaxton, Mr. an episcopalian, 26.
 Boston, so called from respect to Mr. Cotton, 26. Inhabitants favour Mr. Vane and slight Mr. Winthrop, 63. Sixty of them disarmed, 74. Impowered to try causes, 162.
 Bounds of the first charter, 16.
 Boyle, Robert, governor of corporation for propagating the gospel, 155. Dies, 324.
 Bradford, William, governor of Plymouth, his death, 190.
 Bradford, major, account of Indian fight, 272.
 Bradstreet, Simon, 23. Agent to England, 202. Governor, 291. Of the moderate party, 298. Refuses to act under Dudley, 314. Vindicates the titles to lands, 322. Governor or President, 340.
 Brereton, Sir William, of the New-England company, 23.
 Bridges, Robert, an assistant, 140.

Brown,

Brown, John and Samuel, churchmen, and therefore sent back to England, 19.
 Brook, Lord, 44.
 Bulkley, Peter, agent, 281.
 Bullivant, one of Andros's justices, seized, 334.
 Burges, William, first secretary, 17.
 Bloody Point settle., 101.
 Burditt's villainy, 85.

C.

Cambridge petition to the King, 328.
 Canada expedition proposed, 235.
 Canonics, Narraganset sachem, 130.
 Cape Anne, fishery there in 1624, 14.
 Cape Fear, contribution for, 238.
 Carr, Sir Robert, commissioner, 211. Indiscreet, 225.
 Cartwright, George, commissioner, 211.
 Casco fort taken, 353.
 Castine, Baron, 325.
 Cattle, number in 1640, 91.
 Charles II. news of his restoration, 194. Motion to address him fails, 194. Proclaimed in Boston, 200. No man to drink his health, 201. Grants his pardon, and confirms the charter, 203. A present made him, 235. Letter to Plymouth, 466. To Massachusetts, 465.
 Charlestown church settled, 27.
 Charter first passes the seals, 17. Removed to New-England, 20. Process against it, 84 to 87. Saved by change of times in England, 86. Assistants vote to surrender it, 304. Judgment or decree against it, 306.
 Charter, second, drawn by Blaithwait, 364.
 Chauncey, Charles, president, 161. Death, 237.
 Child, Doctor, concerned in a faction, 137.
 Christianity preached to Indians, 151 to 157.
 Church, Benjamin, fortunate, 276.
 Church of England first set up, 318.
 Church government, sum of it, 370.
 Civil commotions, notions upon it, 230.
 Clark, Thomas, proprietor of Kenebec, 311.
 Clark, Nathaniel, a time server, 322. Seized and secured, 340.
 Clams received by the first planters with pious gratitude, 28.
 Coin of New-England in 1652, 164.
 Coddington, William, 23, 63.
 College, Harvard, 107, 159 to 162.
 Colonies form their own legislature, 92.
 Colonies, state of in Cromwell's time, 179.
 Commerce free, proposed from Canada, 156.
 Commerce, flourishing state of, 174.
 Commissioners from King Charles, 211 to 234. Commission, 459.
 Commissioners of united colonies, 125, 130, 144, 155, 157, 166, 171.
 Comet, remarkable, 207, 312.
 Connedicut, their first combination, 96. Controversy about duties, 144 to 147. Forces successful, 276. Surrender their charter, 305. Revolution there, 341. Reassume their charter, 360.
 Cooke, George, a Massachusetts capt. afterwards a colonel in Ireland, 115.
 Cooke, Elisha, zealous for liberty, 298. Assistant, 306. Agent, 349. For old charter or none, 361.
 Conant, Roger, at Cape Ann, 14. Salem, 15.
 Corn, Indian, 108. sterl. the bushel, 29. Mean, distasteful diet to Europeans, 31.
 Corporation for propagating the gospel, 150, 154.
 Council for safety of the people, 340.
 Covenant, Scotch, proposed, 137.
 Counties, first made, 112.
 Council under Dudley, 314. Andros, 317.
 Council of Plymouth constituted, 13. Make a grant to Weston, 13. To Robert Gorges, 14. Divide New-England, 52.

Court of assistants at Charlestown, 30. General, 30.
 Course of judicial proceedings, 397.
 Cranfield, governor of New-Hampshire, 303.
 Cotton, John, arrives, 37. Engaged in controversy, 55 to 74. Invited to the assembly of divines, 111. Death, 165.
 Cows, milch, 231 per head, 31.
 Cradock, Matthew, first governor, 17. Account of him, 23. Intended to settle at Medford, 27.
 Cromwell, Oliver, designed for New-England, 44. Writes to Massachusetts to join against the Dutch, 168. To remove to Ireland, 175. Urges their removal to Jamaica, 175. His conversation with Wheelwright, 178. Sees the importance of the colonies, 178.
 Cromwell, Richard, not proclaimed when ordered, 195.
 Crown Law taken from Moses, 387.
 Culpepper, Lord, at Boston, 299.

D.

Danforth, Thomas, assistant, 174. Deputy governor, 291. President of Maine, 296. Zealous, 298. In terror, 339. Treats with the Indians, 358.
 Davenport, John, comes over, 81. Invited to Westminster assembly, 111. Conceals Whaley and Child, 199. Death, 238.
 Davenport, captain, killed at the castle, 232.
 D'Aulney, a French governor at Penobscot, bickerings with him, 121 to 126.
 Davis, Silvanus, action at Kennebeck, 311.
 Deeds registered, 402.
 Dennison, George, great success, 275.
 Deputies and assistants contention, 39. 134.
 Dixwell, colonel, one of King Charles' judges, known by the name of J^r Davids, 200.
 Dod, John, charges New-England puritans with separation, 81.
 Douglass, erroneous, 191, 233, 317, 320.
 Downing, Sir George, anecdotes of, 107.
 Dudley, Thomas, 20. Accounts of him, 21. Deputy governor, 24. No friend to toleration, 71. Governor, 39, 136. Death and character, 169.
 Dudley, Joseph, member for Roxbury, 261. His account of Narraganset sent, 273. Agent, 301. President, 314. Seized and imprisoned, 334. Suffers much, 348. Sent to England, 349. Chief justice of New-York, 351.
 Dummer, Richard, first arrives, 44. Assistant, 45. Left out, 63.
 Dummer, Shubael, killed at York, 359.
 Dunster, Henry, college president, 101.
 Dutch bribe English pilot to go to Cape-Cod, 12. Settle bounds with New-Haven, 148. Suspected of a plot against the English, 165 to 170. Surrender Manhadoes, 212.
 Dover settled, 100.

E.

Earthquake memorable, 88.
 Eaton, Nathaniel, first member of Harvard College, 89. Displaced, 89.
 Eaton, Theophilus, account of him, 23. Comes to New-England, 81.
 Elders consulted by the General Court, 167, 205, 232, 281, 303. Jealous of the power of the magistrates, 249 to 251. Prophecy in sackcloth, 274. Concerned in all matters of moment, 424.
 Election contentious, 62, 95.
 Eliot, John, an Indian apostle, 152 to 157. Recants his opinions against monachism, 195.
 Elizabeth Islands, so called by Gosnold, 9.
 Embarkation, first for Massachusetts bay, 16. Second, 18. Third and principal, with the charter, 24.
 Endicott, John, a parentee, 16. Goes to Naumkeag or Salem, sub-governor, 16. His character, 22. Cuts the cross out of the King's colours, and is censured, 41. Set against the Pequods, without success, and reflected on, 60. Governor, 142, 160, 174. His death, 215.
 Errors committed in the Synod, 75.

Essex county, in 1643, 112.

Excommunication established, 373.

Expense of first transportation computed at 192,000*l.* sterl. 91.

Exeter settled, 103.

F.

Faction suppressed, 136 to 140.

Fast turned to Thanksgiving, 28, 134.

Fenwick, George, agent for Lord Say, Brook, &c. 97. Leaves a legacy to New-England, 98.

Fire of London, collection in the colony for sufferers, 236. In Boston, in 1676 and 1679, 313.

Flint, Thomas, assistant, 106.

Foster, John, an active revolutioner, 337.

Foxcroft, justice, imprisons Winslow, 333.

Freemen, none admitted except church members, 30.

French drove from Acadie, 32. Drive the English from Penobscot, 33.

French protestants ask leave to settle, 206.

G.

Gardner, Sir Christopher, knight of the sepulchre, a great enemy to the colony, 29.

General Court first consisting of a house of representatives, &c. 39. Offended with Boston, and meet at Cambridge, 61. Pass an order of neutrality in the war between king and parliament, 128. Retrain churches in the choice of ministers, 174. Their proceedings with commissioners from king Charles the second, 230 to 234. Amplify their jurisdiction, 239.

General Court interpose in the disputes of Boston church, 247. Acknowledge their error, 250. Message upon the dissolution of the government, 307. Declaration of rights, 455.

George, captain of a king's ship, seized, 334.

Gibbons, major-general of forces, 132. Assistant, 150. Anecdote, 150.

Goffe, Colonel, one of king Charles's judges, 197 to 201. Letter from his wife, 457.

Goffe, Thomas, first deputy governor, 17.

Goodkins, Daniel, arrives, 128. Zealous, 298.

Gorges, Robert, his grant from colony of Plymouth, 14. Sells it to Sir William Brierton, 14.

Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, spent 20,000*l.* settling colonies, 11. A most active member of the council of Plymouth, 13. Joins with Mason in endeavours to hurt Massachusetts, 50.

Gorges, Thomas, member, mayor of Acamenticus, alias York, 163.

Gorton, Samuel, founder of a sect, 112. A brief history of him to 118. His defence, 467.

Gosnold, Bartholomew, first discovered New-England, 9.

Governor expected from England, 35, 50, 207. Old charter governor prays in public upon a fast day, 267.

General court's opinion of Mason's claim, 300.

H.

Hadley men, headed by Goffe, the regicide, 201.

Hair, long, association against it, 142. Ranked among the sins of the land, 289.

Hampden, John, intended for New-England, 44.

Hampden, Mr. anecdote of, 299.

Hampshire county established, 207.

Harlakenden, Mr. arrives, 44. Dies, 89.

Harvard College founded, 89, 107, 159. Growth, 159 to 162.

Haslerigg, Sir Arthur, intended for New-England, 44.

Haugh, Mr. assistant, 45. Slighted, 63.

Hawthorne, William, speaker, 150. Sent for to answer in England, 232.

Haynes, John, arrives, 39. Assistant, *ibid.* Governor, 45. Goes to Connecticut, 55.

Hereditary honours, plan for them, 433.

Higginson, Francis, first minister of Salem, 17, 18.

High Treason, first law against it, 321.
 Hiacoomes, an Indian convert, 151.
 Hibbins, William, agent, 95. Assistant, 112.
 Hibbins, Ann, executed, 173.
 Hinkley, Thomas, governor of Plymouth, petitions king James, 329.
 Hoar, Leonard, president, 161.
 Holyoke, Edward, president, 162.
 Hooke, counsellor, his opinion upon the Massachusetts charter, 363.
 Hooker, Thomas, arrives, 37. Coldness between Mr. Cotton and him, 45. Removes to Hartford, 46. Invited to the assembly at Westminster, 111.
 Hopkins, governor of Connecticut, 81.
 Hudibras, the author of, ridicules the pious New-Englanders for the deeds of a profligate crew, 13.
 House of Commons vote the surrender of plantation charters illegal, &c. 347.
 Bill passed to restore New-England charters, 347.
 Hutchinson, William, comes to New-England, 56.
 Hutchinson, Ann, comes from Alford to New-England, 57. Treated with great respect, but watched by Mr. Winthrop, *ibid.* The principal women attend her lectures, *ibid.* She condemns the ministers for being under a covenant of works, *ibid.* Mr. Cotton countenances her opinions, 58. The colony in a flame by reason of them, 59. Lost her support when Mr. Vane removed, 68. Called to trial, forsaken by Mr. Cotton, and her tragical fate, 70 to 72.
 Hutchinson, Edward, banished, 73. Sent to treat with Nipmug Indians, 265. Ambushed and killed, *ibid.*
 Hutchinson, Elihu, a zealous member, 298. Assistant, 306. Joins with Mather in a remonstrance, 328. Treats with Indians, 358.

I.

James the first grants all the continent from 34 to 45 degrees, 10. Refuses to grant liberty of conscience, 12.
 James the second proclaimed in Boston, 306.
 Janfon, Sir Bryan, assistant, 23.
 Idolatry, Indian, learnt from the French, 419.
 Jermayne, Sir Thomas, speaks in favour of the colony, 37.
 Indians, no idea of what the English intend by subjects, 252. Their way of fighting must succeed when they exceed greatly in numbers, 268. Hardly used, 269. Captives made slaves, 277. Their number in Plymouth colony, 313. The several nations, 404. The mohawks or cannibals, 405. The French made them idolaters, 419. Said to call the seven stars the bear, 423.
 Indians, Pequods, threaten war, 32, 59. War with them, 75 to 80.
 Indians, Narragansets, come to Boston, 32. Treaty with them, 61. Plot against the English, 108. At war with Mohegins, 129.
 Indians, Wompanongs, or Philip's Indians, war with them, &c. 251 to 277. Their first subjection to king James, 252.
 Indians, Eastern, assault Ipswich Indians, 32. Begin war, 278. Hostilities, 310 to 312, 325, 351, 358.
 Jocelyn, his voyage to New-England, 245.
 Johnson, Isaac, an assistant, 17. Resolves to become a planter, 19. His family, estate, &c. 22. His lady, daughter of Earl of Lincoln, 25. His death greatly lamented, 25.
 Jones, Margaret, executed, 141.
 Ipswich men fined and imprisoned by Sir Edmund Andros, 326, 327.
 Ireland claim an exemption from British acts of parliament, 290.
 Judicial proceedings, course of, 397.

K.

Kennebeck river first entered by Europeans, 10. Indian spoils there, 311.
 Kieft, a Dutch governor, at Manhadoes, 149.
 Kirk, colonel, appointed governor of New-England, 307.
 Knoles and Larkham, at Dover, 104.

L.

Laconia, an ideal province, 101. The province of Maine so called, 245.
 Lancaster burnt by the enemy, 274.

Lake, Capt. Thomas, killed, 311.
 La Tou, French governor, 121 to 126.
 Lakin, archbishop, jealous of New-England, 84. Employs Burdett to give intelligence, *ibid.* First commissioner for regulating plantations, 440.
 Law, drawn from the judicial of Moses, 384.
 Le Bond, Thomas, a fractious attorney, 393.
 Lees, William, a quaker, hanged, 186.
 Lee, William, deputy governor of Connecticut, favours Whaley and Goffe, 199.
 Legislatures, in general formed by the colonies, 62.
 Leisler, lord, accompanies Mr. Vane to England, 64.
 Leisler, Thomas, ruling elder, 38.
 Leicester, John, sent to Narraganset to treat, 108. Commissioner from Oliver Cromwell, 169. Deputy governor, 247. Governor, *ibid.* His death, 391.
 Leverett, John, college president, 162.
 Leyden, puritans or separatists there, 11.
 Long-Island, in New-York, first peopled from Lynn in Massachusetts, 88.
 Loshop, Capt. and company, defeated, 218.
 Ludlow, Roger, deputy governor, 39. Removes to Connecticut, 45, 96.
 Lyford, a minister of New-Plymouth, 14.

M.

Maine, province of, deserted by Gorges the proprietor, the people put themselves under Massachusetts, 163. Made a county, 164. Purchased, 294.
 Manandee (New-York) surrenders to Col. Nichols, &c. 212.
 Maples, and the rest of the five nations, treaty, 312.
 Marblehead, age of women there, 278.
 Martha's Vineyard, first so called, 9.
 Mason, Capt. John, spent 20,000*l.* settling colonies, 11. Molests Massachusetts, 70. His several alleged grants, 282.
 Master, John, commands Connecticut forces against Pequods, 76. Chief share in Pequot war, 77, 18.
 Massachusetts, Indian chief, chooses king James for his sovereign, rather than his wife, 112. An enemy to christianity, 253.
 Mathew, Richard, arrives, 44. His death, 237.
 Mather, Increase, college president, 162. Sued by Randolph for defamation, 327. Travels to England to solicit for the colony, *ibid.* A faithful agent, 346.
 Same, New-York from being annexed to New-York, 360. Not satisfied with the new charter, 361. His the sole nomination of the first governor and council, 365. Arrives at Boston, 367.
 Mather, Cotton, drew the manifesto upon the New-England revolution, 339. Interfered with no ruler for governor Stoughton, 365.
 Matthews, a minister, fined for preaching without licence, 373.
 Metchick, Samuel, at Noddy's Island, 26. Obnoxious for stirring up a faction, 17. Commissioner for king Charles II. 211. Delivers a letter from king Charles to the colony, 232.
 Mayflower, the Indian name for the eastern country, 9.
 Mayhew, Thomas, instructs the Indians, 151. Purchase of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Islands, *ibid.*
 Medfield burnt, 275.
 Miantinono, Narraganset chief, comes to Boston, 32. Plots against the English, 108, 109. Taken prisoner, 129. Put to death, 130.
 Middlesex county, 112.
 Militia in the year 1665, 223.
 Ministry, poorly supported, 251.
 Mitchell, Jonathan, friend to Whaley and Goffe, 201. Opposes the sending over the magistrates upon king Charles's order, 252. A licensor of the press, 236. Death, 233.
 Mortality among the Indians, 38.
 Morton, an attorney at Mount Wollaston, 15. Seized and sent to England, *ibid.* Commissioner of the colony, 35. Fined 100*l.* *ibid.*
 Mount Hope, and the country round, granted to New-Plymouth, 310.
 Mason, Robert, counsellor, 307, 318. His death, 326.

N.

- Nantasket first began, 14.
 Narraganset Indians, treaty, 61. Plotting, 108. At war with the Mohegins, 129. Further quarrels, 170, 171. Treaty, 263. Break their treaty, 269. Famous fight, 271, 272.
 Naumkeag (Salem) settlement began there, 16.
 Nelson, John, a revolutioner, 339. His friendly intelligence, 338.
 New-England discovered, 9. First so called, 10. First colony there, 10. Division into 12 provinces, 52.
 New-Hampshire settled, 98 to 106. Three distinct governments, 104. Swallowed up by Massachusetts, 106. Of the same disposition with Massachusetts, 246. Grateful return, 293. Controversy about it, 282 to 288.
 New-Haven first planted, 82 to 84. Settle bounds with the Dutch, 148. Apply to Cromwell, 168.
 New-Plymouth colony begins, 13. Trade at Penobscot, 32. Brief state of affairs, 190 to 191. Boundary line settled, 192, 209. Conduct approved by king Charles II. commissioners, 272. Desirous of chastising the Indians, 254. Further state of affairs there, 308 to 310. Revolution there, 341. Annexed to New-York, 359. Recalled and annexed to Massachusetts, 360.
 New-Somerfetshire, the same with the province of Maine, 245.
 New-York, revolution there, 342.
 Nichols, king Charles's commissioner, 230. Discreet behaviour, 211.
 Nicholson, Francis, 343.
 Nocake, for Nockake, Indian food, 412.
 Norfolk county, 112.
 Norton, John, arrives, 44. Disapproves Mrs. Hibbins' execution, 173. In favour of an address to king Charles the second, 194. Agent to England, 202. His death, and quakers' remark, 205.
 Nova-Scotia, affairs there, 120 to 126.
 Nowell, Increase, his character, 32. Settles at Charlestown, 27.
 Nowell, Samuel, joins with Mather in England, 328.

O.

- Oakes, Thomas, agent, 319. Assistant, *ibid.*
 Oakes, Urian, president of the college, 161.
 Oldham, John, ill up a faction in New-Plymouth, 14. A grantee from the council of Plymouth, 15.
 Owen, John, invited to New-England, 207.
 Old charter deliqued as a corporation in England, 20.

P.

- Paper money first made, 356.
 Parliament, memorable act or ordinance, 119.
 Parsons, Hugh, tried for witchcraft, 165.
 Passengers the first ten years, 21200, 91.
 Patrick, Capt. in the Pequot war, 76.
 Pierce, Capt. and 50 men killed, 275.
 Pelham, Herbert, assistant, 136. Commissioner, *ibid.* In England, 153.
 Penn, elder, death and character, 246.
 Penobscot rifled, 33. Taken, 48. By Cromwell, 169. Restored, 236. Taken by the Dutch, 280. By Sir William Phips, 353.
 Proceedings of the Commissioners of King Charles II. in New-Hampshire, 228. Consequences thereof, 234.
 Pequods kill Stone, 47. Protect the murderers of the English, 60. Urge the Narragansets to war, *ibid.* The tribe destroyed, 75 to 80.
 Peters, Hugh, arrival, 44. Agent, and his tragical end, 95. Opposes collection for the Indians, 155.
 Philip, king, or Indian sachem, subjects himself and nation, 255, 257. Rashly begins a war, 259. In imminent danger, 261. Killed, 277.
 Phips, Sir William, birth, &c. 352. Takes Port-Royal, 353. Ill success at Quebec, 354 to 356. Solicits a second expedition, 357. Governor, 365. Arrives, 367.
 Piscataqua submits to Massachusetts, 98. A summary of settlement, 98, 99.
 Planters,

Planters, first, whether churchmen, 368. Became separatists, 369.
 Platform, sum of it, 370.
 Popham, Sir John, a promoter of colonies, 10. His brother president of Sagadahoc colony, 10.
 Porter, John, sentenced to die for disobedience to parents, 219.
 Port-Royal taken by Phips, 353.
 Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, their generous donation to Harvard college, 246.
 Prince of Orange, news of his landing in England, 332. His declaration called a treasonable libel, 333.
 Prince of Wales, his birth celebrated, 332.
 Printing first set up, 236.
 Prodigies reported, 120.
 Providence island, colony, 92 to 94.
 Puritan ministers in England did not approve of separation, 80. Come over in Charles II. reign, 207.
 Pym, John, designed to New-England, 44.
 Pynchon, William, assistant, 20. Settles at Roxbury, 23. Springfield, 95.
 Philip's war, 251.

Q.

Quakers persecuted, 180 to 189, 288.
 Quinnipiack, afterwards New-Haven, 64.
 Quo warranto against the charter, 304, 306.
 Quechecho taken, 396.

R.

Rainsford, brother to lord chief justice, a ruling elder, 238.
 Randolph, Edward, arrives, 280. Made eight voyages in 9 years, 297. Appointed collector, *ibid.* Quarrels with Dudley, 315.
 Ratcliffe, Mr. the first episcopal minister, 318.
 Registry of deeds, 402.
 Representatives first chosen, 39.
 Revell, John, assistant, 21.
 Revolution in New-England before any certain news from England, 333. Circumstantial account of it, 334 to 336. Persons concerned afraid of the consequences, 338.
 Rhode-Island settled by refugees from Massachusetts, 72, 73. Refused to be admitted into union with the other colonies, 118. Surrender their charter, 305. Reassume it, 360.
 Robinson, William, a quaker, executed, 184.
 Rochellers apply for leave to settle in New-England, 206.
 Rogers, John, college president, 161.
 Rossiter, Edward, assistant, 20.
 Roswell, Sir Henry, patentee, 16.
 Rowley settled, 83.
 Ruling Elders, 355.
 Russell, hon. George, at Boston, 299.
 Russell, Richard, an assistant, 174.
 Reyner recommended, 174.

S.

Sagadahoc settled, 10.
 Saint Christopher's, contribution for relief, 236.
 Saltonstall, Sir Richard, patentee, 17, 20. Settles at Watertown, 27. Returns to England, 29.
 Saltonstall, Richard, assistant, 62. Makes a vow, 92. Gives Whaley and Goffe fifty pounds, 200.
 Sentiments respecting allegiance and political connexion with England, 45, 49, 86, 87, 92, 165, 230, 290.
 Salisbury settled, 87.
 Sandford, major, takes Sir E. Andros, and sends him to Boston, 349.
 Sassachus, Pequod sachem, 76, 79, 80.
 Savage, Thomas, banished, 73. Commands forces, 262.

Say and Seale, lord, intended to New-England, 44. Urges removal to the Bahamas, 92. Kind letter to the colony, 202.
 Saybrook fort, 49. Burnt, 145.
 Scott, Patience, a quaker child, 183.
 Sewall, Samuel, 322.
 Sedgwick, major, commissioner from Cromwell, 168. Takes St. John's, Penobscot, &c. 169.
 Sharp, Samuel, assistant, 22.
 Shawmut, 26.
 Shepard, Thomas, arrives, 44. Dies, 142.
 Ships, number of, in 1665, 223.
 Shrimpton, Col. writ of intrusion, 330.
 Small Pox among the Indians, 38.
 Sickness the first winter, 27.
 Skelton, Samuel, first minister of Salem, 17.
 Smith, Ralph, separatist, 17.
 Soils, opinions about it, 423 to 429.
 Somers, Sir John, for the colony, 350.
 Southcoat, Thomas, a patentee, 16.
 Springfield called Agawam, 95. Burnt by the Indians, 275.
 Stevenson, Marmaduke, a quaker, hanged, 184.
 Stillington, Dr. his remark, 209.
 Stone, Mr. arrives, 37. At Cambridge, 38. At Hartford, 96.
 Stone, Capt. killed by the Indians, 47.
 Storm, remarkable, 54.
 Stoughton, Israel, assistant, 62. Commands against Pequods, 76. His death, 136.
 Stoughton, William, agent, 231.
 Stuyvesant, Dutch governor, 149.
 Suffolk, county, 112.
 Sunderland, lord, would not admit a house of representatives, 328.
 Subjections, civil, notions of it, 230.
 Sudbury settled, 83.
 Symonds, Samuel, assistant, 112. Deputy governor, 247.
 Synod, 68 to 70, 205, 291.
 Strawberry Bank settled, 101.

T.

Temple, Sir Thomas, begs the lives of condemned quakers, 184. Recommended by N. Fiennes, 190.
 Test, New-England, 380.
 Thurloe, sends orders to proclaim Richard Cromwell, 193.
 Tilton, Peter, a zealous deputy, 298.
 Titles and lands questioned, 321.
 Town, a fortified one projected, 27.
 Trade, state of it in 1639, 90. Flourishing, 174. In 1670, 246.

U.

Vane, Henry, arrives, 44. Governor, 54. Supported by Mr. Cotton, 55. Diffembles, 55, 56. Peculiar tenets, 57. Winthrop's interest too strong for him, 62. Shews his resentment, 63. Returns to England, 64. Character, 65 to 67.
 Vassal, William, assistant, 20. Further account of him, 136.
 Veils worn by Salem women, 379.
 Uncas, Mohegin Sachem, 129, 134.
 Underhill, John, captain, 75, 76. An enthusiast, 77. Chosen governor of Dover, 104.
 Union of the colonies, 118 to 120.
 Usher, John, 281, 317.

W.

Wadsworth, Capt. killed, and his company, 276.
 Walley, John, commands land forces against Canada, 401. Journal, 356.
 Ward, Nathaniel, 115.
 Warwick, Earl of, 14.

Warwick,

- Wadsworth, countess of, benefactor, 23.
 Wadsworth, John, Secretary, 17.
 Wadsworth, Thomas, agent, 95. Dismissed, 140.
 Wequash, a christian Indian; betrays his countrymen, 77.
 West, secretary under Andros, 321.
 West, vice admiral, 14.
 Weston's plantation, 13. Broke up, and he cast away, 14.
 Whaley, the regicide, so called, 197.
 Wharton, lord, friend to New-England, 346.
 Wheat first blasted, 210.
 Wheelwright, John, antinomian, 57. Banished, 70. At Hampton and Salisbury, 74. At Exeter, 103.
 Whetcomb, Simon, a patentee, 17.
 White, John, encourages planters, 16.
 White hills first explored, 109.
 Wiggins, Capt. assistant, 150.
 Willard, Simon, commander of forces, 172.
 Willett, Thomas, referee between the English and Dutch, 149.
 Willoughby, Francis, assistant, 150. Deputy governor, 236. Death, 246.
 Williams, Roger, makes disturbance at Salem, 40. Punished, and removes to Providence, 41. Shelters Gorton, 113. Gives notice of plots by the Indians, 131.
 William and Mary, their accession most joyful news to New-England, 345.
 Wilson, John, minister, 27. His zeal, 62. Death and character, 237.
 Wilson, Deborah, a quaker, whipped, 187.
 Winflow, Edward, principal of New-Plymouth planters, 13. Agent, 140. His death, 172.
 Winflow, Josias, seized Indian prince, 252. Governor of Plymouth, 261. General in Narraganset Fight, 271.
 Winthrop, John, first engages, 19. Elected governor, 20. Account of his family, 21. Travels on foot through the woods, 26. Is called to account, and honorably acquitted, 43. Engaged with Mr. Vane and the opinionists, 55 to 75. Governor, 62. Very popular, 64. Overrules at the synod, 69. Great concern at his apprehended danger, 123. Called to answer, 138. Death and character, 142.
 Winthrop, John, commissioned by Lord Say and Seal, 49.
 Wise, minister of Ipswich, imprisoned, 327.
 Witwall, Mr. agent for Plymouth, 359.
 Wits of intrusion, 330.

Y.

- York county, 164. Government there, 239. Town, destroyed, 359.
 Young, Sir John, patentee, 16.



